

**International Numismatic Commission**

**A SURVEY OF  
NUMISMATIC RESEARCH  
2002-2007**

**General Editors**

**Michel Amandry, Donal Bateson**

**Subeditors**

**Philip Attwood, Carmen Arnold-Biucchi, Mark Blackburn, Alberto Canto, Frédéric Elfer,  
Lutz Ilisch, Peter Ilisch, Markus Peter, François Thierry, Benedikt Zäch**



**International Association of Professional Numismatists  
Special Publication 15  
Glasgow, 2009**



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### ***Errata***

The correct reference to the Madrid Proceedings is as follows:

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Please note that in the chapter: *Die Römische Republik* by Bernhard Woytek, the first two paragraphs have been interchanged.

Minor formatting errors occasionally occur in the text, especially in respect of the size of the font. These were corrected in the printed version.

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## **PREFACE**

The International Association of Professional Numismatists is very proud of the ongoing participation in the funding and sponsorship of the Survey of Numismatic Research. This is a tradition which has been established for many years and we look forward to continuing our co-operation and support for these volumes in the future.

The IAPN was founded in 1951 and since its inception it has been constant in its recognition of the importance of numismatic research and scholarship. Our association is committed in its encouragement of disseminating the findings of numismatic studies to as wide an audience as possible. Additionally, the annual presentation of the IAPN Book Prize to the numismatic publication voted by our Association's General Assembly as the outstanding work of the preceding year, has become a coveted and prestigious honour. Submissions of new books for the award are always welcomed.

The International Numismatic Congress is a unique event which is an ideal opportunity for the scholar, the serious hobbyist and the professional to exchange information and knowledge in an academic forum. Even though they might approach the subject from differing perspectives, the attendees are united in their passion for numismatics.

We look forward to continuing our association with the International Numismatic Commission for many years to come.

Paul Davies  
President  
International Association of Professional Numismatists

## INTRODUCTION GÉNÉRALE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

*Michel Amandry, Donal Bateson*

Six ans ont passé et, à l'approche du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès, un nouveau *Survey* a été achevé. Sa taille, son ampleur démontrent clairement l'activité de nombreux chercheurs et la vivacité de la numismatique sous toutes ses facettes.

Les Cabinets les plus importants continuent à montrer la voie, ainsi que les collections universitaires les plus renommées. Il en est de même d'un large ensemble de musées civiques et provinciaux dont le patrimoine inclut des monnaies et médailles. Chercheurs, enseignants et étudiants en lettres classiques, archéologie et histoire ont largement contribué au contenu de ce *Survey*, de même que le personnel de commissions gouvernementales, numismatiques et archéologiques. Notre domaine peut aussi se réjouir de la participation active de collectionneurs savants qui poursuivent des recherches et publient, certains de façon très significative. L'appui du monde des professionnels est notable et une fois de plus la Commission internationale de numismatique est heureuse d'exprimer sa reconnaissance à l'Association internationale des Numismates professionnels pour avoir pris en charge les frais de publication du *Survey*.

Il faut malheureusement noter la disparition d'éminents savants, dont les derniers travaux sont mentionnés dans ce *Survey*. On y trouvera un certain nombre de nécrologies. D'un autre côté, de nombreux noms apparaissent pour la première fois, alors que certains commencent à accumuler une bibliographie impressionnante. On ne peut que se réjouir de la vitalité de notre discipline. Cela augure bien du futur.

Un certain nombre d'études en profondeur ont vu le jour sous forme livresque, autant que le nouveau matériel le permettait. Un certain nombre de thèses inédites sont également listées et il faut espérer qu'elles seront publiées dans un futur proche, plutôt que d'être couvertes de poussière dans des archives. Les catalogues fleurissent, depuis les *Syllogès* (de monnaies grecques, médiévales, parthes, sassanides, islamiques) jusqu'à la publication de médailles impériales russes et papales. Les recherches menées pour ces publications sont parfois très importantes, parfois plus modestes, mais rendre accessible du matériel inédit reste une priorité.

Les années récentes ont vu une augmentation significative du nombre d'expositions numismatiques accompagnées de catalogues qui permettent de suivre les progrès de la recherche. Conférences et symposia

Six more years have passed and with the XIV Congress approaching, another *Survey* has been completed. The size, breadth and depth of its contents show a large number of scholars active across the subject and clearly demonstrates that Numismatics flourishes in its many facets.

The larger national coin cabinets continue to give a lead supported by the major university collections along with a great variety of civic and provincial museums including coins and medals among their holdings. Researchers, teachers and students located in Classics, Archaeology and History departments throughout the academic world have contributed a major part of the present corpus. Staff in a variety of government commissions, numismatic and archaeological, have greatly added to the output. Numismatics continues to be fortunate in including many serious collectors who also pursue research and publish, some widely and significantly. There is, too, much support from dealers and once again the International Numismatic Commission is pleased to acknowledge the support of the International Association of Professional Numismatists in the publication of the *Survey*.

Sadly some eminent names are no longer to be found in the lists or are represented by a few final works. A number of obituaries are unfortunately included. However, this is balanced by many new names appearing as authors either for the first time or clearly building impressive personal bibliographies. This indicates a healthy state of affairs and bodes well for the future.

A number of in-depth studies have appeared in book form and are probably as numerous as resources and new material allow. Several unpublished theses are also listed and it is to be hoped that these in turn will be published in the near future rather than gather dust in the archives. Catalogues appear to flourish ranging from the *Sylloges* – Greek, Medieval, Sassanian, Parthian, Islamic – to others on Imperial Russian and Papal medals. The research behind many would merit excellent ratings while others are more simple lists of smaller collections or parts of collections but these too are valuable in bringing more material to light and making it more accessible.

continuent à être organisés régulièrement. Les conférences nationales, en Russie ou en Espagne par exemple, sont désormais bien établies, les congrès de la FIDEM permettent aux spécialistes de la médaille de se réunir régulièrement, et la conférence dévolue à *After Alexander, Central Asia before Islam* qui s'est tenue à l'Académie britannique peut être citée comme exemple de ces conférences spécialisées qui ont été organisées ces six dernières années. Un certain nombre ont vu leurs actes publiés mais il faut particulièrement noter les *Actes* du XIIIe Congrès tenu à Madrid en 2003 qui sont cités tout au long du *Survey*.

Les sociétés numismatiques les plus importantes continuent à publier régulièrement leurs périodiques et à contribuer ainsi à la dissémination des recherches récentes. Il est facile de noter l'importance de leur rôle par le nombre de références à la *NC*, *BNJ*, *RN*, *RBN*, *SNR*, *RIN*. Mais d'autres périodiques moins connus ou nouveaux, en majorité des pays d'Europe centrale et de Méditerranée orientale, comme par exemple le très prometteur *Israel Numismatic Research*, contribuent également à la publication d'études approfondies et de matériel nouveau. Leur publication régulière va largement encourager les études numismatiques dans ces pays. Un certain nombre de Newsletters numismatiques est désormais publié régulièrement, dont le contenu, intéressant et utile, est pris en compte dans ce *Survey*.

Les monnayages antiques continuent de recevoir une attention permanente, que ce soient des études de coins d'atelier, comme Ségeste, ou des catalogues typologiques comme le volume II tant attendu des Séleucides. Un flot ininterrompu de *Syllogès* a vu le jour. La période romaine continue d'être très populaire et il convient bien entendu de noter la publication du *RIC* II.1, volume entièrement refondu pour la période des Flaviens. Le monnayage provincial romain a été très à l'honneur avec plus d'une douzaine de catalogues, mais la publication du *RPC* VII.1 et la mise en ligne de la documentation qui servira au *RPC* IV méritent une mention spéciale. Les études de monnaies byzantines maintiennent un très haut niveau de qualité tandis que les publications concernant l'époque médiévale sont nombreuses, non seulement en Europe occidentale, mais aussi en Europe orientale, où elles sont en augmentation. Les monnayages islamiques ont continué à être étudiés de façon intensive. Pour l'Extrême-Orient, des sections très bien informées concernent le Sri Lanka, la Chine et l'Océanie, mais il faut noter l'importance donnée pour la première fois au Japon, au Vietnam et à l'Inde. Ces contrées continuent de se développer fortement en termes de recherche et de publications, tant par des chercheurs étrangers que locaux, et sont appelées dans les années à venir à jouer un rôle encore plus important.

In recent years there seems to have been a steady increase in the number of numismatic exhibitions, many of which were accompanied by special catalogues providing a permanent record of the contents, interpretation and research. Conferences and symposia continue to be held frequently. The national conferences of, for example, Russia and Spain, are now well established, FIDEM meetings provide a regular forum for medallists, and the meeting devoted to *After Alexander, Central Asia before Islam* held at the British Academy may be cited as one of many such specialised meetings held during the last six years. Several have subsequently resulted in published proceedings of great value but perhaps the one to be noted here is the *Acts* of the 2003 International Numismatic Congress held in Madrid and extensively referred to throughout this *Survey*.

The major national numismatic societies maintained the regular output of their journals and continue to make a major contribution to research evidenced by repeated occurrences in the references to *NC*, *BNJ*, *RN*, *RBN*, *SNR*, *RIN*. These are now accompanied by less familiar or new titles, mainly from central and eastern Europe as well as the East, for example the new and already very promising *Israel Numismatic Research*. These include many important studies and much new material and their continued appearance will greatly encourage study in these areas. Several numismatic newsletters are published regularly and contain interesting and useful notes as recorded in this *Survey*.

The coinages of Antiquity have continued to receive widespread attention from mint studies such as Segesta or typological catalogues such as the second volume devoted to the Seleucids. A steady stream of volumes of *SNG* has appeared. Publication in the Celtic series has been strong, including the important finds from Bibracte. The Roman period continued to be a popular focus of study and note may be made of the revised volume of *RIC* II.1, covering the Flavian period. The Roman provincial coinage has been well served by the publication of over a dozen catalogues, but the publication of *RPC* VII.1 and the contents of *RPC* IV now on-line deserve a special mention. Byzantine coin studies have resulted in a high level of publication while later medieval publications are numerous not only for western Europe but also increasingly, and welcome, for eastern Europe. Arabic coinages have continued to receive much attention resulting in the many papers cited. Further east there are very valuable sections on publications relating to Sri Lanka, China, and Oceania, but special emphasis was given for the first time to Japan, Vietnam, and India. These areas continue to

Un trait commun aux sections antique, occidentale aussi bien qu'orientale est l'importance donnée aux publications de monnaies isolées et à leur interprétation. Ces publications sont conçues sur un plan local, national ou international. Les monnaies de sites sont cataloguées et analysées de plus en plus fréquemment. Cela a entraîné une collaboration plus étroite avec les archéologues et les historiens ainsi qu'avec des collègues de disciplines telles que les sciences exactes ou l'histoire de l'art. Il semble toutefois apparaître moins d'intérêt dans certains domaines comme celui des analyses ou de la production.

Les études sur la médaille fleurissent et la liste des publications de catalogues de collections ou de corpus de médailleurs passés ou présents est impressionnante. Histoire, art et travaux contemporains sont bien pris en compte, de même que les actes de conférences et les catalogues d'expositions.

En tout, ce *Survey of Numismatic Research 2002-2007* liste plus de 12 000 publications écrites par quelque 4 000 auteurs. Cette masse documentaire est très impressionnante et témoigne de la diversité et de la productivité de nos recherches. Il n'a pas toujours été possible d'inclure toutes les publications récentes et certaines citées auraient mérité d'être passées sous silence. Mais liberté a été laissée aux différents contributeurs du *Survey*. Toutefois il serait sans doute bon que le nouveau Bureau de la CIN se penche sur la fonction, le contenu et l'épaisseur du prochain *Survey*.

Les éditeurs du *Survey* souhaiteraient remercier les responsables des différentes sections et tous les contributeurs pour avoir rendu la parution de ce volume possible et veulent témoigner leur profonde reconnaissance à Sally-Anne Coupar et Elaine Scanlan pour l'avoir mis aux normes éditoriales avant publication.

Les opinions exprimées par les contributeurs ne reflètent pas forcément celles des éditeurs.

develop strongly in terms of research and publication by both foreign and native scholars and seem set to play a much greater role in the subject in future years.

An important feature of the Antiquity and Western sections, and indeed the Oriental section as well, relates to coin finds and their interpretation. Publication after publication deals with finds at local, national and international level. Site groups are being catalogued and analysed with increasing frequency. This has led to collaboration with archaeologists and historians but there is also co-operation with colleagues in many other disciplines from science to art history. Nevertheless there appears to have been a decline in interest in some areas such as analysis and production.

Medallic studies are flourishing and have resulted in an impressive list of publications from catalogues to studies of individual medallists both past and present. History, art and contemporary works are all covered, including conference proceedings and exhibition catalogues.

Overall this *Survey of Numismatic Research 2002-2007* contains over 12,000 publications by some 4,000 authors. This is impressive for any subject and current numismatic study is strong, diverse and productive. It has not been possible to include all recent publications and some are included which might have been omitted. Much has been left to the individual contributors. However it might be appropriate for the new Council of the INC to undertake a review of the function, contents and format of the *Survey*.

The General Editors would like to thank the Subeditors and Contributors for their hard work in making the new *Survey* possible and wish to acknowledge the contribution of Sally-Anne Coupar and Elaine Scanlan to the production editing.

The opinions expressed by contributors are not necessarily those of the editors

## ANTIQUITY

## INTRODUCTION

*Carmen Arnold-Biucchi and Markus Peter*

The last six years have seen a large number of new publications on ancient coins and money. This *Survey* is by definition selective and strives to focus on new finds, new directions in the field of numismatics, methodological approaches that have substantially contributed to our knowledge not only of ancient coins but of ancient history, history of religion and art history in general, or have broadened and changed our point of view. The structure of this section follows that of previous *Survey* volumes with the addition of separate chapters for Greek and Roman imitations and for “Art and Iconography”. Moreover because of the increase in finds on one hand, and because of further in-depth studies, it seemed preferable to deal with Magna Graecia and Sicily, and the Balkans and Black Sea regions and Greece proper separately, and assign them to different experts as was done in the past (*Survey* 1985-1990). Similarly the need for more specific sub-divisions for the Levant, Egypt, the Seleucid empire and the eastern kingdoms of Bactria, Parthia and Elymais has been recognized since the Brussels Congress in 1991, so these regions continue to receive individual attention in this volume.

Nevertheless the growth of publications seems to have slowed down slightly, a development which started several years ago and which is caused not only by restricted budgets of museums and other publishing institutions, but also by changing paradigms in our science: the bright side of this is that numismatics is more than ever embedded in larger contexts; coins are used to shed light on broader historical and/or economical issues. Our knowledge of the material has advanced enough, even for the earlier coinages, that it is at last possible to get away from problems of pure chronology and classification, and to address the broader perspectives. Thus it is not surprising to see a renewed interest in the functions of coinage and money, the impact of coins and monetization on the economy, the semantic message of coins, and in imperial propaganda.

The only real handbook of Greek numismatics is the excellent one by NICOLET-PIERRE (26), while ARNOLD-BIUCCHI (4) offers a brief introduction for students and laymen. The study of money before coinage has continued and progressed with broad analyses such as that by SEAFORD (28). The interest in early electrum coinage and the beginning of coinage has not diminished. The discovery of two *croeseids* in the Sardis excavations in a context securely dated to the capture of the city by Cyrus the Great in 540 BC, now offers a solid fixed point in early Lydian coinage (10).

The surge of comprehensive and interdisciplinary approaches to coins, seems to have resulted in a decrease in mint studies and corpora (though this is in part due to fact that many are still in the works: *Akragas* is now in press, *Katane*, *Leontinoi* and *Selinous* still in progress): the most important published in the past six years are *Segesta* (20), *Naxos and Islands* (29), *Milet* (25) and *Arados hellénistique* (14). The decline of specialized die studies - as time-consuming and tedious as they can be - can be dangerous if the necessary evidence for general conclusions is still missing.

The publication of public and private collections both in the form of the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* and of individual catalogues have continued (see Greece (115) (194) Asia Minor Archaic and Classical (15) (19) (38) (82) (102) (128) (136) and more in other sections). Electronic publications and on-line database such as [www.sylloge-nummorum-graecorum.org](http://www.sylloge-nummorum-graecorum.org) and Asia Minor, Archaic and Classical (27) (29) (114) (124) to cite only some examples, have not replaced the printed book form yet.

The increase of publications of coins from local finds and excavations is one of the most welcome and most useful developments of the past six years: in the Black Sea Region, in Greece, Turkey, the Levant, Egypt, collaborative projects between local and foreign scholars have made available an impressive amount of material. In a similar line of research, bronze coins have received new and welcome attention (see in particular The Ptolemies and The Levant).

The efforts and talents of many scholars have focused on the Hellenistic period and have resulted in some of the most remarkable publications that will remain works of reference for years to come: LE RIDER, *Alexandre le Grand*, also available in English translation, presents the *summa* of the great specialist of the period (22) (23). HOUGHTON and LORBER, *Seleucid Coins I* (18) offers an updated, comprehensive, and user friendly catalogue of Seleucid coinage through Antiochos III, the most important milestone for Greek coinage in the period under review. The masterful *SC I*, as well as the work of LORBER and others on the Ptolemies [see Ptolemies in particular (27-32)]



have set a solid basis on which broader studies on the economy can now rely such as APERGHIS (3), CAPDETREY (11), BINGEN (6) AND VON REDEN (32).

Studies on Celtic coinage have multiplied in recent years. Apart from many publications of new types and several analyses of finds from important sites (Bibracte, 17; Lattes, 27) there is a welcome and necessary emphasis on questions of function, which are addressed with archaeological methods.

Among the numerous recent studies on Roman coinage there are several outstanding contributions treating the monetary history of particular periods in a thorough and multidisciplinary way, like the monographs of WOYTEK (33) and ESTIOT (16). The new RIC II.1 (12) is an important step forward, as is SPOERRI BUTCHER's RPC VII.1 (30). The material of RPC IV is available online and is mentioned here as *pars pro toto* for – at least in many cases – extremely valuable numismatic online databases. Generally research on Roman provincial coinage has progressed in an impressive way, as witnessed by important contributions and congress proceedings (5) (15), see Roman Provincial Coinage).

A useful compilation of Roman literary sources on prices and wages is worth mentioning (31). Remarkable progress has been made in the publication and interpretation of Roman coin finds and their contexts, perhaps even more so concerning site finds from excavations than hoards (2) (7) (21). The last few years have not only shown the potential of this material but also emphasized the evolving problems and the development of the methods necessary to resolve them. In the future it will be particularly important to improve the dissemination and sharing of these results within the numismatic community and beyond.

Iconographic studies have continued to use numismatic evidence. *LIMC* is now preparing a supplement volume, *ThesCRA* is working on its third level. The new project *Lexicon Iconographicum Numismaticae (LIN)* sponsored by the Universities of Messina, Bologna and Milan, aims to put together a method for the analysis of coin types and to compile a common descriptive language. It will need international cooperation to avoid the pitfall of preconceived interpretations (8) (9) (13).

Sadly we lost many eminent colleagues and friends from 2002 to 2007: Herbert A. Cahn (2002), Laura Breglia (2003), Rudi Thomsen (2004), Jirí Sejbal (2004), Ya'akov Meshorer (2004), G. Kenneth Jenkins (2005), Vsevolod Mikailovich Potin (2005), Carmen Alfaro Asins (2005), Philip Grierson (2006), Robert Carson (2006), Ryszard Kiernowski (2006). They will be remembered through their works.

Others have been celebrated in volumes of essays: Tony Hackens in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of his premature death (21) and John H. Kroll (1) on the occasion of his retirement from the University of Texas at Austin.

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## MONETARY INSTRUMENTS IN ANTIQUITY BEFORE COINAGE

John H. Kroll

Since the last Survey, three books have appeared that deal in whole or in large part with the reconstruction of monetary history prior to the advent of coinage. All of them begin with a general account of the nature of money, its definitions and functions, before going on their separate ways. *Aux Origines de la Monnaie* (10) is a collection of four unusually sophisticated essays on primitive money (TESTART), textual and material evidence for money in 3<sup>rd</sup>-millennium Mesopotamia (GLASSNER), textual and visual evidence of money in Pharaonic Egypt (MENU), and fundamentals of early money in China (THIERRY). In his book, SCHAPS (9) argues that the introduction of coinage transformed the economic and social life of ancient Greece; accordingly, his background chapters stress the limitations of monetary activity in the earlier economies of the Near East and Egypt, Mycenaean Greece, the Homeric epics, and even archaic Greece so long as it depended on the Iron-age utensil money of cauldrons and spits. According to Schaps, it was the invention of coinage that was responsible for the Greeks' shift to a money of precious metal and that made it possible for them to emerge from a state of "economic backwardness." The third book, by SEAFORD (8), is also more concerned with the impact of money and coinage (in this case on Greek metaphysical thinking and tragedy) than with monetary history *per se*, but Seaford's impressively-researched discussions of such topics as the economic aspects of Homeric epic and sacrifice, the sacrificial /monetary implements of cauldrons and spits, problems presented by the earliest coins, and the fiduciary aspect in Greek coinages, are exemplary.

Exemplary also is NICOLET-PIERRE's chapter on money before coinage (5), important especially for its detailed survey of the textual, epigraphical, and archaeological evidence for the role of spits, cauldrons, and axes in Greek monetary development. Her consideration of the word *talenton* in Homer (6) likewise explores the full range of written and archaeological sources, including the enigmatic gold disks from Schliemann's Grave-Circle at Mycenae, for understanding the possible range of its meanings. With reference to certain texts in Linear B, SACCONI (7) argues that the Mycenaeans employed units of grain as a notational measure of value for accounting purposes and weighed ingots of bronze as a means of exchange both within the local economy and in external trade. IBÁÑEZ ARTICA (2) reviews from an anthropological perspective the diverse social and practical monetary functions of value objects in certain island cultures of the Pacific and suggests that they may assist interpretation of the analogous use of such objects in Homer.

In an article-length analysis of the single Greek word, *argyronetos*, "bought with silver", DESCAT (1) argues that the term, used to describe slaves on Chios, has far-reaching economic consequences since it should derive from a time when the slave trade had become newly monetized and specifically involved silver as the exchange medium. KNAPP (3) notes that Greek mercenary employment in the Near East probably played a major role in the transmission of Eastern cultural practices, like the use of silver money, to Greece in the early Archaic period. In a short survey, KROLL (4) traces the development of metal money from weighed bullion in the Near East to the striking of electrum coins in Western Asia Minor.

Several recent papers pertain specifically to hoards of bullion and its monetary use. KIM (13) publishes a hoard of 6 ingots and 26 cut ingot fragments of electrum, along with a table of their gold/silver composition obtained by XRF analysis. The origin and date of the lot are uncertain, as the two electrum coins alleged to have been found with the bullion are identified as modern forgeries. KROLL AND HEATH (17) publish the lot of 60 surviving pieces of cut-silver from the Taranto 1911 hoard, and KROLL (16) and VAN ALFEN (20) publish and discuss three mixed hoards of silver cake ingots, coins, and cut-silver fragments from late 5<sup>th</sup>- and 4<sup>th</sup>-century BC Egypt.

Two comprehensive surveys of the 23 Iron-Age hoards of silver bullion found in Palestine appeared independently in 2003, one by KLETTER (14), the other by THOMPSON (19), who stresses that most of these assemblages were of silver that had been contained in sealed bags. Kletter's reluctance to recognize this silver as "money" is corrected by GITIN AND GOLANI (12) and by SILVER (18), with an emphasis on the routine handing of money in sealed bags after, as well as before, the advent of coinage. In a follow-up, KLETTER (15) notes some serious weaknesses in Thompson's analysis, including her linkage of sealed bags of silver with the "invention of coinage".

In studies of Mesopotamian textual documentation, VARGYAS (21) collates ten centuries of prices expressed in silver as a standard of value and, in a significant chapter on silver terminology, discusses levels of fineness, silver used in trade, coined vs. uncoined silver, and the like. GARFINKLE (11) and WIDELL (23) note the monetary role of silver in documents pertaining to the lending of money and the exchange of goods in the late 3<sup>rd</sup>-millennium. VARGYAS (22) explains that the unlikely notion that the Assyrian King Sennacherib cast half-shekel coins results from a misreading.

Fundamental to all of this economic activity involving weighed metals and other commodities are the tools of measurement: balance scales and weights. Recent years have witnessed an unprecedented surge of scholarly interest in the weights and weight systems of the Bronze-Age Aegean and the Near East, stimulated in large part by several international conferences on Bronze-Age metallurgy, economy, and mensuration. The field is covered most comprehensively in the published papers of the metrological conference held in Rome in 2002 (26): the contributions of fourteen scholars treat balance weights or relevant texts from Mari, Ebla, Jericho, Ugarit, and Cyprus in the East, Troy, Akrotiri (Thera), Mochlos (Crete), Vaphio/Sparta, and Thebes in the Aegean, and Sardinia in the West.

In other studies, the 149 balance weights from the ca. 1300 BC Uluburun shipwreck off the SW coast of Turkey (34) and the 198 weights from the American excavations at Nippur, Mesopotamia (27), are published for the first time, in both cases in model studies. ALBERTI (24), ALBERTI AND PARISE (25), and MEDEROS AND LAMBERG-KARLOVSKY (30) explore the ratios and mechanisms of convertibility that allowed various regional weight systems to function together in a broadly international *koine*. In a wide-ranging discussion based on textual and etymological indications in Mesopotamia that metal axes were sometimes used as money, MICHAILIDOU (32) conjectures that the miniature gold axes and the sheet copper axe head cutouts dedicated in 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium Cretan sanctuaries may also have functioned as gifts for services if not as an exchange medium. Relevant here is the fact that *pelekus* (double-axe) survived as the name of a weight value in archaic Crete and Cyprus (see 5). The private collection of balance weights catalogued by HENDIN (28) has now been donated to the Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem.

Although from a much later time, the lead weight published by MEYER AND MORENO (31) calls for special mention. It is stamped with a composite device of an Athenian owl standing on a tuna fish, the civic device of Cyzicus, attesting apparently to an amalgamation of the market weight systems of these two cities, probably in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century.

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# LA PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA

*Pere P. Ripollès*

El período cronológico de esta crónica abarca desde el inicio de la moneda hasta la muerte de César. La cantidad y variedad de los estudios publicados durante 2002-2007 se han mantenido en los niveles de los períodos anteriores. Se han celebrado tres Congresos Nacionales de Numismática, de los que se han publicado las actas de dos de ellos, dedicados a la producción monetaria (Zaragoza, 2002) y a los sistemas monetarios y metroológicos (Madrid-Segovia, 2004). También ha tenido lugar el III Encuentro Peninsular de Numismática Antigua (Osuna, 2003) cuya temática ha versado sobre la epigrafía monetaria. Durante este sexenio hemos lamentado la desaparición de ALFARO (2005) y de BELTRÁN (2006), dos activos investigadores que nos han legado notables aportaciones al conocimiento de las emisiones antiguas de la Península Ibérica.

## **Catálogos de colecciones**

El apartado de catálogos de colecciones ha sido bastante fructífero. Se ha publicado el contenido de algunas de las más importantes del mundo. La mayor parte de ellas se han publicado dentro de la serie *SNG*. En 2002 PUREFOY y MEADOWS (88) publicaron la colección del British Museum. En 2003 se presentó el volumen de la colección de G. D. Lorichs (RCC de Estocolmo) redactado por RIPOLLÈS (91). En 2004 ALFARO (3) continuó con la publicación de la segunda parte de las monedas de las ciudades fenio-púnicas. En 2005, ARÉVALO (13) publicó las emisiones de las ciudades del área meridional con escritura indígena, y RIPOLLÈS (93) la colección de la Bibliothèque nationale de France. Recientemente ha sido publicada la colección de monedas de bronce de M. Bar (103). Por último, LÓPEZ (64) ha coordinado la del Museo de Cádiz.

## **Estudios generales**

Como obras de carácter estrictamente general sólo cabe destacar la reedición corregida y actualizada del libro de VILLARONGA *Numismática antigua de Hispania* (113). Pero la lista de los de menor amplitud es larga. Podemos incluir algunos relacionados con el inicio y desarrollo de la monetización en los diversos territorios de la Península Ibérica. RIPOLLÈS (92, 95) y CAMPO (24) han valorado el uso de la plata a peso como un estadio previo y necesario de la adopción de la moneda. Sobre el uso y función de la moneda se han publicado bastantes trabajos: CHAVES (35) ha indagado sobre la moneda pre-imperial; MORA (78) ha focalizado su atención sobre el uso de la moneda en las ciudades fenicio-púnicas de la Península Ibérica y GARCÍA-BELLIDO (56-57) sobre el impacto de Roma y de su moneda sobre las emisiones hispanas. Las investigaciones sobre fiscalidad han sido escasas y sólo cabe señalar el excelente trabajo de NACO (81), en el que desvela cómo y de qué forma se efectuaron las exacciones fiscales. La vertiente de la función ritual y religiosa de la moneda han sido aspectos tratados por diversos investigadores; CAMPO (28) ha indagado sobre el caso de la isla de Ebusus (siglos III a.C. - I d.C.).

Los diseños de las emisiones hispanas desde la perspectiva de su significado como emblemas de estado y como una forma más de comunicación inmersa dentro del ámbito iconográfico mediterráneo han sido los enfoque, que han presentado CHAVES (29), BELTRÁN (16) y ARÉVALO (11). Dentro de su línea de investigación sobre iconografía Chaves ha publicado un estudio sobre las cabezas galeadas en la amonedación hispana (36)

## **Metalografía, metrología y epigrafía**

Más modestos han sido los avances en el campo del conocimiento de los metales utilizados por las emisiones antiguas de la Península Ibérica. RAMÓN (89) ha publicado análisis de divisores de bronce cartagineses, procedentes del tesoro de La Escuera. DOMÍNGUEZ (42) se ha centrado en las acuñaciones de Bolskan, de las que publica numerosos resultados que comprenden todos los tipos acuñados por esta ciudad. Una selección de las monedas halladas en el poblado minero de La Loba, procedentes de diversas cecas (Arekorata Sekaiza Belikio, Bolskan, Kelse, Sekia, Tabaniu, Titum, Castulo, Obulco, Ilipa, Ulia ) han sido analizadas y los resultados publicados por CHAVES, OTERO y GÓMEZ (31), proporcionando nueva información en unos casos y en otros reafirmando el panorama que ya se conocía a través de otros análisis previos.

La metrología ha sido un aspecto de la moneda que ha sido estudiado en todos los trabajos de carácter monográfico, pero los trabajos de MORA (74), GARCÍA-BELLIDO (56) y VILLARONGA (115) ofrecen panorámicas, más o menos amplias, de los sistemas de peso utilizados por diferentes cecas de la Península Ibérica. Sobre el

sistema de fraccionamiento y las marcas de valor léxicas en las monedas ibéricas FERRER (48) ha realizado una aproximación en la que de forma coherente explica e interrelaciona buena parte de ellas. GARCÍA-BELLIDO (53, 55) también ha dedicado atención a los primeros testimonios metrológicos y monetales en el sur de la Península Ibérica y en Extremadura, mediante el estudio de los ponderales de Cerro del Villar (Guadalorce), para cuyo fraccionamiento encuentra paralelos en la metrología focea, y de Cancho Ruano (Badajoz), que vincula con el comercio fenicio.

Los estudios sobre epigrafía monetar son bastante numerosos, en parte debido a que el *III EPNA* fue dedicado a este tema. En lo que concierne a las escrituras pre-latinas, CORREA (37) ha valorado las formas lingüísticas de los topónimos monetales y BELTRÁN (16) se ha centrado en la consideración del papel que desempeñaron las leyendas y los diseños como exponentes de la diversidad cultural de la Península. Por lo que respecta a cecas concretas VELAZA (107) ha estudiado las leyendas monetales de Arse-Saguntum y DE HOZ (41) las de Ikalesken. VALLADOLID (106) ha continuado con el análisis de la evolución de los signos ibéricos, en este caso la variante más antigua del grafema ibérico KE. Como viene siendo habitual y con una periodicidad casi semestral, FARIA (44) ha continuado con la publicación de sus comentarios sobre onomástica y toponimia paleo-hispánicas.

La epigrafía monetar latina ha suscitado un menor interés. MORA (73) ha dedicado su atención a valoración de los cambios formales que se registran en las leyendas monetales, como indicadores de la datación de las monedas. La inconsistencia epigráfica de las leyendas de las monedas de Carissa han sido recopiladas por ARÉVALO (12) y GARCÍA RIAZA (51) ha valorado la introducción de las leyendas en las monedas de Ebusus a comienzos del siglo I a.C.

### **Emisiones griegas**

Entre los pocos trabajos dedicados a las emisiones griegas destacan los libros de VILLARONGA (109, 111) sobre las emisiones ampuritanas de fines del siglo III a.C. y del siglo II a.C., que cierran una serie de cinco volúmenes dedicados a las cecas de Rhode y Emporion y sus imitaciones ibéricas y galas. CAMPO (25) ha publicado una aproximación a la función que las monedas de las colonias griegas de Iberia y además ha estudiado la producción de Rhode y su dispersión (27). Como complemento a estos trabajos, PENA (85) ha incidido sobre la identidad de los retratos femeninos de las dracmas.

### **Púnicas**

Los trabajos relacionados con las emisiones del mundo fenicio-púnico se han ralentizado, sin duda se nota la desaparición de ALFARO. Las aportaciones más relevantes se refieren a las emisiones cartaginesas en la Península y su ordenación (VOLK 117-118). También se han publicado trabajos de recopilación y estudio de algunas cecas, como Gadir (105), Sacili (18-19) o las monedas catalogadas como inciertas púnicas (102). Una visión general de los diseños de las emisiones púnicas ha sido publicado por MORA (72).

### **Ibéricas y celtibéricas**

Los estudios dedicados a las emisiones ibéricas y celtibéricas son, como siempre, bastante numerosos e incluyen algunos estudios monográficos. RIPOLLÈS y LLORENS (98), con la colaboración de otros investigadores, han publicado la ceca de Arse-Saguntum y RIPOLLÈS (96) la de Saitabi. La ceca de Ilturir también cuenta con una monografía realizada por FUENTES (49). Aunque cada vez de forma menos frecuente todavía se descubren nuevas cecas, como la de *Labini* que publicó VILLARONGA (114), o nuevos tipos monetarios, como el de la ceca de Alaun por Cores & Cores. Otros focos de interés han sido la localización de algunas cecas, como la de Turiazu (52), Iltirke (86), Ikalesken (66) o Labini (45, 101); la cronología de las emisiones de plata de Ikalesken (VOLK 116); la producción de la ceca de Turiazu (GOZALBES 60) o el estudio de la emisión bilingüe de Kelse (HURTADO y RIPOLLÈS (63). PADRÓS (84) se ha interesado por los vínculos existentes entre las cecas ibéricas y las fundaciones tardo-republicanas en el área catalana. De las emisiones tardías de la Celtiberia se ha ocupado AMELA (6).

Sobre monetización y uso de la moneda se han publicado los trabajos de GOZALBES (60) sobre Turiazu y de OTERO (82) sobre Arekorata. La función del denario ibérico ha sido un tema que ha generado algunos estudios. BELTRÁN (17) ha retomado y actualizado este tema. También LÓPEZ (65) ha tratado de explicar las emisiones de denarios celtibéricos en relación con el pago a las tropas auxiliares de Roma.



A pesar de que los diseños de las emisiones de la Citerior tuvieron poca variedad, sin embargo algunos siguen generando un vivo debate, como es el caso de la identidad y significado del retrato masculino y el jinete con lanza o palma, sobre el que ALMAGRO (4), ARÉVALO (10) y GOZALBES (61) han publicado el estado de la cuestión y sus puntos de vista. También han sido analizados otros diseños, como el lobo de Iltirta (GIRAL 58) y el de Iltiraka (MOZAS 80). También VILLARONGA (112) ha tratado de secuenciar las imágenes galeadas de la ceca de Untikesken.

### **Latinas de la Ulterior**

Los estudios sobre las amonedaciones latinas de la Ulterior se han centrado preferentemente en el estudio de cecas, todas ellas con un volumen de producción relativamente modesto. BLANCO y SÁEZ (20) y FERRER y PLIEGO (47) se han ocupado de Baicipo, MORA (77) de Cunbaria, ARÉVALO (12) de Carisa, CHAVES (30) de Laelia, CORZO (39) de Lacipo y AMELA (7) de Corduba. En el ámbito de los diseños RODRÍGUEZ (100) ha indagado en el posible significado de las figuras de las emisiones latinas de la Ulterior.

### **Sudlusitanas**

La ceca portuguesa de Salacia viene siendo objeto de esporádicos estudios, en este caso CORREA (38) ha profundizado sobre las emisiones con leyendas en escritura prelatina, dentro de su contexto regional, y AMELA (5) lo ha hecho sobre las más recientes; ambos trabajos incluyen comentarios sobre otras cecas de Hispania occidental.

### **Hallazgos y circulación monetaria**

Como viene siendo costumbre las publicaciones sobre hallazgos monetarios y circulación monetaria son las más numerosas. Por lo que se refiere a los tesoros no se han publicado muchos que sean inéditos, ya que bastantes estudios retoman antiguas ocultaciones (8, 23, 89, 90, 104, 117-118). Del siglo IV a.C. VILLARONGA (110) ha publicado el tesoro de Empordà. De finales del siglo III a.C. se han dado a conocer dos nuevos tesoros, CRUSAFONT (40) el de Ribera d'Ebre y RIPOLLÈS (94) el de Orpesa la Vella. Del siglo II son los tesoros del Francolí y de la calle Sagunt (Valencia) que han publicado VILLARONGA (108) y RIPOLLÈS (90). El siglo I a.C. ha continuado aportando nuevas e interesantes ocultaciones para conocer el aprovisionamiento y la composición de la masa monetaria, en mayor medida durante la época de las guerras sertorianas. Destacan el de la calle Salvador (Valencia) publicado por RIPOLLÈS (90), el que RODRÍGUEZ (99) ha rescatado de la documentación de la Real Academia de la Historia y el que CHAVES (33) ha estudiado procedente de Extremadura.

Los trabajos sobre hallazgos esporádicos son los más numerosos y no es posible dar una relación completa de todos ellos, sino sólo de los más relevantes. Entre ellos podemos citar la atención dedicada a los hallazgos foráneos, sobre los cuales ARÉVALO (9) ha publicado la recopilación de los griegos y ALFARO (2) los púnicos; también han tratado este tema ARIAS (15) para la zona de Murcia, GARCÍA (50) para los siglos III-I a.C. y PADRINO (83) en relación a la Isla de Ebusus. ABASCAL y ALBEROLA (1) han publicado con todo detalle los hallazgos de la ciudad de Ilici. PLIEGO (87) ha dado a conocer un conjunto monetario cartaginés hallado en El Gandul. MEDRANO (71) ha publicado los hallazgos en un campamento atribuido a Q. Sertorius. La zona catalana ha visto incrementada la información con las publicaciones de los hallazgos de Cabrera de Mar (68-69) y de Mas Castellar (24). También CAMPO (26) ha estudiado la circulación monetaria en la zona de Ullastret. Los hallazgos de la zona de la Meseta Norte han sido recopilados y estudiados por BLÁZQUEZ (21-22). Pero de todas las regiones de la Península Andaluza es con la que se relacionan más trabajos de hallazgos y circulación monetaria, como los de CHAVES y OTERO (32), MORA (75, 77), MADRIGAL y OTERO (67) y GOZALBES CRAVIOTO (59).

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# MAGNA GRAECIA

Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert

## Einleitung

Die *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) hat das Interesse an den kleinen Prägestätten belebt. Die Diskussion der letzten Jahre konzentrierte sich daher auf die Prägungen des 4. und 3. Jahrhunderts, zumal die beiden Hortfunde von San Martino in Pensilis und vom Monte Bibele Anlaß gaben, die Chronologie gerade dieses Zeitraumes zu überprüfen. Die archaischen und frühklassischen Serien traten demgegenüber in den Hintergrund. Ein wichtiges Thema bildete ferner der im kampanischen Fundgut belegte Zustrom großer Mengen von Bronzemünzen von der Insel Ebusus und aus Massalia im späten 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Diese fremden Münzen wurden in Mittelitalien nicht nur als Kurant akzeptiert, sondern regional auch kopiert: Die Münzgeschichte der Magna Graecia verzeichnet ein unerwartetes Nachspiel.

## Handbücher und Materialpublikationen

An reinen Materialvorlagen ist zuerst zu nennen PARENTES *SNG France*, die die einschlägigen Bestände des Pariser Kabinetts mustergültig publiziert (84). Aus italienischen Museen liegen jetzt Kataloge aus Arezzo (118) und Biassono (5) vor. Hinzu kommt der Katalog einer Ausstellung in Castelfranco Emilia, die regionale Bestände, darunter den Hortfund von Monte Bibele, erfaßte (37). MANFREDIS Katalog punischer Münzen in italienischen Sammlungen läßt mit der nötigen Vorsicht Rückschlüsse auf die lokale Verbreitung dieser Serien zu (68). GARGANO publizierte zwei Sammlungen, die den Münzumschlag in Kaulonia (42) und Vibo Valentia (43) erhellen, BERGAMINI die etruskischen Münzen aus der gestohlenen Sammlung Casuccini (14) und ATTIANESE eine vorwiegend im Münzhandel zusammengetragene Spezialsammlung von Münzen aus Petelia (10).

Auf dem Feld der Fundpublikationen stand Pompei im Zentrum des Interesses. Neben den Fundvorlagen einzelner *insulae* (2, S. 409-434), Straßenzüge (98; 99; 122) und bestimmter Grabungsabschnitte (55; 56) findet man methodische Überlegungen, so zur statistischen Auswertung (112; 115, S. 111-166) und zur Verortungssystematik (102). Die meisten Fundmünzen aus Pompei sind naturgemäß römische, doch man konnte gerade in den letzten Jahren wiederholt auf Münzen von Ebusus stoßen (2; 55; 56; 96). Diese gehören einem vorsullanischen Fundhorizont an, in dem sich Bronzemünzen von Massalia, Panormos und Ebusus mit italischen Nachahmungen dieser Serien mischen; ein Hort aus Pompei selbst hat den Befund nochmals bestätigt (96). STANNARD hat dem Phänomen zwei eingehende Studien gewidmet (109; 110). Die Gründe für diesen Währungszustrom liegen zwar noch im Dunkeln, doch es zeichnet sich ab, daß die Münzen von Ebusus um 120 v. Chr. *en bloc* in den mittelitalischen Münzumschlag eingeführt wurden, während jene von Massalia und Panormos über einen längeren Zeitraum hinweg eingesickert sein dürften. Laut STANNARD machen die italischen Nachahmungen rund 50% des Materials aus; der Bedarf für derartiges Kleingeld war groß. Die Urheber dieser Nachahmungen operierten schwerlich ohne eine staatliche Duldung; STANNARD vermutet die Prägestätten in Latium und Kampanien.

Über die Fundvorlagen aus alten und laufenden Grabungen kann nur kursorisch berichtet werden. Von der tyrrhenischen Küste gibt es Berichte aus Poseidonia (32; 35), Neapolis (24), Teanum (48) und Velia (75), aus Norditalien liegen Berichte aus Mantua (116), dem Veneto (53) und den Polesine (51) vor. Von der Adriaküste erreichen uns Notizen aus Ravenna (85), ein Bericht über Funde in der Provinz Bari (31) und eine Revision der Hortfunde mit messapischen Prägungen (105). Aus dem antiken Kalabrien haben wir eine Übersicht der Hortfunde aus dem Raum Tarent (116), eine Erörterung der Münzfunde aus den tarentinischen Nekropolen (54) sowie einen Bericht zu den Funden aus Gravina (69, S. 68 ff.). Am meisten tut sich derzeit an der Spitze des Stiefels: Neben ARSLANS ausführlichem Bericht über die Fundmünzen aus Kroton (7) – allerdings ohne diejenigen aus dem Heiligtum der Hera Lacinia, die nur als statistische Vergleichsgrößen herangezogen werden – stehen GARGANOS Fundberichte aus Kaulonia (40) und aus dem Territorium der Tauriani (44), namentlich aus Castellace (45). Ferner liegen Fundnotizen aus Sybaris (79), Skyllition (100) und Metapont/Siris (106) vor. Da ich hier nur Weniges hervorheben kann, will ich auf das Astragalgewicht à 50,12 g aus Kroton aufmerksam machen, das die Inschrift ΣΤΑΘΠΕΣ III trägt, also am ehesten drei Tetradrachma von Syrakus entsprach (7, p. 108 Nr. 425) und auf den im Heiligtum von Francavilla Marittima entdeckten Vertreter einer bisher unbekannten Kleinsilbermünze von Sybaris (à la *HN*<sup>3</sup> 1739) (79, p. 15 Nr. 5). Wie gewohnt verzeichnen die Fundorte an der nördlichen Adria Münzen aus Illyrien, Epirus und Akarnanien, diejenigen im Bruttium und an der Ionischen Küste sizilische Münzen.

Erwähnenswert sind die Münzen Prusias' II. in Gravina (69), Ptolemaios' II. in Kaulonia (40) sowie mutmaßlich von Methana in Castellace (45).

Eigens hinweisen möchte ich auf Studien zu Münzfunden in Gräbern (Charonsoboloi): Wie früher schon liefern die Nekropolen von Poseidonia und Tarent das Hauptmaterial (26; 32; 54). Für die kultischen Funktionen von Münzen sind ferner die Funde in Heiligtümern von Interesse (7; 35; 48; 79), hierzu sind auch die beiden Hortfunde aus den keltischen Heiligtümern von Castelfranco Emilia und vom Monte Bibele zu zählen, von denen noch die Rede sein wird. Die italischen Quellopferfunde hat FACCHINETTI untersucht (38).

Münzen der Magna Graecia tauchen nur selten außerhalb Italiens auf, daher sei auf den Stater von Kroton hingewiesen, der bei Vičja Luka auf der Insel Brač gefunden wurde (15, Nr. 52). Chronologisch bedeutsam ist die Drachme der Lukanioi (*HN*<sup>3</sup> 2680), die in dem frühhellenistischen Hortfund von Palaiopoli auf Korfu auftauchte; ROBINSONS Zeitanatz dieser Prägung wurde damit glänzend bestätigt (93). *Aes rude* und italische Münzen aus Grabungen in Sardinien vermeldet POLOSA (92).

SPAGNOLI und TALIERCIO MENSITIERI legen in einem Sammelband fünf Hortfunde vor, die im Museum von Reggio Calabria liegen (108). MARRAZZO legte den Fund aus der Via Oberdan in Tarent (*IGCH* 1902) (71) und PERRI den Hortfund von Curinga (*IGCH* 1881) (90) vor; bei letzterem ergab sich, daß das Vergrabungsdatum um ca. 35 Jahre abzusenken ist. PARISE nahm sich anhand bisher unberücksichtigt gebliebener Unterlagen der Soprintendenza den ‚Hort von Crotone‘ (*IGCH* 1898) nochmals vor (89); er bestätigt die Einschätzung, daß die beiden separat aufgetauchten Ensembles Bestandteile eines einzigen Fundes waren. Davon unabhängig vertritt GARRAFFO (46, p. 475) in dieser Frage eine skeptischere Position. MANGIERI verglich den Hort von Altamura (*IGCH* 1923) mit Streufunden aus Gravina (69, S. 59-63). DOEPNER ging im Rahmen einer religionsgeschichtlichen Studie auf die beiden Hortfunde aus dem Bezirk des Athenatempels von Poseidonia (*IGCH* 1876 und 1925) ein (35, S. 99. 232 Nr. 8). SILBERSTEIN TREVISANI erörterte zwei Funde in Reggio Calabria (107): den altbekannten Fund aus Motta San Giovanni (*IGCH* 2013, *RRCH* 80), und ein Ensemble von 732 Bronzemünzen, das 1915 auf der Pza. Mezzacapo in Reggio Calabria gefunden wurde; ausweislich einer Münze der Mamertinoi stammt es aus dem frühen 2. Jahrhundert. PARENTE unterzog den Fund aus dem keltischen Heiligtum von Castelfranco Emilia (*CH* II 77) einer Revision und korrigierte dabei ältere Angaben (85). Während sie dazu neigt, dem Ensemble einen Hortcharakter zuzusprechen, und es dementsprechend für Kontakte nach Sizilien auswerten möchte, sprach VISONÀ ihm rundweg jede Bedeutung ab: Das sei kein geschlossener Hort, sondern lediglich eine Ansammlung von Streufunden (119, p. 485).

An neu bekanntgewordenen Hortfunden vermeldet der Band *Coin Hoards IX* lediglich den Hort vom Monte Bibele und zwei Funde aus Strongoli (72, Nrn. 653, 675-676). Der Hort aus dem keltischen Heiligtum am Monte Bibele wurde von AMANDRY vorgelegt (3): ein Ensemble aus 16 kampanischen und römischen Didrachmen, niedergelegt kurz vor der Einführung des Denars. Als entscheidend für die Chronologie des mittleren 3. Jahrhunderts hat sich der Hortfund erwiesen, der 1994 bei San Martino in Pensilis an der Adriaküste geborgen wurde. BURNETT und VITALE wiesen auf seine Bedeutung hin (18, p. 169; 120), und BURNETT hat ihn dann nochmals eingehend untersucht (19): Der Fund bietet einen repräsentativen Querschnitt durch die süditalischen, kampanischen und römischen Silberprägungen aus der 1. Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts und schließt damit eine große Lücke, da es zwischen dem Pyrrhoskrieg und dem II. Punischen Krieg kaum etwas Entsprechendes gibt. Erstmals ist hier ein Vertreter der ΠΙΣΤΙΣ-Serie von Lokroi Epizephyrioi in einem Hortfund aufgetaucht. Chronologisch bedeutsam ist der Fund jedoch namentlich für die Serien von Neapolis, Teanum, Cales und Suessa, vor allem aber für die frühe Didrachmenprägung von Rom; die Zeitspanne zwischen der 1. und der 2. Prägegruppe (*RRC* 13/1 und 15/1) scheint viel länger zu sein als bisher angenommen, und was noch wichtiger ist, die folgenden Prägegruppen (*RRC* 20 ff.) können erst nach der Verbergung des Fundes 250/40 v. Chr. eingesetzt haben.

## Chronologie

Trotz Fortschritten gibt es keinen Konsens bei der Chronologie von Tarent. GARRAFFO (46) und PARISE (89) vertreten eine niedrige Chronologie, BURNETT wirbt für die Beibehaltung des Enddatums von EVANS' *period V* um 300 v. Chr. (18, p. 164). Gegen die konservative Chronologie FISCHER-BOSSERT's polemisiert GARRAFFO (46). Zwangsläufig muß allen von der tarentinischen Chronologie abhängigen Theorien Unverbindlichkeit anhaften. Das gilt für ZIESMANN's Versuch, die Chronologie der Pegasoi von Ambrakia anhand italischer Hortfunde zu verfeinern (124, S. 157-172. 236-242). Auch die Deutung jener Hortfunde aus den Jahren, als Alexander der Molosser in Italien Krieg führte, ist noch mit Unsicherheiten belastet (113; 121). Die Absenkung der Keramikchronologie, die HEMPEL auch aus Münzfunden der tarentinischen Nekropolen ableitete, stützt sich immerhin zu großen Teilen auf

römische Münzen (55). Inzwischen wird eher die Fundkeramik zur Datierung der Charonsoboloi herangezogen als umgekehrt, eine Entwicklung, auf die HORSNÆS anlässlich der revidierten Chronologie der frühhellenistischen Serien von Poseidonia/Paestum aufmerksam machte (58). Gewiß tragfähig ist MACDONALD'S Feststellung, daß der Strom von Pegasoi nach Sizilien nichts mit Subsidien für Timoleons Feldzüge zu tun hat, sondern das Ergebnis von Getreidelieferungen ins Mutterland darstellt (66).

Die archaischen und frühklassischen Prägeserien wurden selten untersucht. Hervorzuheben sind eine mit Stilkritik erzielte Gliederung der Prägungen von Sybaris (13), Überlegungen zur Gewichtsnorm der inkusen Serien von Poseidonia (16) und RUTTER'S Bemerkungen zu Einflüssen auf die Münzprägung von Velia (101). BURNETT zeichnet den Niedergang der griechischen Münzprägung in der Magna Graecia nach (18).

## **Metrologie**

In einer Vorlage etruskischer Gewichte ging MAGGIANI auf etruskische Münzstandards ein (67). DE MONACO erörterte den Begriff Nommos in den Bronzetafeln von Lokroi (75). PARISE (88) und BROUSSEAU (16) befaßten sich mit der Gewichtsnorm der inkusen Münzen von Poseidonia; während PARISE sie mit dem euböischen Fuß in Verbindung bringen wollte, stellte BROUSSEAU fest, daß sie unterhalb des achäischen Standards liegt.

## **Epigraphik**

Der zweite Band von DUBOIS' Handbuch der italischen Dialektinschriften bietet einen nützlichen Kommentar zu Münzlegenden (36). Sprachgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu etruskischen Münzlegenden lieferten MARAS (70) und MORANDI (76). Auf oskische Münzlegenden ging RIX ein (96). Einen Abriß des Wechselverhältnisses zwischen dem griechisch-oskischen *bilinguismo*, hybriden Stadtnamen und *types parlants* findet man bei POCETTI (91).

## **Ikonographie**

Ein von CACCAMO CALTABIANO *et al.* edierter Sammelband widmet sich ikonographischen Problemen sizilischer Münzen (21) und kommt dabei auch auf Münzen der Magna Graecia zu sprechen: in der Deutungsfrage reitender Heroen auf Tarent (20; 27), bei den Heraklestaten auf Herakleia in Lukanien (25), anlässlich der *types parlants* (91) und der Darstellungen von Tintenfischen (95) auf eine Vielzahl italischer Prägungen. Die Tierdarstellungen reizen immer wieder zu neuen Anläufen: PARENTE studierte den religiösen Subtext der Tierbilder des *Aes Grave* (86), BARRITTA den Stier auf den Münzen von Sybaris und Thurioi (12), CARROCCIO den Stier auf Münzen von Rhegion (28), POCETTI den Stier der Italiker (91). Dem 'totemistischen' *type parlant* des lukanischen Wolfes ging CAPPELLETTI nach (26). Bei den mythologischen Themen ist das Interesse verhalten. CASTRIZIO erörterte Darstellungen behelmter Heroen (30); PARENTE ging in einem Beitrag, der den Handelskontakten zwischen der illyrischen und der italischen Adriaküste gewidmet ist, auf ikonographische Anleihen aus dem Mutterland ein (82); SAVIO diskutierte die italischen Münzdarstellungen der Dioskurenkappe (102). Numismatische Zeugnisse für die Zeuskulte Italiens findet man bei VONDERSTEIN zusammengestellt (123). MESSERSCHMIDT erörterte im Rahmen einer Studie zu politischen Personifikationen die Darstellung der *dea Roma* auf Münzen von Lokroi Epizephyrioi (73, S. 141-159), und PAPADOPOULOS interpretierte zahlreiche archaische Münzbilder der Magna Graecia als Zeugnisse einer Identitätssuche der Kolonisten und leitete manche von spätbronzezeitlichen Vorläufern ab (80).

## **Regionen**

Für Etrurien ist neben dem Nachtrag zur *HN*<sup>3</sup> von CRAWFORD (33) ein Kolloquiumsbeitrag von ARNOLD-BIUCCHI (4) von Interesse, der konvergente Phänomene in der zyprischen und der etruskischen Münzprägung beleuchtet.

Mittelitalien und die tyrrhenische Küste waren Gegenstand zahlreicher Studien. BALDUS lokalisiert die Offizin einer Serie karthagischer Großbronzen in Mittelitalien (11), FREY-KUPPER führt die Verbreitung einiger kampanischer und apulischer Prägungen in Sizilien auf Feldzüge des I. Punischen Krieges zurück (39), und LIPPI befaßt sich mit den kampanischen Prägungen des frühen 3. Jahrhunderts, die einen Hahn auf der Rückseite tragen (64).

An der Adriaküste interessierten die Beziehungen zu Dalmatien und Illyrien; insbesondere die Signaturen Dazios und Pyllös in Arpi und Salapia gaben zu Überlegungen Anlaß (39; 81; 82; 83). Zwischen GORINI (50) und



VISONÀ (119) kam es in der Frage, ob man die Belege syrakusanischer Bronzemünzen in Norditalien und entlang der Ostküste im Sinne einer Zirkulation interpretieren dürfe, zu einer Kontroverse; GORINI neigt dazu, während VISONÀ die Überlieferung zum Ausgreifen Dionysios' I. zur Adria deutlich skeptischer beurteilt.

Schließlich die ionische Küste. Hurter (60) veröffentlichte einen Stater von Tarent und erörterte die Reihenfolge der tarentinischen Gruppen im Jahrzehnt 340/30. Giovanelli et al. stellten fest, daß es sich bei dem typologisch hybriden Stater Fischer-Bossert 760 um ein (antikes) Bleifalsum handelt (47); sämtliche Überlegungen, die man Fischer-Bossert und zuletzt Garraffo (47, p. 480 f.) daran knüpften, sind hinfällig. Beim Vergleich des Prägeausstoßes großer Poleis gelangte de Callatay zu der Einschätzung, daß Tarent weniger finanzkräftig war als man es vermutet hatte (34, p. 80 f.). Die Münzstätte Samadi lokalisierten Campo und Lazzarini bei Orra (22). Siciliano lokalisierte die Prägeserie mit der Legende ΟΡΣΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ in Lukanien (104). Aufsehen erregte die Entdeckung der Offizin von Laos in der Festung Marcellina (23; 61, S. 106-108); der Prägestätte Laos schreibt Brousseau die Exilprägung von Sybaris III zu (17). Die Ursache der weiten Verbreitung der sizilischen Kainon-Prägung im Bruttium erörterte Holloway (57). Die erwähnte Kontroverse zwischen Gorini und Visonà erstreckt sich auch auf eine Serie von Stateren, die gemeinhin nach Lokroi Epizephyrioi gewiesen wird; Gorini möchte sie einer in Lokroi hausenden Söldnertruppe zuschreiben, wenn nicht gar nach Syrakus legen (50), während Visonà an der üblichen Deutung festhält (119, p. 483 f.)

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## SICILIA

Suzanne Frey-Kupper

### Note preliminari, indirizzi di ricerca e studi in corso

La presente rassegna, dedicata alla ricerca numismatica sulla Sicilia antica, comporta una selezione degli scritti più importanti apparsi dal 2002 al 2007. Una bibliografia più ampia è peraltro accessibile sul sito <http://www.zebre.ch/sfk.htm>.

Dopo il periodo 1996-2001, discusso precedentemente da ARNOLD-BIUCCHI (2), non è apparso alcun corpus generale né alcun volume di riferimento. Le pubblicazioni mostrano un rinnovato interesse per la monetazione dei Dionisii, un ininterrotto studio del regno di Gerone II e una crescente attenzione per i numerosi tipi in bronzo emessi sotto la dominazione romana. Si moltiplicano le pubblicazioni e gli studi relativi a ritrovamenti monetali. Un altro polo d'interesse è costituito dall'iconografia. Uno stimolo importante, infine, è offerto da gruppi di ricercatori che optano per approcci pluridisciplinari.

Per quanto riguarda gli studi in corso, è in preparazione la *Historia Nummorum - Sicily*, opera che tra l'altro fornirà finalmente omogenei criteri di citazione per l'intera gamma dei numerosissimi tipi monetali emessi nella Sicilia antica. Sono ad uno stadio avanzato le ricerche sulle zecche di Akragas, Katane, Leontinoi e Selinunte. È appena uscito il *corpus* delle didramme di Segesta HURTER MANI (61). Studi di questo tipo, impegnativi in termini di tempi e di risorse, sono indispensabili nell'ottica di progetti a carattere più ampio che si basino su valori statistici o su una visione diacronica delle emissioni.

### Articoli generali e opere di riferimento

Purtroppo non possiamo più contare sugli utili bilanci quinquennali finora presentati da Aldina Tusa Cutroni nel corso dei convegni di Palermo sulla Sicilia Antica: ora non si tengono più, come ricorda anche DE ANGELIS (35), al quale si deve un'eccellente bibliografia archeologica della Sicilia che contiene anche numerosi titoli sull'economia, il commercio e la monetazione.

Sono poche le nuove opere di riferimento e i cataloghi che includano monete della Sicilia: il Supplemento II del *RPC* (13), quattro volumi della *SNG* che si riferiscono alle collezioni di Bruxelles (4), Copenhagen (99), Glasgow (56) e Newcastle upon Tyne (82) nonché MARTIN (78). La *BTCGI* comprende due voci dedicate a siti siciliani e alle loro "fonti numismatiche": *Siracusa* (CARBÈ [23]) e *Solunto* (VILLA [108]). Il *Corpus Nummorum Antiquae Italiae* di CAMPANA (21) è allargato di cinque zecche. Il volume di KING (63) sui *quinarii* raggruppa quelli emessi in Sicilia durante o poco dopo la seconda guerra punica.

### Contributi relativi alla cronologia e alle singole zecche

#### Secc. V e IV a.C.

Pur essendo una delle zecche antiche più studiate, Siracusa continua a riservarci sorprese. L'apparizione di un nuovo tetradrammo attribuibile all'inizio del gruppo II del Boehringer costituisce un notevole contributo alla conoscenza materiale (ARNOLD-BIUCCHI/WEISS [3]). Tale moneta offre basi più solide per una riflessione sulla cronologia di questo gruppo (*t.p.q.* di 485 a.C. per l'inizio del gruppo II). MATTINGLY (79) traccia un utile riepilogo della recente discussione intorno al Demarateion: dal dibattito emerge un generale consenso nel fissare l'emissione alla fine del gruppo XII del Boehringer (con una leggera divergenza tra gli autori riguardo la datazione assoluta o nel 466 a.C. o poco prima). Riesaminano monete di maestri firmanti GARRAFFO (52) e KREUTZER (64-65, da utilizzare con qualche cautela). BOEHRINGER (8) pone due interrogativi sulla monetazione siracusana, e cioè sulla struttura delle nominali alla fine del sec. V (sprovvista del *hexas* in bronzo) e sulla metrologia dei bronzi pesanti all'inizio del IV sec. (quelli dionisiani con stella e delfini).

Gli studi sulla monetazione dei due Dionisii hanno visto riflessioni particolarmente innovative. Il contributo di Boehringer vede nell'aumento ponderale della seconda serie del tipo con stella e delfini una misura politica. Le monete a leggenda "KAINON" sono riesaminate da HOLLOWAY (59) che riprende il problema spinoso della cronologia e localizzazione della zecca emittente (già posta ad Alaisa e poi nei dintorni di Akragas o in Calabria). Dopo un esame critico dei ritrovamenti, l'autore spezza una lancia in favore della zecca di Siracusa sotto

Dionigi II. Questa attribuzione convincente fa svanire la finora ipotizzata lacuna di emissioni proprie di questo sovrano dotato di “greater capabilities than history has seen fit to attribute to him” (p. 227). Lo studio su “KAINON” viene completato da SANTELLI (98) che raccoglie un elenco delle contromarche riscontrate su queste monete. Nel contributo presentato al convegno dedicato ai “Due Dionisi” CACCAMO CALTABIANO (14) sposta le emissioni auree e argentee, attribuite con crescente consenso a Dionigi I, al periodo precedente, cioè al tempo della spedizione ateniese in Sicilia o poco dopo, intorno al 413/412 a.C. Il tiranno avrebbe imposto nel suo dominio un “monometallismo” (monete in AE). Queste ipotesi suscitano però alcune perplessità. La nuova datazione avrebbe conseguenze sulla coesione dell’intero sistema cronologico della coniazione di Siracusa e di altre zecche (WESTERMARK [110], pp. 85-86), con ricadute in termini di storia economica e politica. Il “monometallismo” poi pone quanto meno il problema del modo di pagamento dei mercenari, notoriamente avidi di metalli preziosi, come emerge dalle fonti scritte. Vari contributi sono stati dedicati alla circolazione dei bronzi dionigiani in Italia meridionale (vedi FISCHER-BOSSERT in questo volume).

DE CALLATAÿ (38) analizza lo stile del tetradrammo di Aitna attribuito al cosiddetto “maestro di Aitna” e emesso intorno al 460 a.C., confrontandolo con il coevo tetradrammo di Naxos. GARRAFFO (53-54) e MACDONALD (70) arricchiscono il corpus di riconiazioni su stateri di tipo corinzio.

Per quanto riguarda la Sicilia occidentale, CUTRONI TUSA (29) e CACCAMO CALTABIANO/PUGLISI (20) hanno affrontato la questione della funzione delle prime monete in bronzo (Akragas, Himera e Selinunte). In accordo con l’opinione attualmente prevalente esse sono considerate come vere monete, apprezzate per il loro valore “reale”.

HURTER MANI (60) propone un aggiornamento di *Coins of Punic Sicily I* di Jenkins. A vari tipi della zecca punica di SYS-Panormos sono dedicati contributi di CUTRONI TUSA (30), MANGANARO (73-74) e GANDOLFO (51). Spicca nell’ultimo articolo una litra dorata, la cui placcatura sarebbe originale. Cutroni Tusa (31) pubblica una serie di frazioni argentee di Himera. LAZZARINI (66) commenta un gruppo di monete già attribuite a Himera, proponendone una datazione tra la fine del v sec. e 390/370 a.C. e ascrivendole all’antica città di Halikyai, che localizzerebbe sul Monte Polizzo. Cutroni Tusa (28) esamina una serie frazionaria in argento a leggenda ΣΑΡΔΩ, affiancata da due nominali in bronzo di tipologia affine nonché altri bronzi, attribuendole a mercenari sardi al servizio di Cartagine in Sicilia tra la fine del v e l’inizio del iv sec. a.C.

Alcuni *falsi* antichi e moderni di monete della fine del v sec. a.C. sono infine riconosciuti e discussi da FISCHER-BOSSERT (45), HURTER MANI (60) e WESTERMARK (110).

### Secc. III a I a.C.

La riconiazione di un “ottobolo” di Pirro su un statere di tipo corinzio (Anaktoron) offre spunto a DE CALLATAÿ (36) per uno studio dei conî delle monete in metalli preziosi del sovrano attribuiti a Siracusa e a Lokri Epizephyrii. Ne calcola il volume dell’emissione mettendolo in relazione col numero dei soldati tramandato dagli autori antichi. CARROCCIO (25), basandosi su studi di conî ancora inediti, discute i bronzi siracusani di Finzia e l’organizzazione della coniazione, ovviamente intensa.

Il gruppo di studiosi messinesi coordinato da Maria Caccamo Caltabiano ha proseguito le ricerche sulle monetazioni ellenistiche allargandolo alle monete emesse sotto la dominazione romana. La pubblicazione di CACCAMO CALTABIANO, CAMPAGNA/PINZONE (17) dedicata al III sec. a.C. è il frutto di un complessivo approccio archeologico, numismatico e storico. CACCAMO CALTABIANO (15), tracciando un bilancio delle ricerche, respinge le obiezioni mosse alle datazioni da lei proposte; per gli altri contributi nello stesso volume, vedi le recensioni di DE CALLATAÿ (39) e VISONÀ (109). La monografia di CARROCCIO (24) è un’opera coraggiosa in quanto abbraccia materiali che vanno da Agatocle al II sec., finora poco indagati e difficilmente databili, specialmente la fase successiva alla Quinta Democrazia siracusana. Per motivi di spazio si rimanda al commento di MATTINGLY (80). Ci limitiamo a sollevare il problema della cronologia proposta dalla “scuola messinese”. Quasi tutte le monete emesse sotto dominazione romana e prima del Triumvirato vengono datate all’epoca della seconda guerra punica o poco dopo (p.e. MANGANO [77]). Una serie di tesoretti monetali, in effetti, supporta questa cronologia per i bronzi della Sicilia orientale con segni di valore: ciò non vale, tuttavia, per le altre monete. Stupisce inoltre la ristrettezza degli archi cronologici proposti, spesso solo pochi anni (vedi il precedente Survey e ARNOLD-BIUCCHI [1] per la “compressione” di numerose monete nel ristretto periodo sotto Gerone II tra il 218 e il 214 a.C.): ma le monetazioni in bronzo, con l’eccezione di qualche caso particolare, non offrono criteri che permettano attribuzioni di tale esattezza. Elementi come lo stile, l’iconografia e la metrologia contribuiscono tutt’al più alla seriazione di materiali

che richiedono comunque punti fissi esterni deducibili da tesoretti e da dati stratigrafici, purtroppo scarsi per il periodo in discussione, come afferma l'autore stesso (p. 120).

CUTRONI TUSA (27) riprende la monetazione di Akragas durante la seconda guerra punica, senza poter prendere in considerazione i recenti contributi di Burnett sulle serie monetali e le analisi di metalli (vedi il precedente Survey). FREY-KUPPER (48) mette in evidenza l'impatto delle guerre puniche sulla produzione monetale dei belligeranti (vedi *infra*). Due eccellenti contributi di BURNETT (11-12) analizzano il ruolo della moneta come espressione di identità culturale.

### **La moneta nel contesto storico, storico-culturale ed economico**

Grande utilità trae la numismatica dagli studi di discipline affini che inquadrano la moneta in più ampi processi di storia culturale, economica e sociale. Varie ricerche riguardano città, personalità o etnie, o anche precisi periodi storici: MANGANARO (75) (Akrai), FACELLA (43) (Alaisa), SMARCZYK (100) e LEHMLER (67) (recensione di GÜNTHER [57]) (Siracusa), SÁNCHEZ LEÓN (97) (Eunos-Antiochos), PÉRÉ-NOGUÈS (88) (Mamertini, mercenari di Roma) e FARISELLI (44) (mercenari di Cartagine) e DUBOULOZ/PITTIA (41) (la Sicilia all'epoca di Cicerone).

Problematiche legate all'economia, alle decime e al grano sono esaminate da DE ANGELIS (34) e PRIVITERA (92). BELL (5-6) descrive alcune strutture architettoniche individuate a Morgantina, Agrigento e Solunto, interpretandole come uffici di esattori di tasse e di banchieri.

Le ricerche sulla romanizzazione costituiscono un altro polo d'interesse (PERKINS [89], pp. 43-45 e PRAG [91], p. 99), per il quale si può ancora rimandare agli studi di BURNETT sopra ricordati.

### **La moneta nel contesto archeologico e circolazione monetale**

L'elenco di pubblicazioni di monete ritrovate in scavi regolari si allunga. Sempre più spesso le monete sono inquadrare nel contesto stratigrafico anche se le analisi dei dati archeologici sono ancora scarse.

Sono circa 1600 le monete pubblicate e provenienti da scavi regolari, per lo più recenti, condotti principalmente in 15 siti. 133 esemplari appartengono a 10 gruzzoli; le restanti 1467 monete provengono da abitati, santuari e necropoli della Sicilia orientale (22, 68), centro-meridionale (101, 103-106) e occidentale (47, 62, 69, 71-72, 86, 107). Altre 200 monete, sequestrate e custodite al Museo Regionale di Gela (102), costituiscono invece la punta dell'iceberg del fenomeno dei ritrovamenti illegali.

Delle monete raccolte in scavi regolari, 652 provengono dall'agorà di Camarina (LUCCHELLI/DI STEFANO [68]). Nonostante l'assenza nella pubblicazione di dati stratigrafici, esse sono preziose per il confronto con altri siti. Come nella vicina Morgantina prevalgono le monete di Siracusa, seguite da quelle di Katane.

È eccezionale la scoperta a Selinunte nel passaggio della grande porta orientale di un gruzzolo di sei monete akragantine che giacevano nello strato di distruzione assieme ad armi e serramenti della porta, tutti parzialmente fusi come le monete stesse (HINZ [58], pp. 349-350). Siamo di fronte ai resti della distruzione ad opera dei Cartaginesi nel 409 a.C. È uno dei rari casi di un contesto archeologico ricollegabile a un evento storico noto dalle fonti scritte. Legati a vicende belliche sono anche gli strati di distruzione a Sabucina, individuati nell'abitato e nel suo vicino santuario *extra moenia* (SOLE [101, 104]), e che hanno restituito numerose monete, tra le quali cinque gruzzoli (in AE oppure misti con AR) tutti coevi e riconducibili ai primi anni del IV sec. a.C. (AE di Dionigi I di Siracusa e AE contromarcato di Akragas). In assenza di fonti letterarie, sono le monete con gli altri materiali archeologici a costituire le uniche testimonianze di eventi storici. Si sono rinvenuti a Mozia contesti databili entro la fine del V e la prima metà del IV sec. a.C., dai quali provengono quattro gruzzoli composti da spiccioli bronzei (MAMMINA [71-72]). Un gruppo di nove monete puniche è segnalato dall'acropoli di Monte Polizzo (MORRIS *et al.* [83], p. 259), identificata dagli scavatori come presidio cartaginese. Infine, Entella ha restituito alcuni corredi tombali, tra cui quello, ormai noto, di una donna "campana", contenente un obolo akragantino con contromarche (FREY-KUPPER [47]). I numerosi ritrovamenti d'Agrigento (MACALUSO [69]; OTERI [86]) contribuiscono alla conoscenza delle monete imperiali, ancora poco studiate in Sicilia; se ne conoscono anche da Solunto (GANDOLFO [50]).

Altri contributi si riferiscono a vecchi ritrovamenti o affrontano problematiche più ampie. CUTRONI TUSA (29) e CACCAMO CALTABIANO/CASTRIZIO/PUGLISI (18) esaminano la diffusione e la funzione della moneta in epoca



arcaica e classica nella *chora* delle colonie. CUTRONI TUSA (32) ha dedicato un contributo alla storia della ricerca e agli studi moderni sul sito di Marianopoli/Mysistratos. In attesa di pubblicazione, PUGLISI (93) espone sinteticamente il suo studio su materiali, per lo più editi, provenienti da 210 siti su un totale di 770 segnalati dalle Soprintendenze, ipotizzando — sulla base dell'assenza di monete in alcuni di essi — una monetizzazione ridotta in età ieroniana. L'argomento richiede comunque prudenza dato che le attestazioni dipendono sostanzialmente delle attività archeologiche (de CALLATAÿ [39]). FREY-KUPPER (48) tenta di delineare la scomparsa del numerario punico nei siti della Sicilia occidentale e l'emergere delle serie "provinciali".

KING (63) analizza numerosi tesoretti e documenta la rapida sparizione dalla circolazione del quinario. MANGANARO PERRONE (76) interpreta cinque tesori d'epoca repubblicana come testimonianza della seconda rivolta servile in Sicilia.

Per altre pubblicazioni relative a tesoretti si rimanda a MEADOWS/WARTENBERG (81), il cui elenco non include tuttavia ritrovamenti nuovi. Benvenuto è l'indice degli *AIIIN* dedicato ai ritrovamenti (RANUCCI [95]).

Accenniamo infine a pubblicazioni e notizie su monete della Sicilia antica circolanti al di fuori dell'isola e ritrovate sia come moneta singola (Bruzio, CASTRIZIO [26]; Adria, FISCHER-BOSSERT in questo volume; Balcani, DUKAT/MAŠIĆ [42], GJONGEČAJ [55]; Sardegna, POLOSA [90]; Malta, NOVARESE [85]), sia in tesori oppure come parte di depositi votivi (PARENTE [87], RANUCCI [94]); vedi anche VISONÀ in questo volume per le monete puniche.

## **Metrologia**

DEL MONACO (40) ha indagato il contributo dell'epigrafia alla conoscenza del sistema della litra, discutendo vari testi epigrafici quali le leggi sacre di Megara Iblea, le leggi calcidesi di Monte San Mauro presso Caltagirone oppure il *corpus* di tessere di Camarina. Si deve a BOEHRINGER (7) un'eccellente sintesi sull'aspetto ponderale delle monetazioni greche in età ellenistica.

## **Volume e tecnica di produzione**

DE CALLATAÿ (37) ha raccolto per le monetazioni arcaiche e classiche il numero di conî e ne calcola i volumi d'emissione. La Sicilia e la Magna Grecia assieme totalizzano il 75% dei dati analizzati. La produzione della Sicilia si rivela leggermente più alta rispetto a quella della Magna Grecia. Per l'ellenismo, vedi *supra* (cap. 3), DE CALLATAÿ (36).

FISCHER-BOSSERT (46) discute un oggetto in piombo che ritiene una prova autentica di un tetradrammo degli incisori Euth... e Eum... nonostante alcune particolarità tecniche che destano stupore, come il conio decentrato. Per quanto riguarda un'emilira plumbea di Akragas, FISCHER-BOSSERT (45) offre cautamente un'interpretazione alternativa o come prova di falsari, o come emissione d'urgenza.

FREY-KUPPER/BARRANDON (49) presentano i risultati di 62 analisi di monete in *aes*. È documentata l'aggiunta di piombo per i "tridenti" di Gerone II della serie più recente; appare inoltre l'uso di "rame grigio" per due serie firmate dal magistrato *Naso*.

## **Epigrafia e leggende**

Oltre ai già menzionati contributi relativi ad argomenti epigrafici e leggende monetali, *supra* cap. 3 (BURNETT [11-12]), 4 (MANGANARO [75]) e 6 (DEL MONACO [40]).

## **Iconografia**

Sono intimamente legate alla Sicilia Demetra e Persefone (BORBA FLORENZANO [9]) nonché Afrodite (CACCAMO CALTABIANO [16]). Lo stesso vale per la ninfa Aretusa (RITTER [96]) e per il toro a volto umano da intendersi sia come dio fluviale locale, sia come Alpheios (ARNOLD-BIUCCHI/WEISS [3], oppure Acheloos MUSSINI [84]), tutti legati alle acque. Enea e Anchise nonché i fratelli catanei rivestono un ruolo di primo piano nelle storie di fondazione (DASEN [33], ZARROW [112]), mentre la Triscele diviene il simbolo della Sicilia rimanendolo fino ad oggi (BORBA FLORENZANO [10], WILSON [111]). Presentando i primi risultati del progetto *Lexicon Iconographicum Numismaticae* CACCAMO CALTABIANO/CASTRIZIO/PUGLISI (19) trattano anche altri temi.

L'ostacolo maggiore in molti studi iconografici, particolarmente in quelli più ampi, è la difficoltà d'inserire i reperti in un quadro cronologico e geografico preciso. Mancano ancora molti parametri per i quali occorrerebbero faticose ricerche di base, come lo studio di conî o dei ritrovamenti monetali in relazione ai contesti archeologici. Sarebbe utile discutere in quale tipo di ricerca investire tempo e energia, sempre più scarsi, ma non è questa la sede per affrontare tale discorso.

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# DER BALKANRAUM UND DAS NÖRDLICHE SCHWARZMEERGEBIET<sup>1</sup>

Ulrike Peter

Das seit den 90er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts anwachsende Interesse an der Balkan-Schwarzmeerregion hat auch in den vergangenen Jahren angehalten. Insbesondere verdient Erwähnung, daß zahlreiche Funde wissenschaftlich publiziert und archäologische Fundumstände bekannt gemacht wurden. Dabei finden die Fundmünzen und die Ergebnisse der numismatischen Forschungen naturgemäß auch in archäologischen und historischen Abhandlungen Berücksichtigung, die jüngst in der Zusammenstellung von GULDAGER BILDE (48) erfaßt wurden. Auch die beiden von GRAMMENOS/PETROPOULOS (43, 44) herausgegebenen Doppelbände zu den einzelnen Poleis des Schwarzmeergebietes enthalten häufig Ausführungen zur Münzprägung der Städte.

Einen breiten Raum nehmen Sammlungspublikationen ein (vgl. 191, 127). Allerdings sind in der Literaturliste die neuen Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum-Bände, die jeweils nur eine gewisse Anzahl der uns interessierenden Münzen enthalten, nicht erfaßt.

## Dakien

Da die geto-dakischen Prägungen nicht Gegenstand dieses Beitrages sind, sei lediglich auf die umfangreiche Münzgeschichte für das vorrömische Dakien (4. Jh. v.–1. Jh. n. Chr.) von PÄRPÄUTÄ verwiesen. Er betrachtet sowohl die umlaufenden fremden Münzen (Istros, Tyras, Olbia, Kallatis, Tomis, Lysimachos, Dyrrhachium, Apollonia, Koson – 536 Funde mit griechischen und hellenistischen Münzen) als auch die Entwicklung der lokalen Münzprägung und zeigt 162 gemischte Funde auf. Zahlreiche Tabellen und Karten ergänzen die Abhandlung (109).

## Thrakien

In Bezug auf die Stammesprägungen hat immer wieder die Frage der Kontrolle der Minen des Pangaion Interesse hervorgerufen. Die Thasier, die ursprünglich die Bergwerke besaßen, dehnten nach 470 v. Chr. ihren Einfluß in Richtung Berge aus (117). PSOMA verbindet die sogenannte „Lete“-Prägung mit der Thasischen Peraia. Ihrer Ansicht nach wurden die Münzen in der thasischen Apoikie Berge geprägt (134). Einen Überblick über die Prägung der Derronen gibt JOSIFOVSKI (54); über die der Paionen und ihrer Könige RAZMOVSKA-BAČEVSKA (135). Zusammenstellungen der Münztypen mit ikonographischen Beschreibungen und der Verbreitungsgebiete der Münzen aller Stämme liefert TOPALOV (173, 177). Er ordnet auch frühe thasische Prägungen den Odrysen zu (173).

Die im thrakischen Binnenland entstandenen Münzen des Typs „Kopf des Herakles / ΟΔΡΟΣΩΝ Stier auf Herakleskeule“ schreibt TOPALOV Odroza am Zusammenfluß von Maritza, Tundža und Arda, dem späteren Philippopolis und heutigen Plovdiv zu (176).

Von den Städten an der thrakischen Ägäisküste hat Abdera besonderes Interesse der Forscher hervorgerufen. So wurde zum einen ein umfassendes Corpus der abderitischen Bronzeprägung von CHRYSSANTHAKI-NAGLE vorgelegt (18), aber auch ein so bedeutsamer Fund wie der im Jahr 2000 auf dem Londoner Markt aufgetauchte, der vornehmlich Kleingeld (u. a. 18 vorher unbekannte Hemiobole) enthielt und entsprechend nur mit einem einzigen weiteren Fund Nordgriechenlands vergleichbar ist (CH 8.20), publiziert. Der ins 6. Jh. v. Chr. zu datierende Fund besticht zudem durch die Qualität der Münzen. Im Zusammenhang mit der Fundpublikation spricht sich KAGAN für den Beginn der Münzprägung von Abdera um 530 v. Chr. aus (55). CHRYSSANTHAKI-NAGLE (18) verschiebt – aufgrund der Münzfundauswertung – das von May seinerzeit vorgeschlagene Datum noch weiter und nimmt den Prägebeginn 520/515–500 v. Chr. an. Sie legt in ihrer Doktorarbeit nicht nur einen Stempelkatalog für die autonome Bronzeprägung (und für zwei von ihr hinzugefügte Perioden von Silberemissionen) und die Provinzialprägung bis zum 2. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert vor, sondern gibt eine umfassende Auswertung zur Münzgeschichte der Stadt, die eng verzahnt mit den archäologischen

<sup>1</sup> Für Hilfe bei der Literaturbeschaffung danke ich herzlich STOLBA, PROKOPOV, KOVALENKO, DRAGANOV und BOTEVA. Der vorliegende Beitrag mußte sehr stark gekürzt werden; eine ausführlichere Fassung, die auch die Publikationen in der transliterierten Originalsprache auflistet ist unter <http://edoc.bbaw.de/> (PETER, Die numismatische Literatur zum Balkanraum und dem nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet von 2002–2007) einsehbar. Sofern die vornehmlich osteuropäischsprachigen Beiträge eine Zusammenfassung in einer westeuropäischen Sprache enthalten, ist aus Platzgründen nur der Titel des Resümées angeführt und in eckigen Klammern die Originalsprache der Publikation angegeben (bulg. = bulgarisch; griech. = griechisch; russ. = russisch; rumän. = rumänisch). Der ausführlichere online-Artikel enthält auch die Forschungsliteratur zu Illyrien.

Grabungsergebnissen vorgelegt wird. Die Prägung von Orthagoreia mit einer Lokalisierung der Polis in der Nähe von Mesembria an der ägäischen Küste Thrakiens, einer Datierung (Mitte 4. Jh.–Ende 4. Jh.) und Interpretation der Münzen stellt CHRYSSANTHAKI-NAGLE in einem fundierten Artikel vor (16). In Abdera und Maroneia gefundene Bronzemünzen mit einem Monogramm schreibt sie Agathocleia oder Agathopolis als mögliche Münzstätte zu (17). Fragen der Prägungen im thrako-makedonischen Grenzgebiet betrachtet PSOMA und ordnet die Münzen mit der Legende BEPT, BEPTAIOY Berge zu (132). Erstmals werden von DRAGANOV drei Münzen der Stadt Apros (Apri) im südöstlichen Thrakien publiziert (26; vgl. auch 71). Die Münzen von Zone stellt THEOTIKOU als numismatische Quelle vor (169). Einen Fund mit eher ungewöhnlichen maroneischen Münzen untersuchen TERZIAN und VAN STEEN (168). Der schwierigen Frage der Nominalbestimmungen hat sich PSOMA angenommen (133).

Zur Problematik der von Kalchedon und Byzantion gegengestempelten Münzen während der Keltenherrschaft in Thrakien äußerte sich STANCOMB (150).

Nur wenig Beachtung haben die Prägestätten der Thrakischen Chersonesos im Untersuchungszeitraum gefunden, zu erwähnen ist allerdings der Aufsatz von TZVETKOVA (182).

Von den thrakischen Inseln war es die größte – nämlich Thasos – die die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher auf sich zog. Das Bild der frühen thasischen Statere mit Silen und Nymphe wurde von PALÉOTHODOROS mit anderen archäologischen Denkmälern verglichen (106). Die Prägung der thasischen Tetradrachmen und deren Nachahmungen vom 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. hat PROKOPOV in einer Monographie (122) untersucht und dazu zahlreiche Vorarbeiten vorgelegt. In der Auswertung des Stempelkatalogs und der zusammengestellten 334 Münzfunde gibt PROKOPOV einen umfassenden Überblick über die Prägung und deren Verbreitung selbst sowie über den historischen Kontext.

Zur westlichen Pontosküste haben vor allem die rumänischen Kollegen eine Reihe neuer Forschungen vorgelegt, wobei die Publikationen in der Reihe „Collection Moneta“ hervorzuheben sind. So ist die Prägung von Tomis, Kallatis und Istros und die Zirkulation dieser Münzen von TALMAȚCHI untersucht worden (166). Die umfangreiche Sammlung Sutz u. an Münzen dieser Schwarzmeerstädte veröffentlichte PETAC (113). Einen ausführlichen Artikel zur Verbreitung dieser Münzen und ihres Einflusses publiziert POENARU BORDEA (118). Einen Überblick legte auch KARAYOTOV vor (61, 63). Eine Übersicht über die Münzgeschichte Rumäniens enthält ebenfalls die antiken Prägungen der Dobruđa (53).

Die Beziehungen zwischen Griechen und Barbaren im nordwestlichen Pontosgebiet unter Einbeziehung der Münzfunde untersuchte BANARI in ihrer Doktorarbeit und wies eine unterschiedliche Rolle des Münzumschlages bei den seßhaften Thrakern (Geldzirkulation) und den nomadisierenden Skythen (Hortung) nach (10).

TOPALOV hat den zweiten Teil seiner Untersuchung zur Münzprägung von Apollonia Pontica veröffentlicht, der der hellenistischen Prägung gewidmet ist, aber im Anhang einen Typenkatalog einschließlich der gegengestempelten Münzen sowie eine ausführliche englische Zusammenfassung zur gesamten Prägertätigkeit der Stadt vom 7.–1. Jh. v. Chr. enthält (178). Der Katalogisierung, Systematisierung und Interpretation des Pfeilgeldes von Apollonia ist STINGL nachgegangen (152).

Mehrere Abhandlungen sind den Prägungen von Istros (107, 136) und Kallatis (42) gewidmet. Der Prägung von Mesembria hat sich weiterhin verstärkt KARAYOTOV (58–62) angenommen. Die wichtige Rolle Mesembrias in der Mitte des 3. Jh. v. Chr. für die Prägung der Alexander-Typen weist RUSEVA nach (140). Bei den odessitischen Münzen spielten u. a. die Architekturdarstellungen (84) eine Rolle in der Forschungsliteratur. Einschlägige Artikel sind der Prägung am Ende des 4. Jh.s v. Chr. (82) und den Gegenstempelungen sowie Überprägungen in hellenistischer Zeit (174) gewidmet.

Eine Vielzahl von Aufsätzen ist den Funden von Münzen der westpontischen Poleis gewidmet (85, 165, 183 u. a.).

Von den odrysischen Dynasten als auch den thrakischen Königen wurde eine beachtliche Anzahl von neuen Münztypen publiziert (68, 89, 103, 173). Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen dem Odrysenreich und den thrakischen Küstenstädten im Zeitraum zwischen dem Delischen Bund und der Eroberung Thrakiens durch Philipp II. untersuchte VELIGIANNI-TERZI und stützte sich dabei entscheidend auf die historische Interpretation der Münzen. Sie kommt zu dem Schluß, daß der Einfluß der odrysischen Herrscher auf die Küstenstädte nur gering war, sie umgekehrt aber griechische Errungenschaften, wie beispielsweise die der Münzprägung, nutzten (184; zur Präsenz der Münzen im westlichen Thrakien vgl. 39). Nicht erst mit Sitalkes, sondern bereits mit Teres beginnt TAČEVA ihre

Abhandlung über die odrysischen Könige, die sich ebenfalls auf die epigraphischen und numismatischen Zeugnisse stützt und die einzelnen Herrscher bis Seuthes III. porträtiert und ihren Platz im historischen Kontext zu bestimmen sucht (163). Eine Übersicht zu den Prägungen lieferte auch immer wieder TOPALOV (173, 177). Auch einzelnen Herrschern sind Abhandlungen gewidmet: So veröffentlichte LAZARENKO bislang unbekannte, von Odessos gegengestempelte Bronzemünzen des Lysimachos-Typs, die die Legende eines sonst unbekannten Dynasten Sparatesas tragen (83); PSOMA gibt eine chronologische Modifikation zum ersten münzprägenden Odrysenherrscher Sparadokos (131); die Prägung von Saratokos untersucht YURUKOVA (188), die von Spokes CHRYSSANTHAKI-NAGLE (18); mehrere Aufsätze beschäftigen sich mit Seuthes III. (161, 164). Letzterem Herrscher konnte nun möglicherweise auch sein Grab zugewiesen werden, da bei der reichen – eines Königs würdigen – Bestattung im Golyama-Kosmatska-Tumulus neben anderen Zeugnissen vier Bronzemünzen Seuthes III. gefunden wurden (66). Auch die Münzen des Lysimachos (80, 93) bzw. in Thrakien gefundene Prägungen des Alexander-Typs (138, 139) waren immer wieder Gegenstand von Untersuchungen. Außerdem wurden Funde thrakischer Königsmünzen im westlichen Schwarzmeergebiet (57) publiziert. ABRAMZON veröffentlichte eine „Kronungsmünze“ von Rhoimetalkes' III. als Epilog des thrakischen Königreiches (1).

### **Keltische Herrscher**

Prägungen von Adaios, Skostokos und Kavaros sind Gegenstand einer Untersuchung von KOJČEV und MUTAFOV über die Anwesenheit der Seleukiden in Thrakien (70). FISCHER-BOSSERT legte eine neue, um die Exemplare eines im Handel kursierenden Hortes erweiterte und auswertende Stempelstudie der Lysimacheier des Skostokos vor (30). Die Fundmünzen des Kavaros im nordöstlichen Thrakien stellte LAZAROV zusammen (85).

Eine Interpretation der Ikonographie der Koson-Münzen stammt von MUNTEANU (101). Funde und entsprechende Übersichten zu den Prägungen des Koson haben auch PĂRPĂUȚĂ (109) und DIMA/ILIE (23) vorgelegt.

### **Skythische Könige**

Die Publikation neuer Typen und Nominale (88, 91, 92) für die skythischen Könige erweist einen unerwarteten typologischen Variantenreichtum und eine intensive Münzprägung der sechs skythischen Könige in der Dobrudscha in hellenistischer Zeit. Insbesondere werden auch Fragen der Münzstättenzuweisung (79, 81) und der Kontakte mit den griechischen Poleis diskutiert (158).

### **Funde und Münzumlauf**

Im Untersuchungszeitraum wurde eine Vielzahl von Funden veröffentlicht oder neu interpretiert sowie Fragen des Münzumlaufes diskutiert (119, 69, 100, 112, 120, 25 und siehe vor allem die erweiterte Fassung dieses Artikels unter <http://edoc.bbaw.de>).

### **Fälschungen**

Eine Systematisierung der neuen, auf dem Markt kursierenden Fälschungen hat PROKOPOV mit seinen Kollegen erarbeitet. Er stellt einzelne Fälscherwertstätten vor und listet die bekannten Falschmünzen auf (124, 128, 129; auf Münzen römischer Zeit beziehen sich die Bände 121 und 130).

### **Nördliches Pontosgebiet**

Auch für die Prägungen des nördlichen Schwarzmeergebietes wurden zahlreiche Sammlungspublikationen vorlegt. Besonders sei auf die speziell dem nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet gewidmete Sylloge der Sammlung des Museums in Krakow von BODZEK verwiesen (11), die 583 Münzen des 6. Jh. v. – 4. Jh. n. Chr. auflistet, vor allem Prägungen aus Olbia (184) und Pantikapaion (199) sowie der bosporanischen Könige (142).

Von den anderen Museen, die ihre Bestände veröffentlicht haben, ist die Sammlung des Numismatischen Museums von Odessa zum nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiet hervorzuheben, die in drei Bänden von ALEKSEEV/LOBODA (7) vorgelegt wurde. Dieser vollbilderten Materialpublikation mit nur knappen Bestimmungsangaben haben die Autoren in der Zeitschrift des Museums eine Reihe kleiner auswertender Artikel vorangestellt (siehe die erweiterte Fassung dieses Artikels unter <http://edoc.bbaw.de>). DUBININA hat die Münzen des Heimatmuseums von Eupatoria publiziert, das alle bekannten Typen von Kerkinitis besitzt (27). Speziell die



Goldmünzen des Staatlichen Historischen Museums Moskau hat FROLOVA vorgestellt (36). Einen interessanten forschungsgeschichtlichen Überblick zur Geschichte der Sammlung des russischen Großfürsten Alexander Michailovich bietet STOLBA (156).

Als Überblickswerk zur Münzprägung des Bosporianischen Raumes erschien die Arbeit von MACDONALD, der 691 Münztypen (+ zusätzliche Varianten) publizierte und die einzelnen chronologischen Abschnitte jeweils mit einer kleinen Einleitung versehen hat (86). Einen ikonographischen Überblick über diverse Fischabbildungen auf Münzen der Poleis an den Schwarzmeerküsten gibt STOLBA (154). Selbstverständlich fanden auch in einer Reihe nicht speziell numismatischer, sondern archäologisch-historisch ausgerichteter Abhandlungen die Münzen Berücksichtigung (193).

### **Vormünzliches Geld**

Einen Überblick über die Entwicklung der verschiedenen vormünzlichen Geldformen und deren Verbreitung im nordwestlichen Schwarzmeerraum geben sowohl STINGL (151) als auch BALABANOV (9).

### **Sarmatia (Djestr-Bug-Region)**

Für Olbia konnten entscheidende Sammlungspublikationen vorgelegt werden, so die einer der größten Sammlungen dieser Münzen – jene aus dem historischen Museum Moskau (37). Dem reich bebilderten Katalog ist eine kurze historiographische Einleitung sowie eine Periodisierung der Prägung vom 6. Jh. v. bis 238 n. Chr. vorangestellt. Wegweisend bleibt die nun publizierte Doktorarbeit von KARYŠKOVSKIJ über die olbische Prägung (65). Das Buch legt sowohl den Forschungsstand dar, beschäftigt sich mit den Metallen (Herkunft und Zusammensetzung), der Herstellungstechnik und den Prägeverantwortlichen, der Metrologie, Typologie etc. und selbstverständlich mit dem Münzsystem selbst und mit dem Münzumsatz vom 5. Jh. v.–4. Jh. n. Chr. Interessante Varianten olbischer Münzen konnte ALEKSEEV vorstellen (6). Zudem untersuchte er stilistische Besonderheiten der olbischen Prägungen (5). Ikonographische Fragen wurden von HIND beleuchtet (49). Weiterhin ungelöst bleiben die Fragen der historischen Einordnung der olbischen Münzen mit der Legende EMINAKO (141). Die Münzen des Skiluros aus Olbia bezeugen enge Verbindungen zwischen Skythenkönig und Polis, belegen aber nach Auffassung von COJOCARU noch kein Protektorat (20).

Das nördliche Pontosgebiet kennt eine Reihe von Gußmünzen. Neben Olbia und Istros zählte dazu Nikonion (98).

FROLOVA konnte für die Prägungen von Tyras in der zweiten Hälfte des 4.–3. Jh.s v. Chr. 30 Typen unterscheiden (34, vgl. auch 32) und für den Zeitraum vom Ende des 3.–1. Jh. v. Chr. 26 (31). Zu Tyras hat MAKANDAROV einen Katalog der antiken und mittelalterlichen Münzen vorgelegt (87). Münzen von Tyras aus einer Privatsammlung legte COJOCARU vor (19).

### **Taurische Chersonesos und Kimmerischer Bosphoros**

Die frühe Münzprägung des Kimmerischen Bosphoros von der Mitte des 6. bis zum Anfang des 4. Jh. v. Chr. hat nun FROLOVA untersucht (33). Auf der Basis von Stempelkatalogen zu den Städten Pantikapaion, Theodosia, Nymphaion und Phanagoria werden kurze Abhandlungen zu den anfänglichen Etappen der Prägegeschichte dieser Städte gegeben. Ein spezielles Kapitel ist den Münzen mit der Legende ΣΙΝΔΩΝ auf der Rückseite gewidmet, deren Prägung ihrer Ansicht nach in Pantikapaion erfolgte. Die Münzen mit der Legende ΑΠΟΛΑ, die FROLOVA Pantikapaion zuordnet, hält STROKIN für Emissionen von Apollonia, dem späteren Phanagoria (159). Ausführlich hat sich den frühen Münzen von Pantikapaion auch GOLENKO zugewandt und insbesondere den achämenidischen Einfluß auf die Typologie untersucht (41). Kritisch zur Datierung der ersten Emissionen von Pantikapaion durch FROLOVA äußerte sich KOVALENKO (74).

STOLBA (153) unterzieht die vielen Vermutungen zur Münzprägung mit der Legende ΣΑΜΜΑ einer kritischen Beurteilung und versucht den in diesem Zusammenhang wichtigen Fund von Eltigen zu rekonstruieren (vgl. auch 160). Auch TEREŠČENKO ordnet die Münzen einem lokalen Tyrannen zu, bevorzugt aber die jüngere Datierung von MEL'NIKOV (167). MEL'NIKOV hält diese Prägung für die umstrittenste der gesamten bosporianischen Numismatik. Sie bildet seiner Ansicht nach das Ende eines skythischen Protektorats über Nymphaion (97).

Für die spätclassische Münzprägung der Taurischen Chersonesos hat KOVALENKO ein umfassendes Stempelcorpus vorgelegt, das er mit einem historisch-archäologischen Überblick zur Polis verbunden hat (76). Selbstverständlich gehören auch Fragen des Gewichtssystems, der Chronologie, Typologie und Zirkulation zu dem in der Reihe des „Griechischen Münzwerkes“ erschienenen Band. Interessant sind ebenfalls die Ausführungen zur Organisation der Münzstätte. Zu den späteren Münzen mit Magistratsnamen haben SIDORENKO und ŠONOV einige Aspekte beleuchtet (145). Es wurde sowohl ein Fund silberner als auch ein Fund von Bronzemünzen des 2. Jh.s v. Chr. von Chersonesos publiziert (148, 149). Den Münzumschlag in der Chora von Chersonesos bis in die römische Zeit untersuchte SAPRYKIN und arbeitete einzelne Perioden der Kolonisierung der Region heraus (143). Von Interesse sind Fundinterpretationen und Konkretisierungen der Chronologie einzelner Münzemissionen. In einem speziellen Aufsatz vergleicht er den Umlauf der Münzen des Umlandes von Chersonesos und Kerkinitis mit der Zirkulation der Münzen in der Chora des weitaus bekannteren Olbia (142; den von den einheimischen Münzen beherrschten Markt von Kerkinitis im 5.–3. Jh. v. Chr. zeigt auch KUTAJSOV (78) auf). Veränderte wirtschaftliche und politische Bedingungen werden jeweils deutlich sichtbar. Obwohl benachbart und ein ähnliches historisches Schicksal teilend zeigen – im Unterschied zu den Prägungen von Chersonesos – die Münzen von Kerkinitis einen engen Bezug zur barbarisch-skythischen Welt (157).

Ein numismatischer Komplex aus der Chora von Theodosia belegt die abschließende Emission der Polis, die vermutlich zu Beginn der 60er Jahre des 3. Jh.s v. Chr. kurz die Unabhängigkeit wiederherstellen konnte (40).

Datierung und Ikonographie der frühen Prägung von Phanagoria sind Gegenstand einer Untersuchung von TEREŠČENKO (167). ZAVOJKIN interpretiert im Zusammenhang mit dem Grabungsmaterial die Prägungen von Phanagoria (190). Die Grabungsmünzen des britischen Teams von Phanagoria 1996 hat ASHTON veröffentlicht, sie korrespondieren mit den vorangegangenen russischen Grabungsmünzen (8). HOURMOUZIADIS und WEISSER weisen aufgrund metrologischer Vergleiche nach, daß die Münzen der Sinder nicht in Phanagoria geprägt worden sein können (51).

Für Theodosia legen KOVALENKO und MOLCHANOV eine Stempelstudie von 41 Bronzemünzen, v. a. aus Privatsammlungen vor, die vorher zum großen Teil unpubliziert waren (77).

### **Pontische und bosporanische Könige**

Zum pontischen Königreich hat ERÇIYAS einschlägige Untersuchungen publiziert (28, 29). Die Veränderungen in der bosporanischen Münzprägung unter den pontischen Königen zeigte BOLDYREV auf (12).

Einen methodisch wegweisenden Aufsatz zu den mithridatischen Bronzemünzen hat DE CALLATAÏ vorgelegt (21). Er ruft dazu auf, drei Fehler zu beseitigen: 1) die Chronologie von Imhoof-Blumer für unverrückbar zu halten, 2) die Herstellungszeit der Münzen mit ihrer Umlaufzeit zu verwechseln und 3) Münzemissionen für ein eindeutiges Zeichen der Autonomie zu halten. Vor der Darlegung des historiographischen Hintergrundes interpretiert er einen Teil des umfangreichen Materials neu; in Nr. 22 zeigt er dann die revidierte Chronologie für die Bronzen Mithridates' VI. auf und die daraus folgenden Konsequenzen für die Datierungen und Prägestätten des Kimmerischen Bosporos. Den Münzumschlag im pontischen Raum und die entsprechende Münzpolitik unter der mithridatischen Herrschaft untersuchte SAPRYKIN (144).

Unter den Publikationen zum Bosporanischen Königreich ist vor allem der Katalog von FROLOVA/IRELAND zu erwähnen, der sich die Münzgeschichte zwischen der Einnahme des Reiches durch Mithridates VI. bis zur neronischen Reform zum Ziel gesetzt hat (38). Der Band versteht sich vor allem als Materialvorlage, die vornehmlich auf den Münzen aus dem Staatlichen Historischen Museum Moskau und der Eremitage St. Petersburg beruht. Dem Katalog ist eine Einleitung zur chronologischen Problematik vorangestellt.

Ein spezieller Artikel von FROLOVA greift die Problematik der Prägungen der Spartokidendyastie im 2. Jh. v. Chr. auf (35). Anhand der Publikation eines Staters von Perisades und einer Didrachme des Spartokos, die privat gefunden wurden, zeigt ROZOV die Probleme der Zuordnung und Interpretation seltener bosporanischer Münzen des 2. Jh. v. Chr. (137). Ein neuer Goldstater des Jahres 37/36 v. Chr. von Asandros (es ist die erste bekannte Münze aus dem Regierungsjahr 8 dieses Herrschers) wurde bei Grabungen der Siedlung Kara-Tobe gefunden und ist somit die erste Goldmünze dieses Herrschers aus einem dokumentierten archäologischen Kontext (187). Ein bislang unbekannter Stater von Asandros aus dem Jahr 14 n. Chr. ist für BOLDYREV der Beleg, daß die bosporanischen Könige in der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr. unabhängig von Rom ihre Goldmünzen emittieren durften (13).

## Funde

Die Vielzahl der Fundpublikationen kann hier nicht aufgeführt werden; eine ausführlichere Fassung ist unter <http://edoc.bbaw.de/> zu konsultieren.

Unter den Fundzusammenstellungen ist in erster Linie die Monographie von ABRAMZON/FROLOVA/GORLOV zu erwähnen, die 38 Funde mit ca. 10.000 Münzen des 6. Jh. v.–6. Jh. n. Chr. aufführt, die in den Museen von Krasnodar, Anapa, Taman und Novorossiisk liegen (3). Viele Münzen werden erstmals publiziert. Ein weiterer wichtiger Band ist die Publikation der 13 Funde aus dem Museum von Kerč, von denen einige erstmals vollständig, andere überhaupt erst auf diese Weise der Wissenschaft zugänglich wurden (4). Nur zwei der Funde enthalten nur römische Münzen, alle anderen auch bosporanische Prägungen. Von Interesse ist außerdem der Fund der Tamanhalbinsel für die Untersuchung des frühen bosporanischen Münzsystems (2). Einen Fund von 367 bosporanischen Bronzemünzen des 3. Jh.s v. Chr., der sich in einer Privatsammlung befindet, publizieren vollständig bebildert ZIN'KOV und KULIKOV (192). Bei den Grabungen von Hermonassa traten 454 Fundmünzen v. a. von Pantikapion und den bosporanischen Könige zu Tage (72).

Den archäologischen Komplex Kara-Tobe, der vor allem Münzen der Chersones enthielt, publizierten VNUKOV und KOVALENKO (186).

Die Zusammensetzung des Münzfundes aus dem Panhellenischen Achilles-Heiligtum von Tendra Spit aus der Grabung von 1824 versuchte TUNIKA zu eruieren (180).

In der Umgebung von Theodosia gefundene Münzen dienen der Rekonstruktion der politischen Geschichte (40).

Immer wieder spielt die Krise des 3. Jh.s v. Chr. in den Publikationen eine Rolle (94, 96). So zeigte STOLBA überzeugend, daß bereits bevor Chersonesos, Olbia und die Städte des Bosporos ihre Chorai verloren, die Indikatoren für einen Verfall, der generellen Charakter trug, sichtbar waren (155). Der Untersuchung ist ein Überblick der Funde mit gegengestempelten und überprägten Münzen von den ländlichen Territorien der östlichen Krim beigelegt. GRIGOR'EV macht militärische Ereignisse für die Krise verantwortlich (45).

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# GREECE FROM THE ARCHAIC THROUGH TO THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Selene Psoma

## Handbooks and Publication of collections

Two publications of introductions to Greek numismatics are worth mentioning: NICOLET-PIERRE (106) and ARNOLD-BIUCCHI (6). Several volumes of *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* have been published: the Macedonian part of the Saroglos collection (141, see also 9, 53), the volumes of Western Greece and Thessaly (89), Attika, Megaris and Aigina (80 and 42) of Munich, the entire collections of Chrestomanos (112) and A. G. Soutzos (182) of the NMA. Various auction catalogues of the BCD collection shed light on the coinages of Western Greece (151), Boiotia (13), Elis (23) and the Peloponnese (24). See also 12, 58, 99, 100, 152 and 153.

## Varia (monetary circulation and policy, excavation coins, countermarks etc.)

DE CALLATAY (27) stressed the significance of conspectus, chronological tables and surfaces indices, in publications of excavation coins. PICARD (130) describes the mechanisms of monetary circulation in Greece during the Archaic and the Classical period. An overview of coinages of Greek federal states by PSOMA and TSANGARI (142) assembling hoard and other evidence was followed by a study of coinages of *koina* as cooperative coinages by MACKIL and VAN ALFEN (93) who also discussed the economy of the *koina* and stressed the economic import of these coinages. ZIESMANN (197) explained the term *autonomia* and its appearance in Greek literary sources and examined *autonomia* and coinage. For monetary policy see (45), for inscriptions on coins (85) and for coinages and cities see (37).

## Iconography

PALEOTHODOROS interpreted the Satyr and Maenad of the silver coinage of Thasos in the context of the city's cult of Dionysos and collects all available evidence for this cult (115). One needs to note the important contribution of CALTABIANO (18). SUSPENE offers a discussion of eagles in Macedonian iconography and their significance (167). SERGUEENKOVA (155) reopens the debate about the political meaning of the reverse of Alexander's gold. For Royal Macedonian iconography see RITTER (150) and LE RIDER (84, cf. 171) for Alexander III. ARNOLD-BIUCCHI (6) and DAHMEN (25) analyzed aspects of the iconography of Alexander whose portrait was first depicted on coins under the Successors. One might question the explanation of the obverse of Aesillas tetradrachms as a portrait of the *quaestor* himself: the portrait and the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ point to the Macedonian king. See also the monograph of BOPEARACHCHI and FLANDRIN (15) that provoked long discussions (69).

PICARD related the *taurokathapsia* to the advice given to Philip V of Macedonia to seize the acropolis of Messene so that he could keep the Peloponnese under control "by holding both the ox's horns" (127). This Thessalian sport is depicted on Thessalian coins of mid fifth century BC date. KAGAN (72) relates this type to Jason, Thessaly's national hero. HELLY (67) and LIAMPI (88) also discussed Thessalian iconography.

PENDLETON (120) explained the different poses of horses on Thessalian coins: nibbling, prancing, cantering, crouching, walking and galloping. She further linked horses to Poseidon and notes various passages of Xenophon on horses. TSANGARI (176) preferred to link the horses on Thessalian coins to the Thessalian cavalry and noted their association with Poseidon and local myths.

SMITH (159) follows Pausanias and identifies the head on the reverse of Corinthian coins with Aphrodite *Hoplismene* of Acrocorinth on the basis of a bronze coin of Corinth struck under Hadrian that depicted the statue in her temple, holding a round shield and a Corinthian helmet pushed back on head.

## Northern Greece and the Kingdom of Macedonia

### Between Nestos and Strymon: Thasos and the cities of the so called Thasian Peraia

PICARD provided a synthetic account of the coinages and history of the so called Thasian Peraia during the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. (128). Both PICARD (128) and PSOMA (135) related the temporary control of the Bisaltic mines by Alexander I with the large denominations of his silver coinage struck with types inspired by other

coinages of the Pangaion area. They stress the significance of the identification of Dysoron with Menoikion for our understanding of Alexander's presence in the area in the late 460s. Alexander gained temporary control of the mints of Pangaion when the Athenians were suppressing the revolt of Thasos. PICARD also discusses the presence of Thasians at Berge, the alliance of Berge with Athens after 454/3 BC, the road from the coast to Berge that the Thasians followed and problems concerning the coinage of the Thracian Saratokos and of the city of Berge and silver coinages of Thasian types. He stresses the existence of the same rivals in the conflict for the mine district of the Pangaion from 478 BC to the foundation of Philippi in 357 BC: Thasos, local Thracian tribes and the Odrysians, the Athenians and the kings of Macedonia. See also PICARD (129). The dates of the monetary reform of Thasos have been discussed by PICARD (121) and can be confirmed by hoard evidence: tetradrachms of Thasos were part of the Hecatombnos' - and the Pixodaros' - hoards: see MEADOWS (8, 98).

PSOMA (140) attributed the silver coinage of Aigai to the city of Galepsos because it bears the same type as the fourth century BC bronze coinage of Galepsos and because the initials of Galepsos in the Parian alphabet-in use at Galepsos- occur on the latest silver coins of Aigai. The coinage was issued during the years when Thasos was less powerful (490-470) and its iconography is linked to Paros, the metropolis of Thasos and the cities of the Thasian Peraia. Silver fractions of Galepsos are often found in excavations at Thasos, Amphipolis and Galepsos. See also (40) and (87). On the basis of the initial letters ΠΕ of the ethnic on the reverse of the later series, *hektai* and *hemiektai* should be attributed to the Pierian city of Pergamon (139).

SMITH attributes the "Lete" coinage to a city of the Thasian Peraia with strong arguments, and identifies this city as Eion (158). PSOMA follows SMITH in placing this coinage in the Thasian Peraia but identifies the city as Berge, a city of Bisaltia on the eastern side of the Strymon River, closer to the mining district (144). This coinage is the earliest archaic coinage in the area between the Nestos and the Strymon. Since all the coinages of this area were struck on the so-called Thasian version of the "Thracio-Macedonian" standard this version must have been invented by Parian colonists. Its attribution to a city of the "Thasian Peraia" has implications for the history of the area and the status of the Parian foundations.

A small hoard from the cemetery of Gazoros contained small silver fractions of Thasos, Neapolis, Eion and a silver drachm of 3.6 g with Thasian types and the legend ΒΕΡΓΑΙΟΥ (137). Its burial date antedates the foundation of Philippi. The drachm with the legend ΒΕΡΓΑΙΟΥ is attributed to Berge, an immediate neighbour of Gazoros. The legend refers to the coin as a fraction of the city's coinage in a way that very often occurs in epigraphic documents (e.g. *στατήρες κυζικηνού*). The common attribution to a Thracian dynast named Bergaios has to be rejected: silver coins of the Odrysians are absent from northern Greece and their bronzes are rare (GATZOLIS *et al.*: 48). Moreover, Bergaios is not a Thracian name.

PROKOPOV (134) presents a Corpus of the Thasian silver coins minted on the Attic standard and their imitations all found in hoards in inner Thrace and places further north. He links these coinages with military payments. PICARD (122) traces some variations in the monetary policy of the city of Thasos during the second century BC.

#### Amphipolis, Argilos and the Chalcidic peninsula

LIAMPI (87) presents the silver coinage of the mint of Argilos. It was issued during a short period with a restricted number of dies and was dated from the late sixth century BC to the mid fifth century. Staters ceased to be struck after the end of the Persian wars. The weight standard is the so-called reduced version of the "Thracio-Macedonian" adopted by other issuing authorities in the Chalcidic peninsula (see also 140). The mint production was divided by Liampi in eight periods. One stater on the Euboian standard was dated to the end of period IV. One can add some observations to those of BOUBELIS (16: history and numismatics), DE CALLATAY (28: *raison d'être* of this coinage, presence in hoards buried in the Near East) and FISCHER-BOSSERT (39: metrology). The stater of Euboian weight seems to be the last large denomination of Argilos. Together with other minting authorities in the Chalcidic peninsula, Argilos changed its weight standard and adopted the Attic-Euboian at the same time. For the forty-eighths that could either have been issued on the Euboian standard or represent the same value as the thirty-seconds with which they share types, see FISCHER-BOSSERT (39). What LIAMPI considers *hektai* and compares to those of Thasos could be fifths (see 39). We note that Thasos adopted a very different system and the Greek term is *hemiektai*, not *hemiektai*.

Staters of Lete, Thasos, Akanthos Eretria, Naxos and Kaunos, didrachms of Chios and silver from Cypriot mints have been found in a Cypriot hoard (MANI HURTER: 68). Its burial has been dated ca. 478 and related to the

Athenian campaign on Cyprus of that same year. LIAMPI (87) discussed the reasons these north Greek coinages moved to the East and associated them with trade. This theory has been criticized by DE CALLATAY (28).

CHRYSSANTHAKI-NAGLE presents the excavation coins from Tragilos combined with all the archaeological evidence (22). The majority of the coins are bronzes of the city and are followed by the bronze coins of the Macedonian kings down to the 270s when the site was destroyed by the Gauls. *CH VIII 297* provides evidence about the city's coinage struck during the period Tragilos was part of the Macedonian kingdom.

TSELEKAS (178) publishes a number of late archaic overstrikes of mints of the Chalcidic peninsula. These overstrikes occur mostly on staters of Akanthos and can help establishing a relative chronology for the coinages of Torone, Dikaia, Mende, Skione and Sermylia. The commercial relations of cities on the Chalcidic peninsula with Akanthos can be detected by the evidence of these overstrikes and were facilitated by the uniform weight standard. The monetary production of Akanthos coincided with the construction of Xerxes' canal and was struck to pay the city's obligations to the Persians. PSOMA (140) attributes staters and smaller fractions with a goat walking to Aigai, a city in Pallene (Aigantioi of the *ATL*) on the basis of their weight standard (reduced "Thrac-Macedonian").

The small silver fractions from the excavations of Olynthos, previously attributed to the Odrysian Sparadokos, must now be attributed to Sermylia, a close neighbour of Olynthos (138). This renders less plausible the view that Sparadokos was a local Odrysian ruler in the Chalcidic peninsula. Both the weight system of his small fractions and the coin finds locate Sparadokos in the area of the middle Hebros River. GATZOLIS *et al.* (48) stress the rarity of coins of the Odrysian rulers in Aegean Thrace, the Thasian Peraia, the Chalcidic peninsula and Macedonia and give a detailed discussion of all finds.

KOSMIDOU publishes the coins found in the eastern cemetery of Amphipolis and notes also the presence of five hoards of pre-Roman times (76). GATZOLIS (49) presents for the first time ancient coins from Akte (Athos). To the small number of specimens from Greek cities, Philip II, Alexander III and Lysimachos, one can add the tetrobol of Histiaia and a hoard of Alexander drachms from Nea Potidaia. The drachms of this hoard date between 301 and 294 BC. The historical context for its burial is the troubled period between the reigns of Cassander's sons and the beginning of Demetrios Poliorketes' reign. HARDWICK publishes the excavation coins from the first three seasons of Torone (65). One of the posthumous bronzes of Alexander III dates the construction of the fortification Wall after 315 BC.

PSOMA discussed evidence from inscriptions and coins of classical date for the numismatic terminology of northern Greece (143). As at Thasos and the other Parian colonies, the term stater was used to denote the heaviest denomination in the Chalcidic peninsula including the Attic-Euboian weight so-called tetradrachms. Sermylia issued staters of ca. 12 g and sometimes later of 17 g. The value of the coin (stater) and an official's name written in the Euboian alphabet can be observed on the earliest of Sermylia's silver on the Euboian Attic standard. On the Chalcidic peninsula and in the Macedonian kingdom, a terminology related to the drachma is attested from the fifth century BC: silver coins with the initial letters ΔΙΟΒ and ΤΡΙΗ, diobols and trihemibols issued by Alexander I and Perdikkas II, silver with the letters ΤΡΙΗ and similar weight to those struck by the Macedonian king issued by the Chalcidic League. Mende struck silver drachms on a reduced standard with the inscription ΜΕΝΔΑΙΗ. In the deeds of sale from Olynthos, other cities of the Chalcidic league and Amphipolis, dated to the mid fourth century BC, the term drachma is used. Thasos followed the cities of the Chalcidic peninsula and adopted also the term drachma for its silver fractions of 3.6 g.

#### The Macedonian Kingdom

WARTENBERG (195) presents a hoard (?) of silver tetradrachms of Alexander I, which confirms the sequence proposed by Raymond for groups II and III. These groups were struck with a small number of dies, which were frequently recut. The number of specimens struck with worn dies is high and that shows that the tetradrachms were struck only at times when currency was needed. PSOMA (135) discussed monetary policy, fractional system, iconography, provenance of silver, circulation inside the frontiers of the kingdom and presence abroad as well as presence of foreign coins in Macedonia before Philip II in their historical context by. PICARD (123) examines royal Macedonian bronze coinage before Philip II and TOURATSOGLU (170) attempts a general study of Philip II's bronze coinage.

VAN DRIESCHE (188) proposes a low date for the beginning of Philip II's silver coinage because of (a): its absence in hoards from Olynthos, (b) the monetary policy of Amphipolis and Philippi and (c) the parallel issues of two distinct silver royal coinages, one of Macedonian character and a second with Panhellenic ambitions. Several

objections can be raised against her proposal. First, the legal tender at Olynthos until 348 BC was the federal coinage in gold, silver and bronze. The small number of silver staters from Akanthos and Amphipolis, an ally of the Chalcidians, can be explained as the result of their common weight standard and by the historical circumstances. Second, LORBER convincingly dated the beginning of most of Amphipolis' silver coinage around 370 BC and connected it to the repeated efforts of Athens to recapture Amphipolis in the 360s.<sup>2</sup> PSOMA supported the traditional date of 357 BC for the end of Amphipolis' gold coinage and explained it in the context of the attacks by the Athenians and later by Philip II.<sup>3</sup> The bronze coinage with Perdikkas types and the city's ethnic dates from the years 363 to 360 BC when Perdikkas III established a Macedonian garrison in this city. Third, these fifths of the stater from Amphipolis, which VAN DRIESSCHE claims have a Panhellenic character, are very rare and found in very few hoards outside northern Greece.

SUSPENE (167) placed a tetradrachm of Philip with an eagle on the reverse as control between the end of Le Rider's Group IB of Pella and the beginning of Le Rider's Group II A of Pella. One might add that if we follow Price, this tetradrachm dates from the early reign of Philip II and the eagle therefore fits much better in the ideological background described by SUSPENE. TSELEKAS (181) drew attention to a number of double-struck silver tetradrachms of Philip II.

The results of the chemical analysis conducted on the alloys of Alexander's silver from the collection of the Hermitage Museum is presented by the team preparing a publication of a full catalogue (33). The variations in the proportion of gold found in these coins reflect their different provenances. Amphipolis' issues with torch as symbol present the highest gold content. Very small proportions of copper have been discovered in coins issued during the fourth century BC. Coins struck in Macedonia contain more lead. GONDONNEAU and GUERRA also published their results of the analysis of Alexander's gold coins (59).

LE RIDER published his masterful synthesis of the coinage, finances and politics of Alexander the Great (84), in which he thoroughly presented and described problems of chronology, iconography, hoards, ideology and politics. This book, which offers a complete exploration of the structure and function of Alexander's monetary and financial policy, received a detailed review by TOURATSOLOU (171), who further explored the literary sources and the hoard evidence from Greece.

DUYRAT provided a synthetic study of the important Demanhur hoard of Alexander tetradrachms (36). VISONÀ (189) presented a group of twenty-one Alexander tetradrachms donated to the University of Michigan by Dattari and now in Ann Arbor. Combined evidence shows that this group was most probably part of the Demanhur hoard (*IGCH* 1664). For an important part of this hoard in the Saroglos collection, see (141).

VALASSIADIS (185) collected the evidence for Cassander's bronze coinage and attributed it to Macedonian and other mints. He is surely correct in attributing the bronzes with helmet and spearhead to a Carian mint and to follow Descat<sup>4</sup> in considering them issues struck in a military context. The attribution of the Apollo head/ tripod bronzes to Kassandreia seems problematic. Kassandreia, before its full incorporation into the Macedonian kingdom under Antigonos Gonatas, was an ally of the Macedonian king and held, like Philippi, a different status from the other cities of the kingdom.

HUSENOFSKI (70) presented the excavation coins from Vardarski Rid, the Hellenistic acropolis on the Axios. The oldest coin is a stater with centaur and nymph. A light tetrobol of Perdikkas II, bronzes of the Macedonian kings (Amyntas III, Philip II, Alexander III) and bronzes of Macedonian cities with very few specimens of other mints are also presented. Of special interest is a hoard of tetradrachms of Alexander III, Philip III, Lysimachos and Seleukos I. Husenofski dated its burial to around 280 BC and linked it with the Gallic invasions. He also gave information on three other published hoards of similar composition and burial date found in this area. PAVLOVSKA published a hoard found in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia that contains heavy tetrobols of Perdikkas II, the Chalcidian League and of Akanthos (119). She provided information about two other hoards of similar composition.

A hoard of silver tetradrachms and drachms of Alexander III and a single Athenian tetradrachm was found in a destruction level at Neos Panteleimon, in the area of ancient Herakleion (169). The hoard was buried in the 270s

<sup>2</sup> LORBER, C. C., *Amphipolis, The Civic Coinage in Silver and Gold* (Los Angeles 1990)

<sup>3</sup> PSOMA, S., *Olynthe et les Chalcidiens de Thrace. Etudes de Numismatique et d'Histoire* (Stuttgart 2001)

<sup>4</sup> DESCAT, R., "La carrière d'Eupolemos, stratège macédonien en Asie Mineure. Appendice: Note sur une inscription caro-grecque de Caunos" *REA* 100 (1998) 167-190

during the chaos following the Gallic invasions. TOURATSOGLU (169) associated a number of hoards from Macedonia with the dramatic events of 279 BC and proposed new dates for a number of hoards from Macedonia.

ARENA (5) presented new varieties of the issues in the name of Alexander III and Philip III from the collections of E. Gilbertson (1813-1904) and Ch. Hersh (1923-1999). Fifty staters in the name of Philip II and Alexander III from the Gilbertson collection came from *IGCH* 1472 (Larnaca, 1870).

POULIOS (132) presented five Hellenistic hoards of royal Macedonian bronze coins from eastern Macedonia buried in the years between the end of Cassander's reign and the beginning of the reign of Philip V. They contained bronze coins of Philip II, Alexander III, Cassander, Antigonos Gonatas and Philip V. An important number of bronzes of Antigonos Gonatas were countermarked under Demetrios II and Antigonos Doson. Early in his reign Philip V followed their example and also countermarked bronzes of the Herakles/horseman and Athena/Pan types. Poullos offered an absolute chronology for the different series of Antigonos Gonatas' bronze coinage. It is important to note the complete absence from all five hoards of bronzes of Demetrios Poliorketes and Pyrrhos, which indicates that they were probably overstruck on a massive scale. On the coinages of the Antigonids see also FURTWÄGLER (47).

The study of monetary practices in Macedonian funerary contexts illustrates the two principal functions of coins found in burial contexts (21): Charon's fee and grave offering. The burial rite of Charon's obol appears in the middle of the fifth century BC and clearly antedates the earliest literary sources that all date from the end of the century. The value of these coins is often more or less than an obol. Gold pseudo-coins came to replace real coins ca. 350 BC.

The types of a series of didrachms known from two specimens issued from the same pair of dies (Macedonian shield/ club in an oak wreath, ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΜΕΡΙΑΔΟΣ) associate them with Philip V and Perseus (KREMYDI-SICILIANOU: 79). The rare monogram found on these didrachms and on bronzes dating from the latest period of the reign of Philip V provides decisive evidence for the date of the didrachms and the division of Macedonia into four districts under the Antigonids.

LIAMPI (86) published a hoard from Serres/ Macedonia that contains bronzes of Pella, Amphipolis and Thessaloniki, and an unpublished (?) bronze coin with head of Zeus on the obverse, thunderbolt and the legend [Δ]ΙΟΣ ΕΛΕΥ/ΘΕΠΙΟΥ on the reverse. She proposed to attribute this bronze to Pella or the Bottiaians and dated it to 168 BC. The hoard was buried after 168 BC.

PSOMA (136) attributed to Methone bronze coins with female head on the obverse, a dolphin and the initial letters ME/Θ on the reverse, as well as a silver coin of 0.50 with head of horse on the obverse and dolphin on the reverse. This obol on the Thraco- Macedonian" weight standard is reminiscent of royal Macedonian silver fractions struck under Alexander I and Perdikkas II.

## Thessaly

### Mints

KAGAN (72) showed that the earliest silver coinage of Larissa (Herrmann Group I) was struck on a lower Aiginetan weight standard and depicted Jason and types related to him. Secondary symbols that are shared with octadrachms of Alexander I of Macedonia from around 460 BC, and the arrangement of the legend around the incuse square point to a date after 470 BC. The campaign of Leotychidas provides a historical context for this coinage. The beginning of the federal coinage was related to the Thessalian alliance with Athens in 462/1 BC.

DEMETRIADI (29) proposed a date around 400 BC for the beginning of the bronze coinage of Larissa and connected it with the high relief profile heads of the Larissaian drachms. It is difficult to believe that drachms of different types were issued simultaneously, as Demetriadi proposed; it seems more likely that the profile head drachms were struck after the *taukothapsia* drachms (period II) and were followed by the three quarter facing drachms.

PAPAEVANGELOU-GENAKOS (117) argued that Phalanna and other Thessalian cities struck dichalka and trichalka at the same time. This seems highly unlikely. The literary and epigraphic evidence demonstrates that from the fourth century until the late second century BC, cities and kings either struck trichalka on the heavy obol system (Aiginetan) or dichalka on the light obol system (Athenian and others). This criticism does not diminish the value of her contribution, which offers a clear picture of the city's bronze coinage down to the mid third century BC.



GEORGIU' survey (51) of the coinage of Lamia contains a lot of interesting material: the three known specimens from the fifth (or early fourth) century BC are clearly trihemibols of slightly reduced weight, and the letters TR on the reverse refer to their nominal value as in many other cases. The use of the city's ethnic ΛΑΜΙΕΩΝ alternating with ΜΑΛΙΕΩΝ deserves closer attention as does the small gold coin of 0.50 g. The different reverse types of bronzes of the second period with similar diameter and weights may indicate successive issues. The terms "commemorative issue" and "circulation of bronze coins" are problematic and should be avoided.

VALASSIADIS (184) dated the coinage of the Oitaians between 371 BC and the first century BC. It was issued in silver and bronze and illustrates the history of the Oitaians. During the Hellenistic period, from 250 BC, the Oitaians who belonged to the Aitolian League, issued bronzes with Aitolian types. The latest silver of the city, staters and tetrobols, was struck with weights similar to those of the Ainians, the immediate neighbours of the Oitaians. DE CALLATAÿ (26) proposed to date these silver coins of the Ainians during the years of Sulla's campaign in Greece against the armies of Mithridates VI. He showed that the latest silver coinage of the Ainians shares its fabric with the didrachms of Leukas and the Cretan imitations of Athenian New Style silver issued on the initiative of Lucullus. They also share stylistic features with these Cretan imitations. They displayed the name of the official written in full as on the coinages of Leukas and the Thessalian League. Their weight also points to Leukas and the Thessalian League. The type of the Athena Parthenos connects them with Athens and the symbol of the trophy with the rare New Style tetradrachms commemorating the double victory of Sulla at Chaironeia and Orchomenos. All these features combined with epigraphic evidence point to a date in the 80s for the coinage of the Ainians. This silver coinage was struck to finance Sulla's campaigns in Mainland Greece. The silver coins of Late Hellenistic date of the Oitaians and the Ainians travelled to the South with the troops to Aitolia, the Peloponnese and also to Calabria (Caserta: *IGCH* 2053).

PANAGOPOULOU (116) offers a sketch of the history and coinage of Gomphoi, the border city of Histiaiotis. Staters and fractions on the Aiginetan standard and bronzes with a head of Hera and Zeus were struck during the third quarter of the fourth century BC. The legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ occurs on the silver and ΓΟΜΦΙΤΟΥΝ or ΓΟΜΦΕΩΝ on the bronze. The city was re-founded by Philip II under the name of Philippopolis and its original name was later restored. During the reign of Philip V it was also called Philippopolis. The possibility that the city was called Gomphoi and Philippopolis at the same time cannot be excluded.

LIAMPI (88) presented the first known bronze coins of the Thessalian cities of Iolkos and Pagasai and analyzed their iconography. The head of Artemis Iolkia is reminiscent of that found on the silver staters of Orthagoreia. The reverse depicts the prow of Argo. The obverse of the *chalkoi* of Pagasai shows a head of Apollo and the reverse a lyre. Dates in the mid-fourth century are proposed for both coinages.

HELLY (67) also presented three Thessalian coinages of minor importance: Eureai, Meliboia and Rhizous. On the basis of hoard evidence (Makrakomi: *IGCH* 214), he proposed a date in the third century BC for the bronzes of Eureai. He further discussed the location of this city and argued for Magnesia. The grapes on the reverse connect Eureai to Meliboia, Rhizous and Eurymenai. The letter Λ that occurs on bronzes of all four cities confirms this location and finds a parallel in the letters XA that occur on contemporary bronzes of cities of an almost neighbouring area: Achaia Phthiotis.

For Pharsalos see LORBER (91, 92), FISCHER-BOSSERT (39) and FLAMENT (41). The dates around 460 BC proposed for the beginning of the city's coinage find a parallel in the numismatic output of Larissa as described by KAGAN (72). Bronze coinage began around 405 BC. The initials of names on the coins of Pharsalos refer to mint officials rather than artists.

The coinage of the Thessalian League was minted in three denominations: drachms and hemidrachms on the Attic standard, and staters of 6 g, the traditional weight of the Aiginetan drachm. The use of both standards does not seem to have created problems: this currency circulated locally (78).

### *Hoard*s

OECONOMIDES and TSOURTI (111) presented the second lot (556 triobols of Aiginetan weight) of the so called Itea (?) hoard (*CH* VIII 254). Another hoard from Styliis, the site of ancient Phalara, the *epineion* of Lamia, is published by BOUYIA (17). With the exception of three silver obols on the Aiginetan standard, the hoard contained mainly bronzes from cities of Central Greece and Thessaly and also of Philip II and Alexander III. The bronze coin of Chalkis dates the burial of the hoard to the late 280s, which can be connected either with an earthquake or with

the Gallic invasions. However, on the basis of the bronzes of Philip II and Alexander III, an earlier date can be proposed for its burial.

INTZESEIOGLOU (71) published a hoard of silver coins found in the west wall of a building that destroyed part of the theatre at Demetrias and linked its burial, the abandonment of the theatre and the destruction of part of it with the beginning of the reign of Augustus and the end of the coinage of the Thessalian league: the hoard includes ten staters with the names of Androstenes and Ptolemaios, who have been identified with the homonymous *strategoi* of the League between 49/8 and 27 BC.

LIAMPI (90) published another hoard from Thessaly, which contained bronze coins of Pharsalos, Larissa and Demetrios Poliorketes. This hoard provides evidence for the down dating of Larissa's bronzes to the early third century BC. Dates connected to the Gallic invasions of the late 280s can be proposed for the burial of the hoard. The absence of bronzes of Pyrrhos and especially of Antigonos Gonatas supports this date rather than the mid third century BC proposed by LIAMPI.

Hoard evidence from Thessaly in the second and first centuries BC reveals that the coinage struck by the newly founded Thessalian League monopolized monetary circulation during a significant part of this period (KREMYDI-SICILIANOU: 78). Federal drachms are present in hoards buried before 168 BC. Hoard and epigraphic evidence point to later dates for the staters. All hoards buried during the first half of the second century are of mixed composition with pseudo-Rhodian and Histiaian silver, tetrobols in the name of the Macedonians struck during the reigns of Philip V and Perseus, silver of Perseus on a reduced weight, Athenian tetradrachms etc. None of these coins are found in hoards buried between 146 and 27 BC, where local coins are abundant. A few New Style silver tetradrachms and silver denarii occur in some of these hoards. Athenian coins in hoards buried in Thessaly can be connected to the Mithridatic wars or the military operations of the Romans against the Skordiskoi. The limited number of Roman silver coins shows that these were not widely used before the second half of the first century BC. A similar pattern of circulation can be observed in Macedonia and Euboea.

MARCHETTI (94) questions the composition of three hoards containing coins of Larissa along with royal Macedonian silver and silver from Greek cities: *IGCH* 168, 385 and *CH* VIII 182. He reconsidered the Amphictyonic coinage issued for a short period beginning in 336 BC and related it to a presumed decision of Philip II to use it as the primary coinage of Mainland Greece. He rejects the low chronology of the coinage of Alexander III proposed by Troxell and followed by Le Rider. Evidence from hoards indicates that the Amphictyonic coinage only had a local circulation and contradicts MARCHETTI's theory (147).

#### *Coins from excavations*

The most important coin finds by far at the sites of the east and west cemeteries of Argitheia and Athamania were those of Ambrakia followed by those of the Thessalian league (19). Thirteen small hoards of Late Hellenistic date were found in burials of Argitheia. The site of Argitheia was located on the road leading from Ambrakia and Athamania to Thessaly and Gomphoi.

Excavations at Pherai have brought to light a hoard containing a Roman as, bronze coins of the Thessalian koinon and the Magnesians (34). All the excavation coins date from the fourth to the first century BC. Bronze coins of Thessalian cities are found but the bronzes of the Thessalian League are the largest number. Macedonian bronzes, especially those of Antigonos Gonatas, follow the movements of the Macedonian army in the area. Three of the five silver coins found are fractions of Larissa and the other two are of Boiotia and Histiaia.

The coins from the excavations at Kierion (109) and its area consist of silver obols of Sicyon, Pelinna and Kierion, bronzes of Thessalian cities, all traditionally dated to the fourth century BC, bronzes of the Thessalian League dating from the Late Hellenistic period and bronzes of the Macedonian kings from Amyntas III to Antigonos Gonatas. Larissa is the best represented Thessalian mint. All the non Thessalian bronzes were minted by major cities. Coin finds from Kierion are very similar to those found at nearby Kallithira.

Athenian tetradrachms appear in Thessalian hoards dated after 320 BC. At this time Thessaly was flooded with royal Macedonian coins on the Attic standard. It was also at this moment that the Thessalian cities gradually abandoned the practice of minting silver on the Aiginetan standard (179). It is unlikely that Athenian tetradrachms arrived before 320 BC and they are never found in Thessaly because they were probably melted down to provide silver for Thessalian coinages. The presence of New Style silver tetradrachms in Thessaly is best explained by Roman military operations in the area: see (78).

The Aitolian bronzes dated to the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century BC come mainly from the Spercheios valley. Those from the second half of the third century and the first decades of the second are found all over Thessaly (175). Their presence in Thessaly reflects military operations and the incorporation of parts of Central Greece and Thessaly in the vast Aitolian League in the late third century BC.

REINDERS (149) published the excavations coins from Halos, a site that was abandoned in 265/64 BC. They consist of bronze coins of Halos and of the neighbouring cities of Achaia Phthiotis, Lokris and Euboia. Royal Macedonian bronzes and some bronzes of Ptolemy II were also present at Halos. After the city was abandoned, a change in coin circulation can be observed. From 260 to 220 BC, the period during which the area around the southeast gate was inhabited, the coins of the Hellenistic kings predominated over those of the cities (70%).

PAPAGEORGIADOU-BANI (118) stressed the rarity of Roman coins found in Greece. But she but believes that this does not reflect their real part played in the monetary circulation, but is due to logistic factors imposed by political necessities. APOSTOLOU (4) gave a list of mints that produced pseudo-Rhodian coins and also a list of hoards that contained these coinages. RALLI-PHOTOPOULOU (148) described the circulation of Thessalian coins in Mainland Greece and in Thessaly and stressed the local circulation of Thessalian coins in the fifth century BC and later during the second and the first centuries BC. She pointed out the importance of the coinages of Larissa and Pherai. KARAMITROU-MENTESIDI and BOULAKAKIS (73) described the presence of Thessalian coins in Aiane and other sites of Elimiotis. Very few silver coins occur and the concentration of bronze coins can be observed from the fourth century BC and the period of the Thessalian League.

A team of archaeologists provided information about the coins kept at the Archaeological Museum of Larissa (74): almost 10.000 coins, 1816 from Thessalian cities, 1098 from the Macedonian kings, 63 from cities of Macedonia, 39 coins from other Greek cities and federal states. One complete hoard from Pharsalos contains local hemidrachms and staters of Aigina. Another complete hoard from a Hellenistic house of Krannon contains silver coins of the Macedonian kings (Alexander III to Demetrios I) and Athenian tetradrachms. Parts of other hoards also belong to the Museum of Larissa. Some contained exclusively silver coins of Aigina and reflect the importance of this currency in Thessaly from the late sixth century BC. Three hoards with tetrobols of Histiaia attest to the extended use of this currency for payments to troops during the Macedonian wars. Three other hoards of silver coins of Larissa reveal the importance of local coinage in the *chora* of Larissa and more generally in Thessaly.

## Illyria

The small hoard (24 bronzes) from Senitsa in the South (126) contains coins of the Epirotic Alliance, Orikos, Apollonia, Corcyra, Ambrakia and two bronzes with bull on the obverse, eagle on thunderbolt and the initials XA on the reverse. On the basis of the presence of some specimens of these types in the area of Phoinike and of the iconography, PICARD proposed to explain the monogram as the first letters of the ethnic Chaones. This coinage was struck in two denominations and dates from the years preceding the Third Macedonian War. At this time, Charops most probably paid the Roman army with this coinage. Picard proposed similar dates for the hoard. The hoard from Elbasan (55) was unearthed in the vicinity of a sanctuary to the south of the Via Egnatia. It contains 2768 coins. Most of them are bronzes of Dyrrhachion dating from the fourth century BC to the middle of the first century BC. The most important series is that of the Zeus' head/ Tripod bronzes issued from the middle of the third century BC. GJONGECAJ dates the burial of the hoard in the years between 48 BC and the foundation of the Roman colony. The presence of some bronzes of other issuing authorities is associated with the Via Egnatia. See also 54, 56, 57, 131.

Another important recent hoard from Corcyra (Corfu 1997) contains mainly silver on the Corinthian and the so-called Corcyraian standard, which is a lighter version of the Corinthian standard (133). The hoard also contains three coins on the Attic standard, a tetradrachm and a drachm of Alexander III and a drachm of Lysimachos, staters and drachms of Corinth, Leukas, Anaktorion dating from the second half of the fourth century BC, staters and drachms of Corcyra dating from 400 to 229 BC, of Dyrrhachion and Apollonia, of king Monounios and of the Lucanians struck at Metapontion. This last coin dates from the period of Pyrrhos's campaigns in South Italy. A burial date before 270 BC was proposed.

VISONÀ (190 and 191) presented coins of the cities of Herakleia, Issa, an unidentified mint with Pegasos/Macedonian shield, Macedonian shield/Star and bull's head/star representing different denominations that may have originated from Southern Illyria, and also of Ballaios who later took the royal title. UJES discussed literary evidence and the topography of the finds of coins of Damastion (183), which she connects with the location of the

silver mines. These coins are most frequently found in the area of the rich silver mines of Kosovo. She concluded that the city should be sought in this region.

### Akarnania

The early federal coinage of the Akarnanian cities was explained against the historical background of the Peloponnesian War: it was issued by different cities of Akarnania with common types and on a common weight standard, as the other early federal coinages of Central Greece: of the cities of Boiotia and Thessaly (145). The letters ΣΤΡΑ or Σ on the reverse of the heaviest coins refer to Stratos, the initial F to Anaktoria and the letters ΦΟΙΝΙΑ to Oiniadai. On the reverse of the second fraction the standard letter T refers to the nominal value of the coin, the triobol, and the letters ΣΤΡ to Stratos, ΚΟ to Koronta, ΤΟ to Torhybeion. The triobols with the letter T and no indication of the issuing authority may be attributed to Anaktoria, and the triobols with the letters ΡΤΙ on the reverse and Herakles' head on the obverse to Alyzia. The unique small silver with the initial Ε may be attributed to Echinon or Euripos. These coins were struck on the Corinthian standard, as is attested by a drachm of Alyzia with the initials ΔΡΑ and weights between 2.62 g and 1.73.

STOYAS (166) interpreted the weight standard of the early federal coinage of the Akarnanians as a reduced version of the Corinthian standard. The reduced Corinthian standard was adopted by other minting authorities in the same area. The standard noted as Corinthian in *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 1* and *IG IX 4, 798* is used as reference point and does not refer to reduced Corinthian weight (147). This demonstrates the international character of the Corinthian currency, which could easily be converted to Attic. The Western neighbors of the Akarnanians, the Aitolians, adopted the so-called reduced Aiginetan standard as TSANGARI has convincingly shown on the basis of its wide circulation in the Peloponnese (175, 177).

BONELOU gave a useful sketch of circulation patterns of the city coinages of Akarnania (14). The adoption of a reduced Corinthian (Corcyraian) standard by the Akarnanian League partly explains the local circulation of its coinage. Methodologically, coinages struck on the Corinthian standard need to be distinguished from all other silver coinages of the area. GEORGIU (50) presents the coins from the Hellenistic cemetery of Oiniadai which include a small hoard of bronzes from Amphilocheian Argos and SERBETI (154) the coins from the Agora of Oiniadai.

Similar dates as those of the drachms of Alyzia were proposed for the obols and triobols of Astakos (52). The bronze coinage of the city in two denominations with head on the obverse, *cucurbita*, forceps and the letters ΑΣΤΑ on the reverse dates most likely from the middle of the fourth century BC and was associated with Philip II. The identity of the obverse type is problematic. If it is a female figure, it could be one of the daughters of Asklepios (Iaso, Akeso, Periesto etc.).

### Aitolia

TSANGARI (177) prepared the full corpus of the coinage of the Aitolian League, which she divided into five series (A to E) and each series into different groups. The Aitolian gold and silver on the Attic standard date from the last three decades of the third century BC and were connected with the war against Demetrios II. The Attic-weight silver coinage is present in hoards containing coins on the same standard. Its types are also international. The silver coinage on the reduced Aiginetan standard was issued during the second half of the third and part of the second century BC. The majority of the triobols date from the years following the second Macedonian War. This silver circulated widely in the Peloponnese. It was hoarded together with other contemporary coinages on the same standard and can be linked to military payments. The bronze coins of the Aitolians in three denominations, hemiobols, *trichalka* and *chalkoi*, are present in Aitolia, Central Greece and Thessaly, and they seem to have followed the expansion of the frontiers of the Aitolian League. If the triobols served to pay the *misthos* to soldiers in the Peloponnese, the Aitolian bronzes served the *sitarchia* for soldiers operating within the frontiers of the League. See also KRAVATOIANNOS (77).

### Phokis

The term *chremata* refers to all the property of the sanctuary at Delphi. Inventories of offerings were kept at Delphi from the archaic period, while early inscriptions refer to the *parakatatheke* of financial deposits. Sacred laws imposing fines and taxes that had to be paid to the city of Delphi are contemporary with the introduction of coinage at the end of the sixth-beginning of the fifth century BC. (PICARD: 124). MARCHETTI (95) reopened the

discussion on *epikattallage*. He stressed that this readjustment functions only “en face de l’attique”. He dated it in the 330s and argued that it disappeared afterwards. He associated it with the end of the Amphictyonic coinage.

NICOLET-PIERRE (105) published a study of weight standards that were in use in Central Greece and the Aegean during the archaic and classical periods (Aiginetan and Attic-Euboian). ASHTON (7) listed several issues of pseudo-Rhodian drachms from Mainland Greece with club and thunderbolt as symbols. Two large issues with the name Gorgos and symbols, torch and caduceus were attributed to Samothrace, which belonged to king Perseus of Macedonia.

PSOMA (146) attempted an explanation of the well known Amphictyonic decree concerning the value of the Attic tetradrachm at four silver drachms. She suggested that the four drachms are of silver on the reduced Aiginetan standard; thus the reduced Aiginetan drachm of approximately 4 g during this period becomes the equivalent of an Attic drachm. SOSIN (161) assembled and discussed evidence for the presence of Alexander’s coins and New Style silver coins at Delphi. He also proposed, on the basis of *IG VII 2426* a reconsideration of Theban *agio* and bronze drachms in second century BC Boiotia and concluded that bronze drachms and *argyron symmachikon* were related to each other by a ratio of 1:1 and both to silver (Aiginetan drachms), by a ratio of 5:6 (160). The *argyron symmachikon* was also discussed by DOYEN who suggested that the triobols on the so-called reduced Aiginetan standard (*drachmai symmachikai*) are the equivalent of drachms on the Corinthian standard (31).

## Athens

FLAMENT (46) published a monograph on Athenian silver coinage. The coinage was divided into three distinct periods: the archaic period with the Wappenmünzen, the years between 515 and 185 BC, and the time of the New Style silver coinage. FLAMENT rejected the attribution of the Wappenmünzen to some sort of monetary union between Athens and Euboia, and suggested parallel series. Their Athenian origin is further supported by the use of some of the symbols on the coins as emblems on Athenian weights. He pointed out that mint activity intensified after 460 BC, and suggested that a number of tetradrachms that were considered imitations were in fact purely Athenian products. FLAMENT adopted the lower dates proposed for the New Style silver tetradrachms based on solid combined numismatic, epigraphic, prosopographical and other evidence. The most important part of this book is the one discussing Athenian silver coinage production from the late fifth to the early second century BC.

FLAMENT concluded that one cannot speak about Athenian monetary policy during the fifth and also the first half of the fourth century BC (45). For FLAMENT, it was only in the mid-fourth century BC that “une pensée politique définie comme un champ de réflexion particulier” emerged. It is also at that time that essays on the economy appeared by Xenophon, Aristotle and his school. I think that he is partly right in assuming that the rare occasions the Athenian state interfered in matters of economic and monetary policy. Two comments, however, may be made: (a) one cannot deny the rhetorical character of the passage of Demosthenes on which he relies, (b) if the monetary policy of a state is difficult for us to describe or to define precisely, it does not mean that it did not exist.

FLAMENT examined the hoard found in the excavations of Naxos, Sicily in 1985, containing Athenian tetradrachms and silver coins of Rhegion, Messina, Katane and Syracuse (43). The stratigraphy points to a date in 402 BC, the date of the destruction of the city, for the burial of the hoard. The Athenian tetradrachms in the hoard belong to Buttrey’s styles M and B, and are die-linked to others from hoards buried in Al Mina, Piraeus and Egypt (Tell-el-Makhouta). A date before 402 BC for the arrival of these imitations of Athenian tetradrachms in Sicily is not compatible with the theory about the beginning of Athenian imitations. The author wonders if these coins were in fact not imitations but poor products of the official mint of the city of Athens and arrived in Sicily with Alkibiades in 415 BC. Two other hoards from Sicily of similar composition also date from the late fifth century BC.

As a number of Athenian tetradrachms struck from two pairs of dies reached the market in the years following 1963, FLAMENT (44) suggested that these may have belonged to *IGCH 52*, found in 1962/1963. He further raised the problem of Athenian imitations and noted the similarities between tetradrachms considered imitations on the basis of their style, and products of the official mint, with which they share weight, die orientation, technique and metal. Some of these were excavated in the Athenian Agora, and some were also part of the Piraeus hoard (*CH V 15*), which also includes fractions that must have been struck by the Athenian mint.

NICOLET-PIERRE presented a long article on the presence of Athenian coins in Italy and Sicily (104). She briefly reviews the points in common between Athenian owls from Sicilian hoards and those from hoards unearthed in the Middle East. Part of the hoard (eighty-four tetradrachms out of seven hundred) that was linked with the well

known die found at Tel-El-Athrib in the vicinity of Benha was published by NICOLET-PIERRE (103). Forty tetradrachms were issued by the Athenian mint and forty four were Athenian imitations. The presence of owl tetradrachms from the official mint, and of local imitations confirm both the arrival of Athenian tetradrachms in Egypt during the first half of the fourth century BC and the functioning of a local mint in Egypt. This local production has been associated with the money for the war that the young pharaoh Tachos needed. It was an idea of the Athenian Chabrias, as reported once again by Pseudo-Aristotle. See also (108).

KROLL presented a preliminary report on a hoard of ca. 400 fourth century BC tetradrachms excavated from beneath the floor of a public building (*Strategeion?*) in the SE corner of the Agora square (81). The tetradrachms are of the pi-style variety. They were dated between the mid-fourth century BC and 294 BC. Their beginning was associated with Euboulos's program to restore the productivity of the Laurion silver mining industry to fifth-century levels. Two other tetradrachms found in the Agora in the 1990s are presented: the first is the second known pre-480 tetradrachm found in the Athenian Agora, and the second belongs to a group of owls, that were also part of the Tel el Athrib hoard and of the Lentini hoard. This tetradrachm is similar in style to some small fractions from a hoard unearthed in the Athenian suburb of Hagios Ioannis Rentis. On the basis of the Attic provenance of the fractions, and of the Agora tetradrachm, KROLL proposed an attribution of the Lentini type owls to the Athenian mint. As this type established precedents that continued in the pi-coinage, a date in the first half of the fourth century BC and more precisely in the 380s or the 370s seem probable. Kroll recalls the forgeries from finds in the Agora and the 375/4 BC Law of Nikophon. Thus, the shift to the profile eye obverses (of the Lentini type) should probably be understood not as a gesture to merely modernize the coinage but rather as alteration to give the coinage an easily recognizable new look so that the good new Athenian silver could be readily distinguished from the many existing forgeries in circulation.

OECONOMIDES (110) published a hoard of thirty silver Athenian coins found in Ano Voula. All the tetradrachms and drachms circulated very little before the burial of the hoard. The presence of tetradrachms of Buttrey's groups B and M and of coins from the official mint in the hoard raises the question: imitations or lower quality products of the Athenian mint? VAN ALFEN (187) presented a hoard from the Near East that contained Athenian imitations, Athenian tetradrachms and two silver dumps. With a burial date in the late fourth century BC, the new hoard strongly recalls the 1989 Syria and 1973 Iraq hoards. The presence of a Sabakes type imitation that previously had never been found outside of Egypt in contexts that can be linked with peaceful exchanges, provides the first evidence for such use and may indicate that the closing date of the hoard should be placed after Egypt fell to Alexander the Great in 332 BC. See also (186) for two hoards of Athenian owls from Egypt.

MATTINGLY (97) gives a very brief review of coinages related to history and strongly criticizes Figueira's theory on the Athenian Coinage Decree. See also (96). A short discussion of the Decree by HADJI AND KONTES (64) reveals that it was not a product of secure Athenian imperialism but rather an indication of the uncertain political and financial circumstances of the Athenian state. The low chronology in the 410s is adopted and the decree is seen as an attempt to control the marketplace. Thus, the existence of an Athenian monetary policy is revealed.

HARDWICK (66) presented thirteen (13) tetradrachms with Athenian types from *IGCH* 1649 that belong to the Nicholson Museum in the University of Sydney. VAN ALFEN (186) published the examples from this hoard of over 6000 silver coins that are at the ANS. A burial date in the early fourth century BC was proposed.

GRANDJEAN (62) explained the late introduction of bronze coinage by the city of Athens in connection with the first experiment, the *ponera chalkia* that was a disaster. All three forms of confidence (methodical, hierarchic, ethnic), a key problem in monetary regulations, were shaken by the late fifth century financial crisis and the solutions chosen to resolve it.

## The Peloponnese

WALKER (in 23) explained the coinage of Elis in terms of the needs of the sanctuary, the games and the *panegyris*. The two distinct series of Zeus and Hera that do not share dies were issued locally at Olympia by the Eleians who gained control of Olympia. The coinage was also intended for local use in Olympia and Elis. See also TSELEKAS (180). WARREN (193) concluded that the Peloponnesians used the coinage of Sicyon to finance the Peloponnesian War. She proposed a date in the late 430s for the beginning of the important series of staters of this city and discussed associated problems.

The study of the coinage of Messene by GRANDJEAN (60) can be summarized as follows (see also 61). The silver coinage in three series is presented first, followed by a discussion of its relative and absolute chronology, the iconography and city's ethnic. The fourth century BC bronze coinage struck between 369 and 360 BC is divided into four series and the author gives an excellent discussion of denominations of bronze. There are no silver and bronze coins of Messene from the third century BC. After the list of silver coins of the second and first century BC on the Attic standard and on the so-called reduced Aiginetan, the reader will find a discussion of hoards, iconography and chronology. The traditional date of 191 BC is adopted for the Alexanders of Messene. She dates the tetradrachms with civic types on the Attic standard from 183/182 BC. The monetary production of the city did not stop when it was a member of the Achaian league. Messene minted triobols on the so-called reduced Aiginetan standard. In a short note on the silver coinage of Korone, GRANDJEAN proposed dates in the late second-early first century BC. The bronze coinage minted by Messene from the second to the beginning of the first century BC was struck with Demeter's head on the obverse and Zeus Ithomatas on the reverse. The first letters of the ethnic in the form of a monogram occur on the reverse together with the first letters of the name of a magistrate and later his full name. Hemiobols and *tetartemoria* (*trichalka*) were struck. GRANDJEAN dated them in the second half of the second century BC and proposed dates in the early first century BC for the coinage of Thouria.

WARREN (194) provided a full corpus of the bronze coinage of the Achaian League. She concluded that all the 45 or 46 cities struck their coinages at more than one mint. The style and the disposition of the legend and the monograms were copied from the oldest mints (Megara, Argos, Megalopolis, Tegea). In 35 out of 45 cases, the city struck coinage as a single episode. Dates between 190 and 150, more precisely 168 and the later 150s BC, were proposed for the bronze coinage. The *raison d'être* of this coinage in one single denomination was linked to military payments of the *sitarchia*. WARREN associated some specimens from Thessaly with the Achaian tenure of Pleuron or Herakleia (168-164 BC). WARREN posed a number of eloquent questions and showed that there is no relation between the size and importance of a city and its monetary output. She stressed that coinage was also presented, as Polybios proudly wrote, as the expression of a communal identity, a currency for a federal idea.

ALEXOPOULOU and CALLEGHER (2) published the excavation coins from the sanctuary of Artemis Aontia. The coins from the excavations at Nemea were published in an elegant volume (75 see also 192). They provide significant evidence for the history of the site and the use of coinages in a place that functioned as a sanctuary. It is interesting to note that the grouping of different bronze coins in the *stadium*, reflects the way the seats were used by citizens of different cities. DENGATE (30) published the mint of Halieis and the excavation coins from the site: blanks and flans, detailed tables of their weights, the building and the fire pit.

PICARD (125) published the seventeen excavation coins of the sanctuary of Artemis Aktia at Kastraki, Lakonia: Sicilian bronze coins (Syracuse and Akragas) of the fifth century BC, coins from the period of the Republic, Spartan bronzes dated between 48 and 31 BC, some specimens signed by Eurykles and a late bronze of Messene. He connected the bronzes from Sicily with the arrival of Sicilian forces in the Peloponnese to help the Spartans after the end of the Sicilian expedition. This event is noted by contemporary literary sources. The second group of bronze coins that date between 200 and 150 BC were brought to Kastraki as offerings by the troops that operated in the area during the Achaian War. The third group dates from the period of Eurykles.

WEIR (196) published the coins from the Canadian excavations at the site of Stymphalos, Arkadia and a small hoard of Macedonian and other bronze coins. The hoard comes from the foundation level of the West Wall tower (V). A date around 290 BC was suggested for its burial and for the construction of the artillery tower V. The burial of the hoard is set against the historical background of the early third century BC, and the presence of Macedonian bronzes in the NE Peloponnese and Arkadia is related to the troops. The discussion on the presence of foreign coins at a site where the output of the local mint is extremely scarce is very convincing. The bronze coins from the fortifications of Stymphalos are associated with the history of the fortifications and the site from the mid fourth century BC to the years following the death of Pyrrhos. Here as in some other cases (23, 24, 117), the denominations of bronze coinage are given in an arbitrary way neglecting the work done on this subject (see GRANDJEAN: 60, TSANGARI: 177).

The publication of the Zougra hoard from Pellene (114) has long been a *desideratum*. As the hoard is reconstructed at the NMA, it contains one thousand out of nine thousand triobols on the so-called reduced Aiginetan standard. The most important part of the hoard consists of silver of the Achaian league. The final issues are missing and thus the hoard from Zougra is close to the Diakofto and Dyme hoards. All three are later than the Agrinion hoard. As the Zougra hoard contained silver of the latest series of the coinage of the Achaian League and no Roman or Athenian coins and was unearthed in Pellene, Achaia, close to Corinth, the traditional date of 146 BC for its

burial has to be retained and the end of the federal coinage of the Achaians at this time is thus confirmed. Important evidence on the chronology of the contemporary silver coinages of Argos and Megalopolis can be obtained from the comparative study of the hoards of Zougri, Agrinion and Mykenai. A date ca. 188 BC was proposed for the beginning of the federal coinage of the Achaians on the so-called reduced Aiginetan weight.

MEADOWS (101) explained the term *kaina* of the monetary transaction between Ptolemy VI, VIII, Cleopatra II, the cities of Cyprus and Argos, as fresh money. He proposed to explore the hypothesis that the sums of column II that were converted into obols by Picard, who obtained a ratio of one Ptolemaic tetradrachm for 12.5 Aiginetan obols, are the result of dividing larger number by six. One sixth payments were familiar in the Ptolemaic empire, specifically in the context of offerings to a deity in Egypt. The payments represent annual contributions as part of an ongoing commitment and one sixth of the value of a particular agricultural product. MEADOWS explained the gifts to Argos by the Ptolemaic kings and the cities of Cyprus in terms of the influence of Polykrates of Argos, a former Ptolemaic general of Cyprus and a prominent personality in the Ptolemaic court.

CHRYSSANTHAKI-NAGLE (20) discussed the presence of Ptolemaic gold, silver and bronze coins in Mainland Greece and associated it with (a) payment of Ptolemaic troops, (b) financial help and donations, (c) mercenaries and (d) commerce. No standard monetary policy was adopted for Thrace and the Cyclades. In some cases, one can stress the iconographic influence of Cyrene on Tenos. Ptolemaic bronzes were hoarded, sometimes overstruck, and seem to have supplemented the monetary needs at Corinth.

## Aegean Islands

NICOLET-PIERRE (107) studied the bronze coinage of the city of Naxos from the fourth century BC to the end of the Hellenistic period. The first bronzes with head of Dionysos /kantharos date from the second quarter of the fourth century. A stylistic comparison with the coinage of Ketriporis confirms these dates. The second series of larger denomination dates from the late fourth-early third century. Around the mid third century BC bronzes of 20 mm were issued with the same types. Bronze coins with Dionysos head and grapes were struck during the second half of the third century. Later, at the beginning of the second century BC, the bronze coinage in three denominations that ran parallel to the silver coinage depicted a krater on the reverse. On the latest series a slightly different krater was adopted. Some of these were countermarked ca. 140-130 BC.

SHEEDY (156) examined the iconographic and stylistic influence of Athens on the silver coinage of Siphnos after 480 BC. The archaic and early classical coinages of the Cyclades were explained in terms of strategies adopted by officials and public bodies in the management of state resources (157). The pre-eminent monetary standard is the Aiginetan. The Milesian (Melos, Anaphe) and the Attic Euboian standard were also used either systematically (Delos) or sporadically (Kythnos, Seriphos, Siphnos). During the first phase of these coinages, mostly staters were struck. During the second period, the patterns of minting became more complex. A change occurred ca. 500 BC (period III). This period appears to be one of low mint activity with the exception of Paros (drachms), Kythnos, Siphnos and Melos that continued their coin production after 470 BC. Melos also continued during the second half of the fifth century BC. During the archaic and the early classical period, the most important Cycladic mints were those of Paros and Naxos. SHEEDY extensively discussed hoards, the economy of the islands and the development of networks. Just a remark: the *trihemitartemoria* of Karthaia, an odd denomination that is completely unknown from literary sources and inscriptions, may be hemiobols on the Aiginetan standard.

## Crete

ASHTON (10) proposed a date in the 280s instead of the mid-second century BC (Thompson), for *IGCH* 252, found in the excavation of Knossos before 1915, on the basis of the low chronology of the Achaian silver triobols (but see 114). The pseudo-Rhodian coins struck by cities of Crete served to pay the mercenaries (STEFANAKIS and STEFANAKI: 165). DOYEN (32) explained the term Aiginetan drachms in the treaty between Attalus I and the city of Malia (Crete) in connection with the occupation of Aigina by the dynasty of Pergamon. One wonders if, as in some other cases, the term “Aiginetan” functions as a point of reference.

Phalasarna issued its first silver staters ca. 330/320 BC with a head of Artemis Diktynna and a trident (172). Drachms and hemidrachms were struck with the same types until ca. 270 BC. The bronze coinage of the city began at this time and continued down to the second half of the second century BC. The arrival of silver coins from Cyrene and Argos during the last decades of the fourth and the first quarter of the third century BC were also noted. TRAEGER (173) presented the coinages, all of which date from the Hellenistic period, of cities that later formed the



koinon of Oreioi, and the coinage of this *koinon*. Lissos and Hyrtakina struck gold obols with a dove on both sides. Apart from some silver obols with a dolphin and the letters OP on the obverse and a bee on the reverse, all the other series were struck with the same types but different ethnics. Between 300 and 270 BC Elyros, Hyrtakina and Tarrhe issued drachms sharing types: a goat's head and a bee. After 270 BC, bronze coins were struck with these types (Elyros, Tarrhe, Lissos), a ram's head on the reverse (Hyrtakina and Kantanos) or a Boiotian shield (Polyrrhenia). Lissos also struck bronzes with a head of Artemis and a dolphin. At the end of the third century BC, a bronze coinage was issued by the city island of Gaudos.

Hierapytna acquired some significance after ca. 150 BC and struck silver coins on the Attic standard around 110 BC and on a reduced version of the same standard ca. 110-100 BC (162). Later pseudo-Athenian New Style tetradrachms were struck by Hierapytna and other Cretan cities at the time when the Athenian *stephanephora* became rare (87/6 BC). The economic significance acquired by the city during the Roman period had its roots in the Late Hellenistic period.

STEFANAKIS AND TRAEGER published a preliminary report on a project to gather, classify and present chronologically the types of Cretan countermarks down to the Roman era (164). Five main groups have been surveyed: (a) the early third century BC, (b) the episode of the coinage of Hyrtakina and Lissos, (c) the second half of the third century BC, (d) the foreign coins and (e) the Rhodian and pseudo-Rhodian coins. Countermarking was an easy solution to the limited silver supplies and the need for coinage in times of emergency or as a result of alliances (164). For the excavation coins from the Idaion Antron, see (82) and from Symi Viannou, see (83). For coins in burials in Crete see STEFANAKIS (163).

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## ASIA MINOR IN THE ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL PERIODS

K. A. Sheedy

### SNG and Collections

The *SNG* series celebrates the appearance of *SNG Turkey I*, containing 1076 coins (mostly from Caria and Ionia) in the Muharrem Kayhan collection (KONUĞ 82). This important collection is revisited by KONUĞ (83) in a lavishly illustrated and annotated selection of 150 coins. Also deserving special mention is *SNG Munich 22, Karien 1-714*. Other volumes with significant numbers of relevant coins from Asia Minor include *SNG Belgique I, The M. Bar Collection of Bronzes* (38); *SNG Copenhagen Supplement* (120); *SNG Great Britain XIII, Newcastle upon Tyne* (102); and *SNG Great Britain V, Ashmolean Museum, Part IX, Bosporu –Aeolis* (15). Catalogues of public and private collections include the Alpha Bank in Athens (TSANGARI 136), and the Zhuyuetang Collection (MEADOWS AND KAN 101). Turkish collections are represented by catalogues from the Sadberk Hanim Museum, Istanbul, (TEKIN 128), and the Yapi Kredi Collection (TEKIN 129). FROLOVA (51) publishes the Cyzicene coins in the State Historical Museum and the State Hermitage in Moscow. DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS (42) presents coins of the Dodecanese and Rhodian Peraea in the collection of l'École Française d'Athènes. New acquisitions by the ANS are listed by VAN ALFEN *et al.* (138) and BATES *et al.* (22). Sales catalogues with some remarkable collections and (largely unrecorded) hoards continue to increase (for this material see [www.CoinArchives.com](http://www.CoinArchives.com)).

### Survey articles, Handbooks and Databases

An important survey of archaic and classical poleis, edited by HANSEN AND NIELSEN (57A), makes extensive use of numismatic evidence. Chapters relevant to this section are AVRAM, HIND AND TSETSKHLADZE (18) on the southern coast of the Black Sea, AVRAM (17) on the Propontis, MITCHELL (105) on the Troad, HANSEN, SPENCER, AND WILLIAMS (57) on Lesbos, RUBINSTEIN (117) on Aeolis and south-western Mysia, and RUBINSTEIN (118) on Ionia (some 34 poleis are listed), FLENSTED-JENSEN (50) on Caria (though the entry on Mylasa should be revised), NIELSEN AND GABRIELSEN (110) on Rhodes, REGER (116) on the Dodecanese within a chapter on the Aegean, KEEN AND HANSEN (75) on the two archaic and classical poleis of Lycia (Phaselis, Xanthos), and KEEN AND FISCHER-HANSEN (74) on Pamphylia and Cilicia. VON REDEN (144) offers a useful survey of recent literature on the ancient economy, including numismatic publications dealing with the coinage of Asia Minor. DE CALLATAÏ (37) includes Asia Minor in his study of the size of archaic and classical coin issues. MELVILLE JONES (103) provides a commentary and addenda to passages in Greek and Latin dealing with the archaic and classical coinages of Asia Minor and published in *Testimonia Numaria II*. SCOTT (121) in a commentary on Herodotus Book 6 discusses various passages in which money and coinage are mentioned. DESCAT (39) considers the significance of the *argyronetos* for the evolution of archaic exchange with some examples from Asia Minor. Reference to the coinages of Asia Minor occurs in the recent handbook on Greek numismatics by NICOLET-PIERRE (108). The growing number of numismatic databases and web exhibitions now form an important part of the bibliography: BRIANT (27) on Achaemenid matters; BURRELL (29) on Ephesus; BURRER (30) on costs and finances of war; PRIWITZER (114) on Lycia; SPIELVOGEL (124) on wages and prices.

### Origins of coinage and early electrum issues

The relationship between the use of metals as currency (both in the Near East and in Asia Minor) and the earliest coinage continues to be discussed following the work of Le Rider (2001); see the extended review of SEAFORD (122). SEAFORD (123) optimistically attempts to link early coinage with the emergence of philosophy in Asia Minor, notably at Miletus. SCHAPS (119) argues that the early widespread use of coinage by the Greeks occurred because of special needs in their communities (administration etc.) missing from the societies of the Near East. RADNER (115) investigates the advent of electrum coinage in Lydia through a series of comparisons between Lydia and the Assyria kingdom, notably between Assyrian metal ingots and standardized jewels and Lydian coins.

Studies of the chronology of the early electrum coinages remain focused on the Austrian excavations at the Artemision of Ephesus. BAMMER (21) discusses the Peripteros and the dating offered by the finds of electrum coins. WEISSEL (146) reviews our current knowledge of the early building phases of the Artemision in the light of new excavations, dating the Central Basis (and the nearby strata with the pot hoard of electrum coins discovered by Hogarth) to the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. WEISSEL (147) reviews the history of modern attempts to date the Foundation Deposit of the building. He reasonably concludes that studies which proposed a high dating in the first

half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC have mistakenly assumed that the Basis was destroyed by the Cimmerians c. 650-640 BC. A later dating of the deposit to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC is supported by the post-daedalic style of three small electrum figurines.

WALLACE (145) investigates problematic inscriptions on early Lydian coins. He confirms the readings of WALWET, who is identified as Alyattes, KUKALIM (not KALI, UKALLI or KUKAS), who is seen as a royal person of Alyattes' era (not Gyges) and –LATE– which he believes need not denote a royal person. He suggests that various issues, such as the –LATE– coins may have been struck at a branch mint. WALLACE observed that Weidauer no. 104 from the Gordion hoard does not carry the inscription WALWET, and that no coin with this legend has been found at Gordion. GÜNTHER (56) discusses the well-known reference in the poetry of Alcaeus (Frag. 69) to an offer of 2000 staters from the Lydian king (electrum staters from Alyattes?). BEDEN AND MANNUCCI (23) propose the attribution of electrum coins depicting a version of the familiar Lydian type of the lion's head but in a crude style, to a previously unrecognized ancient town (Kyrbissos?) at Kocadümen Tepe near Teos.

The reader is referred to *SNG Turkey I* (KONUK 82, 83) for its early electrum coins. MCFADDEN (93) reports on 39 electrum coins of Milesian weight with geometric obverse types believed to be from one hoard. In an addendum he links these coins with another lot on the market containing 137 fractions, and with the first known stater of this series. The presence of different fractions, each marked by slightly different patterns, suggests the intention to create a full denominational range that could be identified by the types. A study of the specific gravity of 17 coins indicates an average gold content of 38-43%. This demonstrates that the mint responsible controlled the ratio of silver and gold (rather than simply augmenting a natural alloy). KONUK (85) examines a hoard first reported in *CH IX*, 341 ('unknown findspot, 1998') now believed to have been found on the Turkish coast, opposite Samos. The author presents a list of 44 electrum coins of Samian type and weight. Twelve of the coins were subject to proton activation, and the findings added to those of 18 coins previously analyzed from a similar hoard found on Samos in 1894. The results show a great deal of variation in gold content. The relatively high level of copper in the coins (just below 1%) is puzzling given the usual readings of around 0.5% in natural electrum, and it is suggested that it may have been added to standardize the appearance of the coins. KIM (77) concludes that the 'Electrum Ingot Hoard' (2002), subjected to XRF analysis, contains forged coins but the ingots, if genuine, may come from the Black Sea for their composition matches that of electrum coins from Phocaea and Mytilene.

### **Coinage of Croesus**

One of the most important recent discoveries for the study of archaic chronology and the subjects of Lydian and Persian coinages has been announced by CAHILL AND KROLL (34). Two coins, a gold and a silver Lydian twelfth with the croeseid types of lion and bull, were found in 2002 during excavations of the western fortification of Sardis. They were recovered from a deposit sealed by destruction debris when the fortification was demolished, an event that can be confidently assigned to the capture of Sardis by Cyrus in the 540s BC. A third coin, a croeseid silver twenty-fourth, found in 1988, has now been recognised as coming from the same destruction debris. These finds confirm that Croesus had begun the minting of a bimetallic coinage, and that the heavy gold croeseids (Phase I) together with the earlier light gold and earliest silver issues with the type of the lion and bull belong to his reign. GORINI (55) proposes a new typological group between Weidauer's groups XV and XVI.

### **Persian coinage**

Among a number of important publications and exhibitions dealing with the Achaemenids of particular significance was the 2005 London exhibition, *Forgotten Kingdom*; see MEADOWS (100). Achemenet provides an important database on current exhibitions and publications. BRIANT AND JOANNÈS (28) bring together papers, some with numismatic references, dealing with the transition between the Achaemenid empire and the Hellenistic kingdoms. DUSINBERRE (43) examines the iconography of Achaemenid royal coinage and the satrapal coinages within the context of Achaemenid artistic programs. While the emblems of the darics and sigloi represented kingship and divinity, the 'portrait' types on the satrapal coins depict the Persian king as a warrior but in a Greek style. HARRISON (59) considers the paucity of satrapal coinage from western Asia Minor and concludes that the Persian officials were mostly employing darics and sigloi from the royal mint at Sardis or the local coinage of the cities and region they occupied. The theory that the Persians found it necessary to pay mercenaries with coinage on the Attic standard is challenged as is the suggestion that the obverse heads on satrapal coins are portraits. MEADOWS (99) records the location of coins from the Apadana Foundation Deposit (*IGCH* 1789) in the Marble Palace Museum and the Iran Bastan Museum of Téhéran. The weighing of two of the four croeseid gold coins seems to confirm Herzfeld's observation that all are close to 8.08g, and were selected because of their superior weight or good



condition. TEK AND İŞCI (127) list a hoard of 59 Persian sigloi (Ispata Archaeological Museum); MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU (104) records a hoard of darics from Kiti in Cyprus; and KÖKER AND KÖYAĞASIOĞLU (81) record four different sigloi hoards (possibly all part of the Dinar Hoard) of the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

### **Pontus, Paphlagonia, and Mysia**

ERCIYAS (47), in a study of the central Pontus, considers the early history and coinage of the Greek colonies. HIND (60) considers the meaning of the eagle holding a dolphin on coins of Sinope (and Olbia and Istria), and finds that it can be seen as a symbol of Zeus Ourios, and in particular a symbol of the temple of Zeus Ourios at the entrance to the Black Sea. MELVILLE JONES (103; cf. *NT* 523-5) casts doubt on the various strands of the story that Diogenes of Sinope was a counterfeiter.

A good deal of attention has been given to the coinage of Cyzicus, largely as a result of the 2003 hoard of 99 electrum staters of Cyzicus concealed in a bronze olpe in the sanctuary of Demeter at Myrmekion in the Bosphorus Cimmerian. The deposit is dated c. 375-350 BC. It was first published by BUTYAGIN (31), listed by STANCOMB (126), and republished by ABRAMZON AND FROLOVA (1). The primary publication of this find is BUTYAGIN AND CHISTOV (32). The hoard coins presented 53 types (one previously unpublished). On the olpe, see BUTYAGIN AND TREISTER (33). FROLOVA, SMEKALOVA AND DJKOV (52) study the metal composition of 66 Cyzicene electrum coins in Moscow and St. Petersburg presented in FROLOVA (51) and by SMEKALOV AND DJKOV (1999). They conclude that natural alluvial white gold was used only for the earliest issues, and that an artificial alloy of electrum was employed from the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. They present information about coins from the Kertch hoard (*IGCH* 1011), the Taman/Pulentzov hoard (*IGCH* 1013), and from individual finds from the Northern Black Sea, Olbia and Niconium. MELVILLE JONES (103) offers a commentary on numerous texts and inscriptions mentioning Cyzicenes. HURTER AND LIEWALD (65-7) publish a three part report on their study of Cyzicene electrum coinage: part 1 (65) adds 50 new types to the catalogue of von Fritze; part 2 (66) presents a list of new denominations; part 3 (67) presents the earliest Cyzicene issues with some 37 types, mostly minted as twelfths. KARAYOTOV (72) publishes an electrum stater of Cyzicus from c. 350 BC found at Orizare near Nessebar depicting Dionysus on a leopard. He gives information on coins of Cyzicus from Rousokastro, Kameno, Sozopol and Achtopol, and on two hoards of Cyzicenes found between Pomorie and Nessebar, and at Sozopol. HURTER (64) identifies a Cyzicene helmeted head type as that of a warrior and not Athena. FISCHER-BOSSERT (49) notes a lead test piece for a hecte of Cyzicus. KÖKER (80) publishes a small number of pre-Hellenistic coins from the 1952-3 excavations of Akurgal at Cyzicus.

MAFFRE (94) presents a new catalogue of coins struck in the name of the Persian satrap Pharnabazus, probably at Cyzicus. A metrological study indicates the use of the Chian-Rhodian standard. A statistical analysis, hampered by the small sample, perhaps indicates a large coinage. The author suggests that satrapal coin production was linked to the construction and maintenance of the fleet. The author reviews the evidence for the financing of military operations by Pharnabazus, and concludes that the satrap's coinage at Cyzicus begins in 398 BC when he took on responsibility for the Persian fleet. ASHTON (6) records a hoard (2002 or earlier) of c. 900 AR consisting of 466 half sigloi of Cius (Apollo head/prow) and about the same number from Chalchedon.

### **Troad and Aeolis**

MANNSPERGER AND MANNSPERGER (96) investigate the grave mounds and monuments for Ilos and other heroes, and illustrate coins found in the excavations of Troy. LAZZARINI (90) examines the weight standard and metal composition (SEM studies) of five series of early electrum and silver coins minted on Lesbos as a contribution to understanding the archaic Lesbian koinon. MACKIL AND VAN ALFEN (92) discuss the electrum coins of Mytilene and Phocaea minted c. 521 BC–c. 326 BC as an example of a co-operative coinage between two states. The terms by which these hektai were issued are recorded on *IG* XII 2,1; MACKIL AND VAN ALFEN argue that this was purely a business agreement and reflects the 'commodification' of electrum coins. UNAL (137) publishes 3 coins of Cyme dated 350-320 BC from excavations at Cyme by Akurgal in 1952/3.

### **Ionia**

İŞİK (71) publishes his dissertation on the early silver coinages of western Asia Minor. Most of these issues are the subject of die studies, but the corpus is sometimes limited and only a selection of coins is illustrated. Comparison might be made with the attribution and dating of the same coins in *SNG Turkey I*. His study of the electrum and early silver coinages of Teos can be contrasted with MATZKE (98) who also presents a new catalogue;

the two studies have some different specimens, different die identifications and dating. BATES *et al.* (22) list three archaic fractions of Teos newly acquired by the ANS. The important study of Miletus by MARCELLESI (95), considers some aspects of the earlier 4<sup>th</sup> century, notably relations between the Hecatomnids and Miletus, and the identification of a symmachic coinage (on which see the review of HOOVER). KINNS (79) publishes a unique bronze coin of Ephesus (Tyche head/bee) overstruck at Teos c. 380-375 BC with griffin/chelys types. Kinns (78) offers notes on the identity, ordering and dating of subtypes of the earliest inscribed bronze coinage of Miletus; he confirms that the bronze series Deppert-Lippitz 304-13 is contemporary with the first silver series Apollo/lion, Deppert-Lippitz 1-67 of c. 360-350 BC. KIM (76) employs the unpublished Colophon hoard (CH1, 3) to illustrate the scale of production of small change during the late archaic period.

ASHTON (6) reports on a hoard of 46+ coins from the market dated to the mid 340s BC that contained some 26 tetradrachms of Ephesus. HURTER (62, 63) reconstructs the 'octopus' hoard of 9 coins (including a didrachm of Chios and a stater of Caunus) which appeared in 2000 or 2001. This find, perhaps from Cyprus, Anatolia or a country further east, is dated c. 478 BC. ÖZBAY (113) briefly describes a hoard found in Turkish excavations at Chyton (ancient Clazomenae). This hoard (CH 2004; 6), found in a simple jug from Phase II of the town (c. 387-356 BC), consisted of 149 AR, including 132 drachms of Clazomenae. TEK (127) reports a hoard of 13 obols of Miletus, now in the Ispata Archaeological Museum. Although still unpublished, parts of the Phygela hoard are recorded by KONUK (82), and ASHTON (12). ASHTON (13) notes that this find, which held some of the earliest bronze coins of Asia Minor, must have comprised around a thousand or more coins.

ERSOY (48) has argued that numismatic evidence indirectly supports a proposed gap in occupation at Chyton (Clazomenae) during the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. MOUSTAKA AND TSELEKAS (107) publish 3 AE coins of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC from Clazomenae found in excavations by Oikonomos at Clazomenae (Karantina Island) in 1921. ÖĞÜN (112) presents 5 classical coins of Colophon from the excavations of J. de La Genière at the sanctuary of Apollo at Claros. BALDUS (20) publishes 6 pre-Alexander coins from German excavations at Didyma. KARWIESE (73) has published the excavation coins from the basilica of the state market at Ephesus: from the mint at Ephesus there were 14 bronze coins of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Karwiese series IIB, IIF, and 13A, 13B).

ASHTON, KINNS, KONUK AND MEADOWS (16) present an authoritative analysis of the Hecatomnus Hoard (found c. 1977 at Söke), providing the most complete list yet of its contents (342+) together with die studies. They conclude that the hoard, which is distinguished by the large number of rare SYN coins of Ephesus, Cnidus and Rhodes (and perhaps Samos), was buried c. 390-385 BC. Their work addresses a number of key problems in the study of late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC coinages in Asia Minor, particularly the dating of the SYN coinages (confirming the chronology of KARWIESE). The material indicates that at Ephesus the anonymous didrachms occur just before the SYN coins, which are then followed by the bee/stag tetradrachms. For Samian coinage the evidence of the hoard suggests a revised upward dating of Barron Class X by some ten years, new groupings of magistrates, and the abandonment of Barron's proposal of annual magistrate issues. The 23 tetradrachms of Cos support the thesis that their issue began well before the synoecism of that island in 366 BC. The corpus of known tetradrachms of Hecatomnus is significantly increased by the 77 examples in this find; it is this material (no other Hecatomnid rulers are represented) which allows the hoard to be dated before his death in 377 BC.

## Caria

KONUK (87) presents a catalogue of all known coins with legends that employ the Carian script. BENDA-WEBER (24) offers a study of the Lycians and Carians as autochthonous *ethne* in which some Carian coin issues are considered. IŞIK (71) studies the earliest silver issues of Caria. For contrasting attributions and dating of these issues see *SNG Turkey I*. He demonstrates that lion protome staters with the Carian inscription 'OYL' or 'OYD', sometimes associated with the dynast Oliatos son of Ibanollis of Mylasa, known from 37 examples, were produced from only 2 obverse and 1 reverse dies. As Carian, IŞIK includes staters depicting a horse protome, and a small group of coins displaying different types (crab, sphinx etc) which he attributes to a variety of 'karisch-dorischen' states. For the attribution of those staters with the crab type to Cos now see INGVALDSEN (68, 70) and NICOLET-PIERRE (109). ASHTON (13) makes some speculative comments on the early coinage of Iasos surveyed by Weisser in 1985. He follows Hurter (1985) in the attribution to Iasos of SYN Chian-weight tridrachms/double sigloi on the basis of a new coin with the ethnic IASOS (unknown to Weisser). ASHTON (9) publishes two new late 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century BC silver hemiobols from Euromos carrying the epithet of Lepsynos. ASHTON (10) attributes to Caunus two newly discovered fractional issues with grape bunch/letter in the form of triangle, and corn grain/letter in the form of triangle, both minted in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. DILER (42) examines depictions of the sacred baitylos on the reverse of 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century BC coins from Caunus in the light of a baitylos excavated in the Temenos of Dios Sotor at Caunus. BERGES (25)

publishes an electrum coin and a Cnidian bronze of c. 350-340 BC from German excavations at the Apollo sanctuary at Emecik on the Cnidian peninsula. KONUK (86) examines the coinage of Latmos.

ASHTON (12) presents the earliest bronze coins from Carian mints. Most of these small coins (0.5–1.5 gm) were previously unknown, and many appear to derive from the Phygela hoard. The earliest coins come from Camirus, and slightly precede the federation of the Rhodian cities. It is suggested that the idea of bronze coinage then spread to the mainland. New coins, some of which may be dated c. 400 BC, represent the early bronze issues of Idyma, Caunus, Ceramus, Halicarnassus, Iasos, and Mylasa; other attributions to mints such as Caryanda, Cranaus and Pitane are less certain.

KONUK (87, 88) describes a hoard of c. 470 BC containing tetradrachms of Athens and staters and fractions of Caria and Caunos, some with the inscription OFOV (OROU) thought to be Lycian but which he identifies as the name of a Carian dynast. ASHTON, HARDWICK, KINNS, KONUK AND MEADOWS (14) provide a detailed listing and analysis (with die studies) in a fundamental study of the Pixodarus Hoard found in 1978 near Halicarnassus (c. 2,600 coins). As with the Hecatomnus hoard it provides crucial evidence for the study of the classical coinages of Asia Minor. Some 8 new issues of Thasian tetradrachms suggest a revision of West's chronology. The 25 tetradrachms of Cyzicus suggest a new ordering of the 22 known issues into 5 groups, and indicate that the minting of its Chian weight coins had concluded by 341/0 BC. KINNS divides the estimated 600 tetradrachms of Ephesus from this find, together with related material, into 10 classes employing a listing of the named obverse dies (and a detailed study of the magistrate's names), for which a chronology (c. 390-380 BC until c. 340-325 BC) is proposed; the coins from this hoard stop at Class G (c. 350-340 BC). The 74 tetradrachms and 48 didrachms of Cos allow a new ordering and chronology of 4<sup>th</sup> century BC production. The authors conclude that the production of Chian weight coins at Cyzicus, Chios, Cnidus and Cos had ceased by the time of this hoard, but continued at Thasos, Ephesus, Miletus and Rhodes. At least 634 Hecatomnid coins were present; the 196 coins of Pixodarus were struck early in his reign and are in fresh condition; it is proposed that the hoard was closed in the first or second year of his 6 year reign (341-336 BC).

### **Rhodes and Islands of Dodecanese**

APOSTOLOU (4) presents a brief survey of the coinage of the Dodecanese and its Peraea in an introduction to a 2003 conference held on Cos. In the same volume NICOLET-PIERRE (109) reviews the current state of our knowledge of archaic coinage from the Dodecanese. APOSTOLOU (3) provides an overview of the economic history of Rhodes with some comments on coin circulation. APOSTOLOU (2), in a review of Rhodian coin hoards and coin circulation, includes an annotated list of some 15 hoards dated prior to the Hellenistic period; she argues that the Rhodian tetradrachms of Chian weight were withdrawn c. 340 BC. ASHTON (11) challenges this suggestion, proposing that the later scarcity of 4<sup>th</sup> century tetradrachms can be attributed to the operation of Gresham's Law. ASHTON (5) renounces his earlier attribution of 4<sup>th</sup> century BC 'solar disk' drachms with the inscriptions M-E, N-I or E-Y to one of the Hecatomnids and now suggests the Rhodian mercenary generals Memnon and Mentor. ASHTON (8) publishes a chalkous of Chios (amphora/sphinx) overstruck by Rhodes (head of nymph/rose), which was included in the hoard *IGCH* 1287=*CH* 2, 59 of c. 300 BC. FISCHER-BOSSERT (49) notes two 4<sup>th</sup> century BC lead test-pieces for staters of Lindos. HARDWICK (58) identifies three groups of forgeries derived from Rhodian originals of c. 400 BC. DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS (41) lists the few coins of the Dodecanese found on Cyprus, and discusses the resemblance between archaic coins of Lindos and unattributed coins of Cyprus with a similar obverse lion's head type.

In his thesis on the coinage of Cos from c. 390–c.170 BC, INGVALDSEN (68) examines the earlier coinage of Cos. INGVALDSEN (70) challenges the link between the introduction of the Rhodian weight system on Cos and the synoecism in 366 BC and suggests that the coinage of Cos issued from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century, the diskoboloi, may reflect a looser union of Coans before 366 BC. LESCHHORN (91) discusses unusual inscriptions on Coan coins, and presents a list of over 200 personal names on the coins; he notes that the men responsible for these issues do not have titles and were not eponymous magistrates. GIANNIKOURI AND STEFANAKI (54) outline a project for the study of coins found between 1982 and 2000 in the town of Cos. *CH* 2005: 51, records a hoard of 65 AR from Astypalaia in 1973 or earlier, deposited c.350 BC (Astypalaia Museum), that consists of tetradrachms from Ephesus and Samos, and drachms from Chios, Mausolos, and Rhodes.

## Lycia

TIETZ (134) uses numismatic evidence in a study of Lycian rulers and states in the Gulf of Fethiye. PRIWITZER (114) edits the website of the University of Tübingen Lycia Project, which offers a survey of Lycian coins. BORCHHARDT (26) discusses the coins of Mithrapata in a study of the region of Myra/Trysa. BENDA-WEBER (24) examines the Lycians as an autochthonous people; this primarily iconographic study includes coin types. Other iconographic studies were undertaken by NOLLÉ (111) who argued that a female bust on an early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC stater of Araxa depicted the Lycian Mother of the Gods and not Leto, and VISMARA (142) who considered the significance of human heads on Lycian coins, and attempted to decide if living people or deities are depicted prior to the mid 5<sup>th</sup> century. VISMARA (141) reviews Lycian coin types depicting deities, and considers the typology of these images in relation to our knowledge of Lycian religion. TIETZ (133) explores the (light) western Lycian weight standard as a phenomenon of the meeting of Persian and Athenian spheres of influence, and as an attempt to find a weight system that would integrate their two different standards. VISMARA (143) reflects on the system of weights used by Lycian mints from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC until 362 BC, confirming that there were only two main standards. ASHTON (12) notes that there is little 4<sup>th</sup> century bronze from Lycian mints and none that can be dated earlier than the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Only the dynast Pericles showed any interest in bronze issues in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. A coin which may carry the Lycian name for Xanthos may be the first known 4<sup>th</sup> century bronze with a Lycian inscription, and could be linked with dynast Pericles. FISCHER-BOSSERT (49) notes a lead test piece for a 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Lycian stater. VAN ALFEN (140) lists 2 coins of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC probably from Lycia in the recently published 'Ingot Hoard' from Egypt. SPIER, ARSLAN AND DERVIŞAĞAĞLOU (125) publish the Demirler, Lycia (c. 1972) hoard (CH 1.6, 8.40, 9.351) of 107 Lycian coins now in the Fethiye Museum and dated c. 475 BC.

## Pamphylia, Pisidia and Cilicia

CASABONNE (36) presents the coin issues of Greek cities, local dynasts and Persian satraps in an authoritative synthesis of the evidence for 'local powers' and the agents of royal authority in Cilicia during the period of Persian rule. DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS (40) catalogues the Cypriot coins found in hoards and as isolated finds in southern Asia Minor as well as the coins from this region that have been found on Cyprus. KOVACS (89) discusses a remarkable silver obol minted by the satrap Mazaeus at Myriandrus (?) which he argues depicts Artaxerxes III wearing the double crown of an Egyptian pharaoh. WIESEHÖFER (148) supports the thesis that the inscription TRKMW on the reverse of 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Baal staters minted at Tarsus be identified with Datames, and argues that the use of the winged Farnah on this type, a symbol of the Great King, places these issues at the time of the Satrap Revolt. MIXTER (106) records a new variety of Athena type from Tarsus (?). KÖKER AND KÖYAĞASIOĞLU (81) list 7 coin hoards of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC in the Burdur Archaeological Museum that contain either coins of Selge or Persian sigloi.

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## HELLENISTISCHES KLEINASIEN

Wolfgang Leschhorn

### Allgemeine Materialvorlagen

An Bestandskatalogen mit hellenistischen Münzen Kleinasiens und der vorgelagerten Inseln (ausgenommen die Seleukidenprägungen) erschienen im Berichtszeitraum *SNG Ashmolean, Bosphorus - Aeolis* (29), *SNG München, Karien* (30), *SNG Belgique, Collection Marc Bar* (32), *SNG Hunterian Museum Glasgow I und II* (51) mit einigen Münzen hellenistischer Königreiche in Kleinasien, *SNG Turkey, The Muharrem Kayhan Collection* (71), *SNG The Collection of the Society of Antiquaries Newcastle upon Tyne* (87), *SNG Greece, The Petros Z. Saroglos Collection, Macedonia* (101) mit manchen in Kleinasien geprägten Münzen der makedonischen Könige und *SNG Danish National Museum, Supplement* (106) mit wichtigen Ergänzungen zur Kopenhagener Sammlung. Die Publikation von Münzen in türkischen Museen ging weiter. Die antiken Münzen im Sadberk Hanım Museum publizierte TEKIN (110), hellenistische Münzen in mehreren türkischen Museen und Sammlungen, meist aus Schatzfunden, veröffentlichte ARSLAN (5-10). ASHTON (15), der Einblick in die Bestände des Museums Fethiye nehmen konnte, behandelte Ptolemäermünzen, die nach Fethiye gelangten, KONUK (73) die ptolemäischen Münzen im Museum Bodrum. Über die Münzen der Dodekanes und der karischen Küstenstädte aus der Sammlung Evelpidou, die im Besitz der École Française d'Athènes sind, berichtete DESTROOPER (45).

Publikationen von Fundmünzen aus Ausgrabungsstätten verfassten für Didyma BALDUS (31), für das Apollonheiligtum Klaros ÖGÜN (92), für Nagidos TEKIN (111), für das Letoon in Xanthos MARCELLESI (81). 193 hellenistische Fundmünzen, die in Kyzikos in den Jahren 1952-1953 (!) ans Tageslicht kamen, behandelte KÖKER (69), die hellenistischen Fundmünzen aus Kyme UNAL (114), während eines Survey in Karien entdeckte Münzen KONUK (72), Fundmünzen aus Antiocheia / Pisidien im Museum Yalvaç DAVESNE (43). Einen Überblick über die Funde aus dem Gebiet der Stadt Kos zwischen 1982 und 2000 gaben GIANNIKOURI und STEFANAKI (49). Über das Vorkommen von Münzen in hellenistischen Gräbern auf Kos berichtete GREGORIADOU (52).

Eine Reihe jüngerer Schatzfunde aus der Türkei brachten neue Erkenntnisse zur Münzprägung und zum Münzumlauf im hellenistischen Kleinasien (z. B. ASHTON 24, ASHTON und REGER 27, HÖGHAMMAR 54, KINNS 65, ZABEL und MEADOWS 116). Der Schatzfund von Askalon 1988, der um 100 v. Chr. unter die Erde kam (GITLER - KAHANOV 50), enthielt zahlreiche Bronzemünzen aus Süd- und Westkleinasien. Auf Münzen aus Rhodos, West- und Südwestkleinasien, die im ägyptischen Alexandria gefunden wurden, wies PICARD (94) hin. Die überwiegende Mehrzahl neu bekannt gewordener Münzen erschien aber in den zahlreichen Katalogen des Münzhandels, die zunehmend auch über Internet zugänglich sind.

### Allgemeines

Der Beginn der Alexanderprägungen in Kleinasien und ihre Rolle im Geldsystem wurden weiter diskutiert (vgl. LE RIDER 76). Ungeklärt ist vielfach noch, ob wirtschaftliche, militärische oder andere Gründe zur Prägung der späten Alexandermünzen führten (vgl. z. B. MCINTYRE 83). LE RIDER und DE CALLATAÏ (75), die die ptolemäischen und seleukidischen Geldsysteme miteinander verglichen, gingen in ihrer Untersuchung unter anderem auf den Geldverkehr, die Schatzfunde und die Rolle der Alexandermünzen, der Kistophoren, der rhodischen Münzen im Seleukidenreich ein.

Für eine Reihe von Städten der Propontis, Ioniens und Kariens wurde gezeigt, dass dort seit Alexander dem Großen oder im Laufe des 3. Jahrhunderts Silbermünzen ‚persischen‘ Standards geprägt wurden. MEADOWS (84) konstatierte die Verwendung des ‚persischen‘ Standards zur Zeit des Lysimachos in Alexandreia / Troas, gleichzeitig in Abydos, Mytilene, wohl auch in Skepsis und Ilion. ASHTON (28) stellte für Iasos Prägungen nach ‚persischem‘ Fuß in der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts fest, KINNS (67) für Chios Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts, HÖGHAMMAR (55) für Kos und Kalymnos an der Wende vom 3. zum 2. Jahrhundert. MARCELLESI (80) wies erneut auf die ‚persischen‘ Prägungen Milets im 3. Jahrhundert. Auch aus anderen kleinasiatischen Städten wie Kyme, Ephesos, Magnesia, Knidos sind Münzprägungen ‚persischen‘ Standards bekannt. KINNS (67) interpretierte die Wiederbelebung des ‚persischen‘ Standards in der autonomen Münzprägung als Maßnahme kleinasiatischer Städte, um dieses eher für lokale Zwecke verwendete Geld von den posthumen Alexandermünzen und anderen attischen Prägungen des internationalen Geldverkehrs zu unterscheiden. Die Städte konnten damit Gewinne erzielen, da man drei ‚persische‘ Drachmen mit einer attischen Tetradrachme gleichsetzte.

Weiter diskutiert wurde über den Beginn der Kistophorenprägung und der rhodischen Plinthophoren, über die Bedeutung des rhodischen Geldes in Kleinasien und im Ägäisraum, die Hintergründe der rhodischen Münzreform und der pseudo-rhodischen Prägungen (siehe unten).

### **Makedonische Könige und Lysimachos**

LE RIDER (76) ging in seiner Untersuchung über das Geld- und Finanzsystem Alexanders des Großen auch auf die in Kleinasien geprägten Alexandermünzen ein. Er betonte erneut seine Auffassung, dass wohl vor 325 keine Alexandermünzen im westlichen Kleinasien geprägt wurden. Ihre umfangreiche Prägung habe erst nach dem Tode Alexanders begonnen, um die Söldner im Lamischen Krieg und den Diadochenkämpfen zu finanzieren. Zuvor habe sich Alexander persischer und städtischer Münzen bedient, seit 332 der in Makedonien und Kilikien bzw. Phönicien geprägten Alexandermünzen. MARCELLESI (80) vertrat in ihrer Milet-Studie die These, die kleinasiatischen Städte seien zur Prägung königlicher Münztypen als eine Art Tribut gezwungen worden. Für Milet stellte sie fest, dass die Ausgabe von Münzen lokalen Typs genau dann aufhörte, als die Prägung von Alexandermünzen begann.

Ergänzungen zu Price's *Coinage in the name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus*, publizierte ARENA (3), darunter eine Reihe neuer Varianten aus kleinasiatischen Münzstätten. Prägungen im Namen Alexanders III. und Philipps III., die Price (2063-2076. 2077-2134) Milet oder Mylasa zugewiesen hatte, wurden von ASHTON (23) auf Grund der Bestände im Museum Fethiye und ihres Fundvorkommens dem karischen Kaunos zugeschrieben, ebenso einige Bronzen des Demetrios Poliorketes. ASHTON (21) schloss auf Grund eines im Londoner Münzhandel aufgetauchten Schatzfundes von ca. 1.800 Tetradrachmen auf eine frühere Datierung der ersten rhodischen Alexandertetradrachmen, die Price (2510-2511) noch in den Zeitraum 201-190 eingeordnet hatte. ASHTON stellte sie in einen Zusammenhang mit den zahlreichen autonomen rhodischen Prägungen, die nach dem großen Erdbeben in der ersten Hälfte der 220-er Jahre entstanden. Die posthumen Alexandertetradrachmen von Termessos konnte MCINTYRE (83) auf eine einzige Prägung ca. 205-202 v. Chr. reduzieren. Bei den datierten Alexandertetradrachmen von Aspendos und Perge stellte MCINTYRE (84) einen Unterschied von mindestens 10 Jahren beim Ausgangspunkt der jeweiligen Ära fest.

Als Appendix zu seiner Untersuchung über die frühesten Münzprägungen in Alexandria / Troas publizierte MEADOWS (86) einen Stempelkatalog der Gold-, Silber- und Bronzemünzen des Lysimachos, die nach Newell, Bellinger und Thompson in Alexandria / Troas geprägt worden seien, was aber von MEADOWS bezweifelt wird. Auch die Zuweisung einer frühen Bronzeprägung im Namen Alexanders des Großen an Alexandria (Price 1587) lehnte MEADOWS (86) ab.

### **Kistophoren**

Immer noch nicht endgültig geklärt ist der Beginn der Kistophorenprägung. Nach SZAIVERT (109) sind die literarischen Quellen in dieser Hinsicht irrelevant, da die bei Cicero und Livius genannten Begriffe nur allgemein kleinasiatisches Silbergeld bezeichneten. Neu aufgetauchte Kistophoren aus Apameia / Phrygien führten ASHTON (22) dazu, eine veränderte Reihenfolge der Prägungen Apameias im Zeitraum zwischen 145 bis 130 aufzustellen. In den Initialen auf frühen Kistophoren aus Tralleis, in denen Beamtennamen vermutet worden waren, erkannte ASHTON (19) die Anfangsbuchstaben makedonischer Monatsnamen. Warum gerade Tralleis und Apameia Monatsdatierungen auf den Kistophoren verwendeten, die sonst nur auf pseudo-rhodischen Münzen aus Mylasa, auf Tetradrachmen des Mithridates VI. von Pontos, auf den athenischen Prägungen neuen Stils und im parthischen Herrschaftsbereich festgestellt worden waren, bleibt unklar. Ein zweites Exemplar der Kistophorenprägung mit der Aufschrift KOR publizierte IRELAND (59), konnte die Legende aber ebenfalls nicht erklären und vermutete den Namen einer unbekannten Stadt oder einen Stempelfehler. Die drei bisher bekannten Kistophoren des Fimbria wurden von WITSCHONKE und AMANDRY (115) mit der Revolte des C. Fulvius Fimbria gegen Sulla in Beziehung gesetzt und ins Jahr 85 v. Chr. datiert. ZOLLSCHAN (118) wies den kleinen Tempel, der auf Kistophoren des C. Fannius aus dem Jahr 49/8 dargestellt ist, der Dea Bona zu.

### **Pontus, Bithynien, Paphlagonien**

DE CALLATAÿ (40) verfasste ein Resümee zur frühen Münzprägung in Pontos und im östlichen Paphlagonien vor Mithridates VI. Eupator und betonte die späte Einführung der Münzwirtschaft in dieser Region, wo bis in die Zeit des Mithridates VI. nur in den Städten Sinope, Amisos und Trapezus Münzen geprägt und vor dem 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. keinerlei Bronzen produziert wurden. Die Einführung von Bronzeprägungen in den

Städten führte er auf die Initiative Mithridates' VI. im Hinblick auf die Truppenbesoldung zurück. Die Fälschung einer Tetradrachme des Mithridates VI. Eupator in Gold machte DE CALLATAÿ (37) bekannt.

In einem Beitrag zum Beginn der Münzprägung in Amastris legte DE CALLATAÿ (39) ein Corpus von 108 Stateren vor, die im Namen der Königin Amastris zwischen 300 und 285 bzw. von der Stadt Amastris nach 285 v. Chr. geprägt wurden. IRELAND (60) datierte einen neuen Bronzetypp der Stadt Amastris mit Zeuskopf / Blitz in die Zeit nach Mithridates VI. und vor Beginn der römischen Herrschaftsübernahme.

In sein Corpus der Münzen Neokaisareias und des Koinon von Pontos nahm ÇİZMELİ (42) auch die kleine Prägung aus der Zeit des Mithridates VI. auf, die unter dem Stadtnamen Kabeira ausgegeben wurde.

Verschiedene hellenistische Münzen des 3. Jahrhunderts, die Gegenstempel der Städte Byzantion und Kalchedon tragen, wurden von STANCOMB (107) interpretiert, der, auf den Untersuchungen Henri Seyrigs beruhend, die Kontermarkierung mit wirtschaftlichen Problemen in Byzantion und Kalchedon in den Jahren 260-246, 235-220 und am Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts verband. Während einer vierten Phase in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts wurde auf einer von ASHTON (16) publizierten rhodischen Didrachme der Gegenstempel von Byzantion angebracht.

### **Mysien, Troas, Aeolis**

QUEYREL (102) stellte in einer Studie über das Porträt der Attaliden Modifikationen in der Darstellung des Philetairos auf den attalidischen Tetradrachmen und des Herakles auf den pergamenischen Alexandertetradrachmen zwischen 215 und 190 fest, die er aus den Porträtzügen des regierenden Herrschers ableitete. In seiner Untersuchung über die Asklepiosdarstellungen in Pergamon ging KRANZ (74) auch von den hellenistischen Münzen aus. DOYEN (47) beschäftigte sich im Zusammenhang mit einem Vertrag zwischen Attalos I. und der kretischen Stadt Malla in einer metrologischen Studie mit der "äginetischen" Drachme, die für Soldzahlungen an die pergamenischen Truppen vorgesehen war.

Die Anfänge der Münzprägung von Alexandreia / Troas untersuchte MEADOWS (86), der zwei neue Silberprägungen bekannt machte und veränderte Datierungen für manche in der Stadt geprägte Münzserien vorschlug. Auf Grund einer neuen Silbermünze verlegte er die ersten autonomen Prägungen Alexandreias, Silbermünzen ,persischen' Standards und Bronzemünzen des Typs Apollonkopf / weidendes Pferd, in die Nähe der Stadtgründung und in die Zeit des Lysimachos. Für die von Bellinger in lysimacheische Zeit datierten Bronzeprägungen des Typs Apollonkopf / stehender Apollo Smintheus schlug er das 2. Jahrhundert vor. Die Münzen von Alexandreia / Troas im Archäologischen Museum der Universität Münster veröffentlichte BOSSMANN (35).

Als Prägeherren von Drachmen rhodischen Typs mit den Initialen Me-, Ni- und Eu- schlug ASHTON (12) rhodische Söldnerführer in der Troas, der Aeolis oder in Mysien vor.

### **Ionien**

In einem Überblick über die Kontermarkierung ionischer Münzen betonte KINNS (64) die Seltenheit von Gegenstempeln auf ionischen Silbermünzen, die aber auf hellenistischen Bronzemünzen mehrerer ionischer Städte häufiger vorkommen.

Für Erythrai publizierte KINNS (61) einen Stempelkatalog der Bronzemünzen aus dem letzten Jahrzehnt des 4. Jahrhunderts mit der Darstellung eines männlichen Kopfes auf der Vorderseite. Seine Identifizierung mit Demetrios Poliorketes wird durch ein Exemplar bestätigt, auf dem ein Horn zum Zeichen der Vergöttlichung des Königs sichtbar ist. Von den zahlreichen Kleinbronzen aus ionischen Münzstätten, die in den letzten Jahren bekannt wurden, untersuchte KINNS (65) eine Gruppe von 32 Exemplaren des Typs Reiter / stoßender Stier aus Erythrai, die auf einen gemeinsamen Hort zurückgehen, und interpretierte sie als Hemichalka des 3. Jahrhunderts.

Aus Magnesia am Mäander machte KINNS (68) einen neuen Didrachmentyp des Typs Artemisbüste / weidende Hirschkuh bekannt und setzte ihn in Verbindung mit Bronzeprägungen Magnesias aus dem 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Aus der Rückseitendarstellung, die von Stateren und Tetradrachmen des Mithridates VI. bekannt ist, schloss er auf die Zusammenarbeit der Stadt Magnesia mit dem pontischen König im Kampf gegen Rom und auf die Verwendung des Kistophorenstandards. Erstmals erschien ein Katalog der hellenistischen Bronzemünzen von Metropolis in Ionien, die KINNS (66) in 12 Varianten gliederte und vom Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts bis ins 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datierte.

Für die Münzprägung Milets vom 4. bis zum 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. schlug MARCELLESI (80) teilweise neue Chronologieansätze vor. Beruhten die Datierungen bisher vorwiegend auf den politischen Einschnitten in der Geschichte der Stadt, so versuchte MARCELLESI mit Hilfe der Auswertung epigraphischer Quellen und von rund 145 Schatzfunden einen neuen Weg einzuschlagen. Sie ging von den Inventarinschriften des Apollonheiligtums von Didyma aus, in deren Gewichtsangaben häufig Nominale und Münztypen erwähnt werden, was sie mit dem Wiegen der Votivgaben mit Hilfe von Münzen erklärt. Die letzten eigenständigen hellenistischen Bronzemünzen Milets datierte MARCELLESI nicht in die zweite Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., sondern ins späte 2. Jahrhundert. Zu der Milet-Studie von Deppert-Lippitz lieferte KINNS (63) weitere Kommentare, Ergänzungen und Korrekturen. Er erstellte Kataloge und Listen für die hellenistischen Didrachmen, Drachmen und Hemidrachmen ‚persischen‘ Standards sowie die gleichzeitigen Bronzeprägungen und schlug als Prägezeit der Didrachmen die Periode 250-190 vor, der Drachmen und Hemidrachmen 260-250 v. Chr. BARRANDON und MARCELLESI (33) unternahmen Metallanalysen bei 53 hellenistischen Bronzemünzen Milets, um aus der Metallzusammensetzung ihre Klassifizierung zu überprüfen und zu verfeinern.

In einer Stempelstudie zu den attischen Hemidrachmen aus Phokaia des Typs Athenakopf / Greifenkopf gelangte KINNS (62) zu neuen Datierungen, für die ersten Prägungen in die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts, für die späteren an die Wende vom 3. zum 2. Jahrhundert. Die hellenistischen Bronzemünzen Phokaia, für die bisher keine brauchbare Studie vorlag, teilte KINNS auf der Grundlage von 350 Münzen in mehrere Gruppen ein und schlug ihre vorläufige chronologische Einordnung vor.

LORBER und HOOVER (78) publizierten eine Tetradrachme, die im Namen der ‚Dionysos-Techniten‘ geprägt worden war. Als Prägestätte nahmen sie Teos, das Zentrum der ionischen und hellespontischen Dionysiasten, an und gelangten unter Berücksichtigung weiterer stephanephorer Tetradrachmen aus dem westlichen Kleinasien zu einer Datierung in die Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts, als die Vereinigung der Dionysiasten eng mit den Attalidenhof verbunden war.

Aus Chios machte KINNS (67) eine nach dem ‚persischen‘ Münzfuß geprägte Didrachme aus der Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts bekannt und konstatierte in diesem Zusammenhang das Nebeneinander von posthumen Alexanderprägungen nach attischem Fuß und lokalen Silberprägungen ‚persischen‘ Standards in mehreren ionischen Städten. HARDWICK (53) publizierte Fälschungen von Drachmen der Stadt Chios, die von der gleichen Hand stammten, die auch rhodische Drachmen gefälscht hatte. Alle Fälschungen wurden offensichtlich im 18. Jahrhundert in Italien erworben. Alle Beamtennamen, die von Münzen aus Samos bekannt sind, stellte SCHULTZ (105) zusammen.

## Karien

Einen Überblick über die frühen Bronzeprägungen in Karien und Lykien gab ASHTON (26), der feststellte, dass in den Städten im Inneren Kariens erst seit Alexander dem Großen und seinen Nachfolgern Bronzemünzen verbreitet wurden.

Aus Euromos publizierte ASHTON (17) einen bisher unbekannten Drachmentyp des 2. Jahrhunderts im Anhang zu seinem Beitrag *Lepsynos at Euromos*. In seiner ausführlichen Untersuchung über die Münzprägung von Iasos in vorrömischer Zeit erstellte ASHTON (28) auch Stempelkataloge für die einzelnen hellenistischen Münzserien. Silberprägungen des Typs Apollokopf / Delphinreiter aus dem 3. Jahrhundert identifizierte er in ihren ersten Serien als Drachmen und Hemidrachmen ‚persischen‘ Standards, nicht, wie angenommen wurde, eines reduzierten rhodischen Münzfußes. Parallel dazu lief offenbar eine umfangreiche Bronzeprägung des gleichen Typs. In der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts erfolgte laut ASHTON der Übergang zur Prägung attischer Drachmen des gleichen Münztyps. Die genaue Datierung der Drachmen, vor allem auch der zahlreichen Bronzeserien von Iasos, bleibt aber weiter unsicher. In einer historischen Studie über den Golf von Fethiye in der Antike behandelte TIETZ (113) auch die seltenen Münzen von Kalynda, die er als Imitationen der lykischen Bundesprägungen interpretierte.

Dass die Münzstätte Kaunos eine größere Rolle spielte, als bisher angenommen wurde, zeigte ASHTON (23) an Prägungen im Namen Alexanders III. und Philipps III., der auch für Bronzen des Demetrios Poliorketes und des Eupolemos Kaunos als Prägestätte vorschlug. Im Zusammenhang mit der Publikation neuer Münztypen von Kaunos aus klassischer Zeit brachte ASHTON (18) weitere Argumente für die Interpretation der auf hellenistischen Prägungen dargestellten nackten Figur als eponymer Gründerheros Kaunos. Entsprechend interpretierte auch DILER (46) den Münztyp. Die wenigen bekannten Bronzemünzen des Typs Helioskopf / Traube mit der Aufschrift KRAN wiesen BEDEN und 4) einer Prägestätte am Nordufer des Golfes von Keramos zu. Der Datierung dieser Münzen in

die ersten Jahrzehnte des 3. Jahrhunderts widersprach ASHTON (26), der sie der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts zuwies.

ASHTON und REGER (27) stellten auf Grund der Pachtinschriften aus Mylasa fest, dass die etwa dreißigjährige Prägung pseudo-rhodischer Drachmen nicht erst in den 170-er oder 160-er Jahren in Mylasa begann, sondern schon 10 oder 20 Jahre früher. Das in Inschriften erwähnte ‚leichte rhodische Geld‘ wurde mit den Prägungen rhodischen Typs aus Mylasa identifiziert, deren Ausgabe den Ankauf von Privatbesitz durch die mylasischen Heiligtümer mit finanzieren sollte. In einer Untersuchung zur Geschichte Mylasas zwischen etwa 50 v. Chr. und der Zeit des Augustus interpretierten DELRIEUX und FERRIÈS (44) den Kopf auf der Rückseite städtischer Silbermünzen rhodischen Typs mit dem berühmten Bürger Hybreas.

In ihrer Publikation des Myndos-Horts (*CH* 9.522) aus der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts erstellten ZABEL und MEADOWS (116) auch eine Studie über die Münzstätte Myndos. Die Geschichte des hellenistischen Stratonikeia beschrieb MEADOWS (85) auf Grundlage der Münzprägung. Er erstellte einen Katalog der hellenistischen Silberprägungen und publizierte den Muğla-Hort 1965 (*IGCH* 1357) neu, um die darin befindlichen Plinthophoren zur Datierung der Münzen Stratonikeias heranzuziehen.

### **Karische Inseln**

Mit der Münzprägung von Kos beschäftigten sich mehrere Arbeiten. INGVALDSEN (56) untersuchte in seiner Dissertation die koische Münzprägung zwischen ca. 390 und 170 v. Chr. Außer einem umfangreichen Katalog für insgesamt 26 Prägeserien mit genauen Datierungsvorschlägen diskutierte er die historischen und sozialpolitischen Hintergründe der Münzprägung, die technischen Einzelheiten, die Darstellungen und die Funktion der auf den Münzen genannten Personennamen sowie das Fundvorkommen koischer Münzen. Einen Überblick über seine Ergebnisse lieferte INGVALDSEN (57) in einem Kongressbericht. Einen Schatzfund von 19 koischen Drachmen und Hemidrachmen aus der Zeit um 200 v. Chr. publizierte HÖGHAMMAR (54), die den Fund mit den militärischen Aktivitäten Philipps V. von Makedonien im Jahre 201 in Zusammenhang brachte. In einem weiteren Aufsatz beschäftigte sich HÖGHAMMAR (55) mit vier koischen Silberprägungen des gleichen Zeitraums, Hemidrachmen rhodischen Fußes, Drachmen und Hemidrachmen des ‚persischen‘ Standards sowie Hemidrachmen eines ‚reduzierten persischen‘ Standards. Zur Datierung zog sie Bronzemünzen aus Kos und Silberprägungen aus Kalymnos heran und stellte fest, dass in Kos gleichzeitig mit den ab etwa 200 v. Chr. geprägten Alexandermünzen Silbermünzen lokalen Typs entstanden, die nach dem ‚persischen‘ Standard und nicht nach dem reduzierten rhodischen Münzfuß ausgerichtet waren. Entsprechende Parallelprägungen wurden auch in anderen kleinasiatischen Städten beobachtet (siehe oben unter Allgemeines). Die Aufschriften auf den Münzen von Kos untersuchte LESCHHORN (77), der zudem eine Liste der über 200 auf koischen Münzen erwähnten Personennamen erstellte.

Sehr umfangreich war erneut die Literatur zur wichtigen Münzprägung von Rhodos. APOSTOLOU (2) untersuchte Funde mit rhodischen Münzen vom Ende des 5. bis zum beginnenden 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und gelangte zu der Auffassung, der rhodische Staat habe den Münzumlauf kontrolliert und man müsse von einem geschlossenen Charakter der rhodischen Wirtschaftssysteme ausgehen. Ihrer These, bei der Einführung neuer Prägungen seien die alten Münzen zurückgerufen worden, widersprach ASHTON (21) mit dem Hinweis auf die große Zahl älterer Münzen, die erhalten blieben und noch lange umliefen. Der erneut vorgebrachten These APOSTOLOUS (2), die rhodischen Drachmen reduzierten Standards und die in Rhodos geprägten Alexandertetradrachmen seien eingeführt worden, um beim Rückzug der Großmächte aus dem Ägäisraum an der Wende vom 3. zum 2. Jahrhundert die Lücke zu füllen, hielt ASHTON (21) seine neue frühe Datierung der ersten rhodischen Alexandertetradrachmen in die 220-er Jahre entgegen. In ihrem Überblick über die Münzprägung der Dodekanes und des karischen Festlandes ging APOSTOLOU (1) auch auf die Imitation rhodischer Münzen und die plinthophoren Drachmen ein, deren Einführung sie in die Zeit nach dem Friedensvertrag von Apameia datierte. Der Zeitpunkt der Einführung der Plinthophoren wurde auch von ASHTON (25) erneut diskutiert, der eine Inschrift aus dem Letoon von Xanthos, in der ‚neue rhodische Plinthophoren‘ erwähnt werden, für in dieser Frage irrelevant hielt, weil damit auf Silbergeld angespielt werde, das noch nicht zirkuliert war, aber nicht die neu eingeführte Währung. ASHTON und REGER (27) vertraten weiterhin die Frühdatierung um 190 v. Chr. für den Beginn der Plinthophorenprägung. Auf Grund der Inschriften aus Mylasa, in denen von ‚leichterem rhodischen Geld‘ die Rede ist, stellten sie fest, dass Plinthophoren schon Mitte der 180-er Jahre in Karien kursierten. Das Motiv für diese Münzreform in Rhodos bleibt aber weiterhin im Dunkeln. Über einen möglichen Zusammenhang mit der Einführung der Kistophoren wurde spekuliert; es ergaben sich aber keine sicheren Erkenntnisse.

Die Frage, ob es sich bei dem in milesischen Inschriften des 3. und 2. Jahrhunderts erwähnten ‚rhodischen Geld‘ um Münzen aus Rhodos oder nur um Münzen rhodischen Standards handelte, diskutierte MARCELLESI (80) und entschied sich für die erste Erklärung (vgl. dagegen die Rezension von DE CALLATAÏ). Als Regionalwährung für Regelungen zwischen Nachbarstaaten im südwestlichen und westlichen Kleinasien schätzte MARCELLESI (81) die rhodischen Münzen alten Typs, ihre Nachahmungen und die rhodischen Plinthophoren ein. STEFANAKIS und STEFANAKI (108) untersuchten den Münzaustausch zwischen Rhodos und Kreta zu Beginn des 2. Jahrhunderts und diskutierten diesbezüglich die Hintergründe der Reduzierung des rhodischen Standards und der pseudo-rhodischen Prägungen. ASHTON (14) machte zwei Münzen rhodischen Typs bekannt, auf denen die Beamtenamen entfernt worden waren, und stellte die Frage, ob im 2. Jahrhundert im südwestlichen Kleinasien eine Art *damnatio memoriae* existierte, um die Erinnerung an unbeliebte rhodische Beamte zu beseitigen. Drei rhodische Schatzfunde aus der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts, die im Museum von Rhodos aufbewahrt werden, publizierten OIKONOMIDOU und APOSTOLOU (93), die Fälschung einer rhodischen Drachme aus Bronze IRELAND (58).

Seine Arbeiten über pseudo-rhodische Drachmen ergänzte ASHTON (11) durch einen Stempelkatalog mehrerer Prägungen aus der Zeit des Dritten Makedonischen Krieges, für die er Münzstätten auf dem griechischen Festland und auf den Inseln vorschlug. Wer diese Münzen prägte und wo genau sie entstanden, bleibt aber noch ungewiss. So wollte MARCELLESI (81) die pseudo-rhodischen Prägungen des Diokles und Nikostratos nicht auf das griechische Festland, sondern ins südwestliche Kleinasien verlegen. Drachmen rhodischen Typs aus der Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts mit den Initialen Me-, Ni-, Eu-, die oft Megiste, Nisyros und Euthana zugewiesen wurden, wollte ASHTON (12) rhodischen Söldnerführern im nordwestlichen Kleinasien, in der Troas, in Aiolis oder Mysien, zuschreiben. ASHTON (27) publizierte einen Schatzfund von 53 pseudo-rhodischen Drachmen aus Mylasa (CH 9.525) zusammen mit weiteren neu aufgetauchten Exemplaren und stellte zusammen mit REGER fest, dass ihre Prägung in Mylasa vermutlich schon in den 180-er Jahren begann.

### **Lydien und Phrygien**

Die Darstellung eines Pferdekopf auf den Kleinbronzen des Usurpators Achaïos (220-214/3 v. Chr.) interpretierte EHLING (48) als persönliches Wappen des Achaïos. Einen Überblick über die Münzprägung von Blaundos gab MATERN (82). ASHTON (20) publizierte einen Katalog der seltenen Bronzemünzen des Typs Serapiskopf / zwei Piloï, die er als erste Bronzen des phrygischen Apameia ansah und ins 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. datierte. NOLLÉ (91) interpretierte unter anderem hellenistische Münzen Apameias mit Darstellungen der Götterwelt und Kultsymbolik.

### **Lykien und Pisidien**

Die Einführung lykischer Plinthophoren durch das Koinon der Lykier datierte ASHTON (25) auf Grund der inschriftlichen Erwähnung von Plinthophoren im Vertrag zwischen Oinoanda und Tlos aus dem Letoon von Xanthos in die Zeit zwischen 167 und 154, nachdem Lykien von der rhodischen Vorherrschaft befreit worden war. MARCELLESI (81), die die Münzfunde im Letotempel von Xanthos publizierte, setzte die ersten Bronzen des lykischen Koinon ins erste Drittel des 2. Jahrhunderts, die ersten Silberprägungen ins zweite Viertel des Jahrhunderts. In der Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. nahm sie eine Finanzreform im lykischen Bund an, als die Städtenamen auf den Münzen durch die Distriktsnamen Kragos und Masikytes abgelöst wurden. Während MEADOWS (85) in der Neupublikation des Muğla-Horts 1965 (IGCH 1357) die Prägung von ‚quinarii‘ nach römischem Vorbild durch das Koinon der Lykier ab den 80-er Jahren des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. annahm, ging MARCELLESI (81) von der Drachmenprägung und einer eigenständigen Entwicklung der lykischen Silberwährung aus. KÖSE und TEKÖĞLU (70) interpretierten eine lykische Inschrift des 2. Jahrhunderts hinsichtlich einer gemeinsamen lykischen Kupferwährung.

Einen Katalog der Didrachmen der lykischen Stadt Oinoanda erstellte ASHTON (24), nachdem etwa 100 Exemplare aus einem Schatzfund im Münzhandel aufgetaucht waren. Die auf den Didrachmen zu lesenden Buchstaben interpretierte er als Jahreszahlen 1 bis 3 einer Ära ab 197 (Übernahme durch Antiochos III.) oder 188 v. Chr. (Frieden von Apameia). Mit diesen Didrachmen setzte ASHTON hellenistische Bronzemünzen des Typs Hermeskopf / stehender Ares und dem Buchstaben O in Zusammenhang. In zwei Appendices lieferte ASHTON (24) Ergänzungen und Verbesserungen zu den Bronzemünzen aus Termessos Minor und schlug vor, die datierten Bronzen von Termessos Maior nach einer ab etwa 200 v. Chr. beginnenden Ära statt der bisher üblichen ab 72 v. Chr. zu datieren, was aber wegen ihres Vorkommens in jünger datierten Schatzfunden unsicher bleiben muss. Gegen die Datierung der Didrachmen Oinoandas ins 2. Jahrhundert wandte sich DE CALLATAÏ (36), der für ihre Prägung

im 1. Jahrhundert nach der mithridatischen Zeit plädierte und sie mit der Besoldung der römischen Truppen Murenas in Verbindung brachte.

Einen Vorbericht über erste Ergebnisse bei der Aufnahme der 521 griechischen Münzen im Museum von Yalvaç, die wohl alle im pisidischen Antiocheia gefunden wurden, gab DAVESNE (43).

### **Pamphylien, Galatien und Kappadokien**

Einen Schatzfund von 19 Tetradrachmen der Stadt Side, die im Gebiet der antiken Stadt Diokleia in Phrygien gefunden wurden und zahlreiche Kistophorengegenstempel tragen, publizierte ARSLAN (10). MEADOWS (88) lehnte die auf Grund einer Stempelkopplung bisher übliche Auffassung ab, wonach der galatische König Amyntas im Besitz der pamphyliischen Stadt Side dort die städtischen Tetradrachmen imitierte und mit seinem eigenen Namen versah. In einer Untersuchung der stilistischen Merkmale und Gewichtsabweichungen der weit verbreiteten sidetischen Tetradrachmen mit dem Namen Kleuchares und ihres Vorkommens in Schatzfunden unterschied MEADOWS vier verschiedene Gruppen von Kleuchares-Tetradrachmen in der Zeit zwischen 183 und der Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Die beiden letzten, ins 1. Jahrhundert gehörenden Gruppen wies er zwei verschiedenen Münzstätten außerhalb Sides zu. Dort habe Amyntas die alten sidetischen Prägungen des 2. Jahrhunderts imitieren lassen, um sie zur Bezahlung seiner Truppen zu verwenden. Die galatische Imitation einer Tetradrachme des Seleukidenkönigs Antiochos III. stellte MILLER (89) vor.

Die Münzen des galatischen Königreiches und der Stadt Ankyra in den Sammlungen des Anatolischen Museums in Ankyra, der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, der Staatlichen Münzsammlung München und in der Privatsammlung Franke stellte ARSLAN (5) zusammen, der sich auch mit einer neuen Drachme des kappadokischen Königs Ariarathes VI. beschäftigte (4). LORBER und HOUGHTON (79) zeigten, dass die kappadokischen Könige Ende des 2. und zu Beginn des 1. Jahrhunderts nur selten Tetradrachmen eigenen Typs prägten, sondern die Münztypen des Seleukidenkönigs Antiochos VII. für die erste reguläre Tetradrachmenprägung Kappadokiens imitierten. Zur Erklärung kann die leichtere Akzeptanz solcher imitierten Münzen durch auswärtige Söldner herangezogen werden. Über die Geschichte und Herkunft der bekannten Tetradrachmen des Usurpators Orophernes berichtete SALVESEN (103).

### **Kilikien**

DE CALLATAÏ (38) untersuchte die Tetradrachmen am Ende des 2. und in der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts in den Städten Kilikiens und der Levante, darunter die von Elaiussa Sebaste und Aigeai. NOLLÉ (90) diskutierte die Lage der Stadt Seleukeia am Issischen Golf, die erstmals durch eine späthellenistische Bronzemünze bekannt geworden war. In mehreren Untersuchungen zu den in Kilikien verehrten Gottheiten wurden auch die Darstellungen auf den hellenistischen Münzen herangezogen. CASABONNE (41), POHL (96, 97) und ZIEGLER (117) behandelten die Gottheiten und Kulte von Tarsos, POHL und SAYAR (99, 100) die Gottheiten Athena Magarsia in Mallos und Perasia in Hierapolis-Kastabala, POHL (95, 98) ‚Baal‘ in Rhosos und andere Kulte im Ebenen Kilikien. SAYAR (104) ging in einem Überblick über das Ebenen Kilikien in hellenistischer Zeit auch mehrfach auf die dort geprägten Münzen ein. TEMPESTA (112) betonte unter Heranziehung der Münzen den Beitrag des Antiochos IV. Epiphanes zur Hellenisierung Kilikiens.

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## CHYPRE

*Michel Amandry*

Nous disposons pour la période 2002-2007 de plusieurs bibliographies : celles de DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS (10, 12, 21), centrées sur les époques archaïque et classique, très complètes, avec la liste des monnaies chypriotes parues dans les catalogues de vente et vues sur e-bay, celles d'AMANDRY (1, 2), qui englobent l'ensemble du monnayage chypriote, de l'époque archaïque à l'époque romaine, plus sélectives, là encore avec des listes de monnaies parues dans les ventes publiques auxquelles il faut joindre EGETMEYER (23). On pourrait donc se dispenser d'en dire plus et renvoyer nos collègues à ces instruments de travail. Toutefois, insistons sur quelques publications.

### Matériel

La Fondation culturelle de la Banque de Chypre a mis en ligne (41) et republié l'ensemble de sa collection (42). Cette publication, en grec, devrait être suivie d'une version anglaise. D'autres monnaies chypriotes ont été publiées par BUBELIS (6), DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS (9), KARAGEORGHIS (et collaborateurs) (29), SCHULTZ et ZAHLE (38), TZIAMBASIS (39), VAN ALFEN (40), PREDA et PETAC (37). APICE, LA FRANCESCA, ZOTTIN, BALBI DE CARO, FLOURENTZOS, GARRAFFO, LANTERI (4) publient 149 monnaies de l'atelier d'Amathonte, saisies en Italie en 2002, sorties illégalement de Chypre et annoncent une nouvelle étude du monnayage de Rhoikos. EGETMEYER (24, 25) publie un statère acquis par le Cabinet des médailles de la Bibliothèque nationale de France portant une inscription syllabique attestant d'un nouveau roi chypriote. MARKOU (35) restitue à juste titre des monnaies chypriotes à Cyrène. Mais bien entendu, la principale innovation est la création du Musée Achéménide Virtuel (<http://www.museum-achemenet.college-de-france.fr>). Le MAVI est un musée virtuel qui permet d'accéder à une base de données qui rassemble et documente les objets d'époque achéménide (550 à 330 avant J.-C.), entre Indus et Méditerranée, conservés dans des dizaines de musées dans le monde. Chaque objet est accompagné d'une photographie et d'une fiche descriptive détaillée, élaborée par l'institution auquel il appartient. Un moteur de recherche permet ainsi de sonder le texte intégral de plus de 30 000 notices. Il est par ailleurs possible de conserver la trace de ses lectures dans une archive personnalisée. Le Musée achéménide virtuel et interactif s'appuie sur un comité scientifique international, il a été créé à l'initiative de Pierre Briant, professeur au Collège de France, titulaire de la Chaire "Histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l'Empire d'Alexandre", également à l'initiative du site Achemenet.com. On trouvera donc sur ce site, en libre accès, la majorité des monnaies chypriotes conservées au Cabinet des médailles de la Bibliothèque nationale de France. On doit également mentionner les premiers effets visibles du chaos afghan puisque DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS (17) a repéré dans le commerce une monnaie chypriote du musée de Kaboul. PREDA et PETAC (37) publient, quant à eux, du matériel d'époque hellénistique.

### Vues d'ensemble

ARNOLD-BIUCCHI (5), DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS (11, 13, 14, 16, 19) fournissent des vues d'ensemble des monnayages archaïque et classique frappés dans l'île, en traitant particulièrement de Kition, Idalion et Paphos. DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS (22) donne une vue d'ensemble du monnayage frappé au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Mais c'est le monnayage d'or chypriote qui a bénéficié ces dernières années des recherches les plus poussées par MARKOU (30, 31) dont on attend avec impatience la publication de sa thèse soutenue en 2006. Le monnayage en or de Pumiathon a bénéficié d'un nouvel article de DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS (20) qui a actualisé son étude publiée en 1993. 29 nouveaux exemplaires sont recensés, ce qui porte le total à 123. Cette augmentation de 30% n'apporte toutefois pas de « changements bouleversants » aux dires mêmes de l'A. On passe de 37 à 38 coins de droit, de 48 à 51 coins de revers, certaines pièces sont correctement identifiées grâce à l'apparition de meilleurs exemplaires. On notera cependant une monnaie datée de l'an 10, année qui n'avait pas été signalée jusqu'alors. Malgré cette nouveauté, on est en droit de se demander s'il était bien nécessaire de publier cet article alors que la thèse de MARKOU (31) liste 145 exemplaires, répartis entre 37 coins de droit et 57 coins de revers. Les deux auteurs semblent au moins s'accorder sur l'identification des coins. AMANDRY et GONDONNEAU (3) contribuent à l'étude de ces monnayages grâce à la publication d'analyses réalisées par le Centre Ernest-Babelon à Orléans. Enfin DAVESNE (8) s'intéresse aux premiers Ptolémées.

### Iconographie

De très fines analyses des monnayages royaux sont dues à HERMARY (26, 28) et à MARKOU (32, 33, 34, 36) qui étudie l'iconographie des monnaies d'or frappées dans les royaumes de Kition, Salamine, Marion et Soloi au

IVe siècle avant J.-C. : les thèmes animaliers sont abandonnés et remplacés par les figures de divinités tels qu'Aphrodite, Athéna, Apollon et Zeus. A Salamine, le buste du revers des monnaies de Pnytagoras, Nikokréon et Ménélas était traditionnellement décrit comme celui d'Aphrodite : MARKOU propose, à juste titre, d'y voir un buste masculin, peut-être l'image du roi.

## Trésors

Outre l'ensemble d'Amathonte déjà mentionné (4 = DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS 15), HERMARY (27) republie les 11 poids en bronze découverts en 1989 à Vavla, associés à un ensemble important de monnaies (71 d'Amathonte, 23 de Kition, 8 de Paphos et 52 d'origine inconnue). En fait, son propos est beaucoup plus large et on trouvera là un survol très utile de toutes les découvertes de poids sur l'île, dont peu peuvent être mis en relation avec des poids de monnaies. Seules les découvertes d'Idalion attestent l'existence, au VIe siècle ou au tout début du Ve, d'un *sheqel* pesant env. 11,25g, spécifique à l'île de Chypre. De même que l'on parle de *sheqel babylonien*, la monnaie archaïque chypriote doit être appelée *sheqel chypriote* et cette monnaie s'intégrait parfaitement dans le monde commercial perse, puisque 10 sheqels chypriotes avaient la valeur d'un darique d'or de 8,40g. Selon le *ratio* or/argent de 1 à 13 1/3, 8,40g d'or valaient 112 g d'argent, soit 10 sheqels à 11,20g. Ce qui est étonnant est que les premiers créséides d'argent ne pèsent que 5,35g et qu'il faudra attendre *ca.* 480 pour que le sicle perse soit alourdi à 5,55-5,60g pour retrouver le rapport officiel de 1 à 13 1/3 entre les deux métaux.

## Circulation monétaire

Le matériel de Panayia Ematousa est publié par DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS (18), le matériel de Salamine 1964-1974 par CALLOT (7), celui de Geronisos 1990-1997 par DESTROOPER (15A).

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## THE LEVANT

*Gabriela Bijovsky*

Since the last *Survey*, numismatic research of the southern Levant has flourished. Besides numerous synthetic papers covering the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman periods (for Ptolemaic and Seleucid coinage see the respective sections), a significant number of numismatic reports from archaeological excavations have been published, based on coins of known provenance, which provide a major contribution to research.

A comprehensive bibliographical revue of numismatic literature on Persian and Hellenistic coinage by DUYRAT (1) discusses methodology, typology, mints and circulation. AUGÉ AND DUYRAT (30) compiled the proceedings of a round table that evaluated Syrian coinage and its contribution to the Hellenistic and Roman history of the Near East. YASHIN (2) publishes his private collection of coins from Ascalon, Gaza, Raphia and Anthedon, dating from the Persian to the Roman periods.

### **Hacksilber and 'coinage before coins'**

Israeli scholars debate whether these finds should be considered as coinage. According to KLETTER (173, 174) Iron Age silver and gold hoards (over 20 in Palestine) indicate development towards a monetary economy but are certainly not "money" in the sense of coins. GITIN AND GOLANI (172) however, argue that Hacksilber may be regarded as money in the sense of "change". This conclusion is emphasized by GITLER (15), who discusses a hoard from Samaria yielding Hacksilber together with cut Athenian tetradrachms in use until the second half of the fourth century BCE.

### **Phoenicia and Palestine in the Persian Period**

#### Historical background

BETLYON (3) analyzes the roles played by Egypt and Phoenicia against Greeks and Persians. ELAYI (7) presents an updated chronology of Phoenician kings during the Persian Period (539-333 BCE) arranged by cities and publishes a biography of the Sidonian king 'Abd'aštar I/Straton (ELAYI 6). LEMAIRE (22) published the papers presented at a colloquium about the Transeuphratène in transition (c. 350–300 BCE). The volume includes an extensive bibliography and a summary of coin finds. ELAYI AND ELAYI (9) present an addendum to their corpus of Phoenician hoards published in 1993.

#### Iconography

ELAYI, ELAYI, AND BOUR (13) discuss the turtle on coins from Arados. ELAYI (8) compiled a corpus of inscriptions on Tyrian coins, which includes legends, countermarks and graffiti.

### **Sidon**

ELAYI AND ELAYI (11) published the first of four volumes (Arados, Byblos, Sidon and Tyre) of a comprehensive corpus of the Persian coinage of Sidon. Two articles by the same authors deal with the significance of the king and chariot scene (10) and the Sidonian coinage of Mazday/Mazaïos and its relationship to civic coinage (12).

### **Samarian coins**

BODZEK (4) examines the iconography of the hunting scene and the cavalryman. CHAYA (5) studies the Samarian Greek Gorgoneion. RONEN (25) adds twenty unrecorded types and varieties, bringing the total number of registered Samarian coins to 258. GITLER AND TAL (18) add more varieties and implement XRF analysis to measure the silver content of the coins. LEMAIRE (21) discusses a paleo-Hebrew double graffito on a pseudo-Athenian tetradrachm. FRIED (79) suggests that Samarian coins belong to the same monetary system as the Cilician and were therefore contemporaneous.



## **Persian Yehud coins**

GERSON (14) publishes two specimens of a new variety, depicting a king's head and a 'fat' owl. RONEN (24) examines the differences between Yehud coins and other coinages minted in the region, such as the weight standard — based upon the shekel. This issue is also addressed by ROOT (26). GITLER (16) discusses the presence of a Philistian obol together with seven Yehud coins in a hoard discovered near Ramallah.

## **Philistian coins**

GITLER AND TAL (17) published a comprehensive corpus, which includes more than 600 coins representing 311 coin-types dated from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. This group, so-called "Philisto-Arabian" and redefined by the authors as "Philistian", was produced by three minting authorities: Ashdod, Ascalon and Gaza.

A hitherto unknown coinage has recently been identified by GITLER, TAL AND VAN ALFEN (20) Based on coin distribution, this group of silver dome-shaped Athenian-styled coins is attributed to the boundaries of Edom. QEDAR (23) reviews the coins attributed to the satrap Tissaphernes and suggests that the silver-plated coins found at Dor were minted there.

TAL (27) examines epigraphic material from the fourth century BCE in order to identify the weight denominations and standards of coins in Edom, Judaea, Samaria and Philistia.

## **Phoenicia and Palestine in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods**

DUYRAT (38) presents a catalogue of 580 silver and bronze coins from workshops in northern Phoenicia under the control of the mint of Arados (the Aradian Peraea). Remnants of Hellenistic coinage in the region after the Roman conquest have been analyzed by AUGÉ (32). This subject is further developed by BURNETT (36) who discusses the long process of romanization of Syrian coinage from Pompey to Domitian.

AUGÉ (31) re-examines the coinage of the Decapolis in the light of recent archeological discoveries and establishes common characteristics between mints. AMANDRY (29) discusses the monetary policy of the Flavians in Syria between 69 and 73 CE and focuses on the huge output of precious metal coinage, which served to pay the troops after the Jewish War. KUSHNIR-STEIN (41) publishes an updated summary of the eras of 38 cities in Palestine. SYON (138) analyzes the monetary influence of the southern Phoenician cities of Tyre, Sidon and Akko on Galilee and the Golan regions.

BELAYCHE (34) presents an iconographical study of Tyche on city coins in Roman Palestine. BRICAULT (35) explores the numismatic evidence for the cult of Isis and other Egyptian deities in the southern Roman Levant. The same subject is analyzed by ALIQUOT (28) based on literary sources, monuments and the coinage of Phoenician cities.

BARKAY (33) re-examines the gap between the appearance of the Syrian arched gable in architecture and its popular manifestation on coins a century later (from Antoninus Pius onwards). CHRÉTIEN-HAPPE (37) argues that depictions of temple compounds on coins from the Decapolis are symbolic. LICHTENBERGER (42) analyzes the numismatic evidence for cults and sanctuaries in several cities of the Decapolis starting from civic coins. He also deals with the methodological *interpretatio Graeca* of deities on coins of the Syrian Decapolis (LICHTENBERGER 45). Most important is his study on city foundation legends on coins from the Decapolis (LICHTENBERGER 43). The same author analyzes the motif of the emperor's bust on an eagle appearing on some Syro-Phoenician tetradrachms (LICHTENBERGER 44).

KUSHNIR-STEIN (40) discusses the use of bevelled edge coins as a means of establishing a relative chronology and of locating the coin manufacture.

## **Mints**

### **Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem)**

The foundation date of the Roman colony continues to be the subject of dispute. KINDLER (60) believes that the colony was founded prior to the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, while TSAFRIR (68) that Hadrian's

declaration to rebuild Jerusalem in 130 CE set off the Bar Kokhba revolt. According to ESHEL AND ZISSU (152) Aelia Capitolina was founded in 130 CE and coins were minted there even before 135 CE.

#### Akko-Ptolemais

EIDELSTEIN (53) publishes a new variety of Aquilia Severa of a type known under Elagabalus. The coin belongs to the radiate series struck in 222 to commemorate their marriage.

#### Arados

DUYRAT (51, 52) discusses the monetary policy of the city and coin production during the Hellenistic period and publishes a catalogue of 4636 coins.

#### Ascalon

KUSHNIR-STEIN (61) publishes a number of unknown weights with typical Ascalonian designs taken from the coins of the city.

#### Beryto

SAWAYA (66) discusses the coins of Octavian bearing the dolphin and trident motifs and connects them to the first settlement of veterans established in the city in 29–27 BCE.

#### Bostra

HOLLARD (57) examines the "provincial" silver coinage attributed to Bostra and argues that these coins were struck in Rome, Antioch and perhaps Cyrene. Coins minted under Antoninus Pius in the name of the Legio III Cyrenaica were minted in Bostra and were intended to pay the troops.

#### Botrys

SAWAYA (67) presents five bronze issues from this mint in Phoenicia, one civic and four Roman provincial, and discusses the eras adopted by the city.

#### Canatha

DONCEEL (50) publishes a corpus of 238 coins classified into seventeen groups from Caligula to Elagabalus. The corpus includes coins from public collections, previous catalogues and coins found in excavations at Qanaouat.

#### Demetrias

HOOVER (59) supplies new coin evidence from the first reign of Demetrius II Nicator, which reinforces KUSHNIR-STEIN'S suggestion that Demetrias was probably a Seleucid re-foundation of Strato's Tower.

#### Diospolis-Lod

FARHI (54) compiles a corpus of the Roman Provincial coins with 20 types from Septimius Severus to Elagabalus.

#### Gadara

LICHTENBERGER (62) suggests that the galley appearing on coins from Gadara dating to the time of Marcus Aurelius to Gordian III, is a reference to a 'naumachia'. He deciphers a hitherto lost line of the inscription on this type which refers to its location in the valley of the Yarmuk river.

#### Gaza

HOOVER (58) attributes three previously unknown lead coins dated SE 235 (78/77 BCE) to the mint of Gaza. The author argues that Josephus' account of the city's destruction by Alexander Janneus in c. 95/94 BCE, together with Kushnir-Stein's proposal for a potential civic era starting 108/107 BCE, are controversial.

#### Hippos-Susita

LICHTENBERGER (63) discusses the toponym and titles of the city as they appear on its earliest coins. He analyzes the results of the encounter between Hellenism and local religious traditions as seen on the iconography of the coinage.

### Marisa

GITLER AND KUSHNIR-STEIN (56) interpret the helmeted head appearing on the large coin denomination as Athena and publish two new coin types dated to year 2. They date the era of Marisa to 59/58 BCE or more likely, during Gabinius' tenure as governor (57–54 BCE). BARKAY (46) summarizes the Hellenistic coins found during excavations at Marisa and proposes dates for three hitherto undated coin groups: the autonomous from Side and Ascalon, and the early Nabataean issues of Aretas II.

### Neapolis

A coin dated to Philip Senior, depicts a scene which in MESHORER's opinion (65) is the Passover ceremony as celebrated by the Samaritans.

### Nysa-Scythopolis

BARKAY (47) presents a comprehensive corpus of the coins from the early Roman period to Gordian III. She discusses the city's pantheon and surveys the names and titles on the coins as well as their denominations.

### Petra

GITLER (155) analyzes a group of clay bullae from Petra with legends and motifs that are also depicted on coins of the city. He dates them from 209 to 212 based on the titles appearing on the bullae.

### Philadelphia

LICHTENBERGER (64) publishes a well preserved coin of Marcus Aurelius depicting a unique Heracles type and discusses its iconography.

### Tyre

BJOVSKY (49) describes coin-types depicting the Ambrosial Rocks and states that the stele-shaped rocks may represent the sacred precinct of Melqart in Tyre. She also publishes a new type bearing the legend 'Aion' and relates it to Orphic cults (48). GITLER AND BJOVSKY (55) publish an additional coin of Gallienus with the Phoenician inscription 'Pygmalion', which helps to establish a chronological sequence for this type.

## **Jewish Coins**

### The Hasmoneans

GITLER AND LORBER (82, 19) establish a new chronology of the Ptolemaic coins of Judaea, based on a corpus of over 200 specimens divided into eight groups. They also publish two previously unknown obols of King Ptolemy I. Another unknown variety of this king is published by GERSON (80) who dates the coin to 300–283/282 BCE. FRIED (79) tries to identify the name YWHNN KWHN and suggests that Yohanan was high priest sometime between 378–368 BCE.

KAUFMAN (95) publishes his second monograph of Hasmonean coins including 700 new varieties. Based on coins from archaeological excavations, SHACHAR (105) establishes a new sequence of the types of Jannaeus and examines the presence (or absence) of Alexander Jannaeus' anchor/star type as dating evidence for the abandonment of the sites. HENDIN (86) states that while YEHONATAN coins were struck by Janneus, YONTAN/YNTN coins belong to John Hyrcanus II. The discovery of 1735 coins of the anchor/star type of Alexander Jannaeus at the Dead Sea led ARIEL AND HIRSCHFELD (150) to analyze the typology and chronology of Meshorer groups K and L.

HOOVER (91) and SYON (107) dedicate studies to the anchor/lily type struck in Jerusalem by John Hyrcanus I in the name of Antiochus VII. The former interprets this issue as a sign of the relative autonomy of the Hasmonean state, and Syon concludes that the relatively large number of these coins found in northern Israel suggests that the Jewish population before the Hasmonean rule was considerable. MAIN (101) concludes that the flower depicted on some Hasmonean issues is a rose, resembling the flower on the Rhodian coins. FONTANILLE (77) a prutah of John Hyrcanus bearing a star above the pomegranate on the obverse and a new type of lead tessera of Alexander Janneus.

### The Herodians

KUSHNIR-STEIN (98) summarizes the current state of research of Herodian coinage. ARIEL (71, 72) studies the coinage of Herod I on the basis of the historical background and biography, and attempts to establish an absolute chronology of both dated and undated bronze coins of Herod, and to locate their mint. FONTANILLE AND ARIEL (78) perform a die study of 456 specimens of the large helmet/tripod Herod's type, and propose that it was minted in

Jerusalem in 38/37 BCE. JACOBSON (92) explains the meaning of this helmet as an allegorical representation of King Herod.

JENSEN (93) dedicates a chapter to the coinage of Herod Antipas and focuses on iconography and circulation. HENDIN (87) publishes a new unique coin-type of Antipas and suggests that it was minted in Sepphoris during the fourth year of his reign.

KUSHNIR-STEIN (97) proposes a new chronology for the coins of Agrippa II directly related to the location of the mints. KOKKINOS (96) in response refutes the three eras proposed by Kushnir-Stein, and accepts only the era of Neronias in 60/61 CE. STRICKERT (106) discusses the portrait of Livia 'Julia Sebaste' on a rare coin of Philip minted in Caesarea Philippi in 30/31 CE.

#### The Procurators

KUSHNIR-STEIN (99) raises the problem of dating coins attributed to the Roman governors of Judaea. She suggests classifying these coins by a simple and precise system utilising only information appearing on the coins. HOFFEDITZ (90) discusses the use of the *lituus* and *simpulum* as coin-types of Pontius Pilatus. Most Jewish coins are bevelled and KUSHNIR-STEIN (40) attributes their minting to Jerusalem.

#### The Jewish Revolts

GOODMAN (85) analyzes the common features of the coinage of both Jewish revolts and stresses the rebels' desire to establish a new political identity. CIECIELAĞ (74) analyzes the iconography of the coins struck by Roman emperors during both Jewish revolts.

GOLDSTEIN AND FONTANILLE (83) perform a die study of a significant percentage of silver coins of the Jewish War and conclude that two mints operated with different goals for silver and bronze. MCLAREN (102) analyzes the coinage of the first year of the Jewish War and argues that the decision to produce only silver coins was deliberate and intended as a political statement. RAPPAPORT (104) believes that silver and bronze coinages of the Jewish War were minted by different parties: silver for the needs of the Temple and bronze to propagate ideology and to supply small change.

#### Tyre

On the basis of hoard evidence, LEVY (100) reasserts her thesis that the minting of "official" autonomous shekels of Tyre was not transferred to Jerusalem in the time of Herod the Great but continued at Tyre through 65/66 CE.

#### Roman Provincial Coins

ZARROW (109) analyzes the local Roman provincial issues minted in Judaea to celebrate the victory over the Jews, and stresses that the mourning woman of the *Judaea Capta* series has no imperial numismatic prototype. HENDIN (89) concludes that the message of Domitian's provincial coinage of Judaea minted at Caesarea Maritima was to remind the local population of the Flavian victory over the Jews.

Two scholars independently suggest new and similar readings of the obverse Hebrew legend on coins minted in Gamla during the Jewish War. According to FARHI (76) the inscription reads 'in Gamala' while Pfann (103) proposes reading "from Gamla". In addition, FARHI reexamines the dies and concludes that at least two obverse and three reverse dies were used. SYON (108) in response believes that only one obverse and two reverse dies are known. According to ARBEL (70) seven months of blockade of Gamla by Agrippa II (February to August 67 CE) would be the best occasion for the minting of the coins. This opinion is also accepted by SYON.

KAUFMAN (94) publishes an addendum to Mildenberg's corpus of Bar Kokhba coins following the same die-classification system. GOODMAN (84) argues that the hostility of Hadrian towards the Jews was the final stage of an anti-Jewish policy of Rome initiated by Vespasian. BARAG (73) distinguishes between a central or 'regular' mint of Bar Kokhba coins (at Herodium?), and a subsidiary and 'irregular' mint to the N-NW of Jerusalem. ESHEL (75) makes a correlation between the denominations and the weight standard of the Bar Kokhba coins and their designs, focusing on the lyre.

BJOVSKY (122) discusses new discoveries of Bar Kokhba coins, which expand northwards the territory held by the rebels. Additional information was presented by AMIT AND BJOVSKY (69) with the discovery of Bar Kokhba coins at Khirbet el-Burnat and Khirbet Zikhrin. GERSON (81) discusses an overstrike of the second year of

the revolt on a Judaea Capta denar. HENDIN (88) publishes the first known test strike for Bar Kokhba coins. GERSON (39) proposes a later date for the presence in Israel of the Legio V Scythica during the Bar Kokhba revolt.

#### Nabataean Coins

ZOUHDI (115) catalogued the collection of 130 Nabataean silver and bronze coins in the National Museum of Damascus. BARKAY (110) publishes seven new silver Nabataean coins, among them a quarter shekel of Obodas III depicting a camel. On the basis of numismatic finds from Marisa, BARKAY (46) suggests that the reign of Aretas II started earlier than 110 BCE. YOUSEF (114) examines the relationship between Nabataean coinage and Nabataean inscriptions, especially as depicted in the tombs of Hegra. SCHWENTZEL (113) analyzes the iconography of the Nabataean king. HOOVER (112) studies the lead coinage of the Nabataeans in the light of new discoveries and suggests they functioned as tesserae. Based on coin finds from excavations at Petra, BOWSER (111) studies the output and circulation of Nabataean coins.

#### Iturean Coins

HERMAN (116, 117, 118) presents different aspects of Iturean coinage: an iconographical study of the coins of Ptolemy son of Mannaïos, the Iturean version of the Heliopolitan triad, the Iturean coin collection of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and a comprehensive and updated corpus of Iturean coinage based on finds from excavations and collections.

### **Numismatic Evidence from Excavations**

Due to the limits of space in this volume the coin finds are listed here without additional commentary at the end of this section.

#### **Varia**

In a popular book MESHORER (178) narrates the stories behind the coins he loved: anecdotes about collectors, counterfeits and imaginary coins, ancient banking and taxation. HENDIN (177) describes and illustrates more than 550 forgeries of Jewish coins from public and private collections. ARIEL (171) publishes two fragments of flan molds from the Temple Mount excavations in Jerusalem.

LÖNNQVIST (175) performs a second investigation of the chemical composition of Procuratorial coinage of Judaea, using ICP-AES analysis on 103 copper-alloy coins. NOTIS, SHUGAR, HERMAN, AND ARIEL (176) perform a chemical composition analysis (XRF and EPMA) of the Isfiya and Qumran coin hoards, the two largest hoards of Tyrian shekels and half-shekels. PONTING (179) carries out a metallurgical analysis of the Gamla Jewish War coins.

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## SELEUKIDEN

*Peter Franz Mittag und Kay Ehling*

Ohne Zweifel ist der exzellente Katalog, den HOUGHTON und LORBER für die Münzprägung von Seleukos I. bis Antiochos III. vorgelegt haben, die mit Abstand wichtigste Publikation der letzten Jahre (48; im Folgenden *SC*). Es ist nicht möglich, im Rahmen dieses Forschungsüberblicks das Werk in angemessener Weise zu würdigen. Lediglich einige wenige Aspekte sollen hier erwähnt werden, manches wird im Zusammenhang mit den weiteren Publikationen anzusprechen sein. Mit großer Sorgfalt haben die beiden Autoren sowohl die Datierung verschiedener Münzserien als auch deren Zuweisung an Münzstätten auf eine neue Grundlage gestellt. Sie haben sich nicht nur auf die reguläre Münzprägung beschränkt, sondern auch Imitationen berücksichtigt, wobei jeweils eine Reihe neuer Münzen vorgelegt wurde. Daneben ist es gelungen, die Beziehungen zwischen der Münzproduktion, dem Münzumsatz und v.a. der Kriegsführung unter Antiochos III. herauszuarbeiten. Eine wichtige Grundlage dazu bilden umfangreiche Untersuchungen zu Gegenstempeln, Münzschatzen und Gewichtssystemen (letzteres unter Mitwirkung von KRITT). Dieses Meisterwerk, das zu jedem König eine Einleitung mit kurzem historischen Abriss und einer Zusammenfassung der älteren Forschung, hilfreiche Karten und exzellente Indices bietet, wird auf Jahrzehnte die Standardpublikation zur seleukidischen Münzprägung bilden.

Einige wichtige Modifizierungen wurden von HOOVER im Rahmen der Publikation des zweiten Teils der Sammlung HOUGHTON vorgeschlagen (41; im Folgenden *CSE II*). Im Gegensatz zu *SC* schlägt er beispielsweise eine neue Lokalisierung verschiedener Münzstätten vor (DI-mint unter Antiochos III. ist möglicherweise Damaskus, uncertain mint 46 unter Antiochos III. vielleicht Nisibis, XAR-mint unter Antiochos III. ist nicht Ekbatana). Darüber hinaus werden Bronzeprägungen Demetrios' II., auf denen der König einen leichten Bart trägt und auf deren Rückseiten der Beiname *Philadelphos* nicht mehr vorkommt (*CSE II* 540 ff.), von HOOVER einer nordsyrischen oder mesopotamischen Münzstätte zugewiesen und in die Zeit des beginnenden Partherfeldzuges, also ins Jahr 139 v. Chr., datiert. Im darauf folgenden Jahr geriet der König in parthische Gefangenschaft, aus der er 129 v. Chr. mit langem Bart entflohen (MITTAG 62) oder entlassen wurde (SHAYEGAN 72). Ob sich Demetrios II. mit dieser Bartracht an Zeus anzugleichen suchte (MITTAG 62) oder sich dadurch eher parthisch gerierte, bleibt umstritten.

Eine Reihe von Monographien und Aufsätzen beschäftigt sich mit übergeordneten Fragestellungen, wobei Münzen als Quellengattung ausgewertet und in einen größeren Interpretationskontext eingebettet wurden. An erster Stelle sind hier zu nennen APERGHIS (1 und 2) und LE RIDER/DE CALLATAÏ (54). Während letztere einen ausgesprochen numismatischen Blickwinkel zugrunde legen und von Überlegungen zu Produktionsprozess, Design und Münzumsatz ausgehen, ist Aperghis' Hauptanliegen, die königliche seleukidische Wirtschaft zu rekonstruieren. Er beschäftigt sich unter anderem mit drei Themenfeldern, die für die Münzprägung relevant sind: der pseudo-aristotelischen Beschreibung der Königs- und Satrapenwirtschaft (oec. II, 1, 3), den Gründen für die zahlreichen seleukidischen Städtegründungen und dem regelmäßigen Ersatz abgenutzter Münzen. Während Aperghis die entsprechende Passage bei pseudo-Aristoteles übersetzt mit "With regard to currency, I mean what to mint ... of large or small denomination ... and when", übersetzen LE RIDER und DE CALLATAÏ: "En ce qui concerne la monnaie, ce que je veux dire, c'est que [le roi décide] quelle monnaie il faut frapper et à quel moment". Zu dem alten Streit, wie "ποῖον καὶ πότε (τίμιον ἢ εὐωνον)" zu verstehen sei, siehe auch Zoepffel (77). In Bezug auf die Städtegründungen betont Aperghis deren ökonomische Funktion als Marktorde und Zentren der Monetarisierung (1 und 2). LE RIDER und DE CALLATAÏ unterstreichen dagegen die Tatsache, dass einige der neuen Städte überhaupt keine Münzen prägten und die Städte der Tetrapolis vor allem die Funktion besaßen, den Zugang zum Mittelmeer zu sichern. BRINGMANN (9), DE CALLATAÏ (22) und CAPDETREY (13) sprechen sich darüber hinaus gegen die grundsätzliche Annahme von Aperghis aus, das seleukidische Reich sei zu einem hohen Grad monetarisiert gewesen.

Darüber hinaus beschäftigen sich LE RIDER und DE CALLATAÏ mit weiteren Fragen der seleukidischen Wirtschaft. So betonen sie, dass die Seleukiden selbst in der Mitte des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. keinen Mangel an Edelmetall litten. Die Tatsache, dass fremde Edelmetallmünzen frei im seleukidischen Herrschaftsgebiet umliefen, habe den Druck verringert, seleukidische Edelmetallmünzen zu produzieren und erst ab den 140er Jahren sei der Anteil seleukidischer Münzen in Münzschatzen aus dem seleukidischen Herrschaftsbereich von 15 auf rund 44 % gestiegen.

Einen noch breiteren Zugang verfolgt CAPDETREY (13), der sich in Kapitel 8 seiner Bickermanns Standardwerk wahrscheinlich ersetzenden Monographie mit den seleukidischen Einnahmen befasst. Auf der Basis

aller verfügbaren Zeugnisse rekonstruiert er das seleukidische Fiskal- und Tributsystem. Dabei betont er die Bedeutung des *basilikon* für die Verteilung eingezogener Waren und unterscheidet zwei Aspekte der Fiskalpolitik: zum einen sei Tribut ein Indikator für die seleukidische Oberhoheit gewesen und zweitens habe die Verteilung von Metallen, Getreide und Öl eine vertikale kommunikative Funktion besessen. CAPDETREY betont in diesem Zusammenhang, dass die Seleukiden die lokalen Produktionstraditionen nicht veränderten und zuweilen sogar deren Funktionieren unterstützten, es also in bezug auf Austausch und Mobilität von Reichtum keineswegs Einheitlichkeit innerhalb des seleukidischen Herrschaftsgebietes gegeben habe, vielmehr regionale Entitäten existierten wie Kleinasien, Nordsyrien, Babylonien oder etwa Baktrien. Solche Unterschiede zwischen einzelnen Regionen im Hinblick auf den Münzumlauf wurden auch von DUYRAT (25) betont, wobei sie zwischen einem weit verbreiteten Gebrauch von Münzen in der Levante und einem eher auf staatliche Zahlungen beschränkten Gebrauch in Mesopotamien unterscheidet. Im Supplementband 6 der Serie *Topoi* erschien zudem eine ganze Reihe von Artikeln, die sich mit Spezialfragen der seleukidischen Wirtschaft beschäftigen, die hier aber nicht ausführlich besprochen werden können (siehe dazu die Angaben in der Bibliographie [15]).

In den letzten Jahren wurden einige neue Münzschatze publiziert. Einer der interessantesten stammt aus Jerusalem. Auf der Basis dieses Schatzfundes rekonstruierte BARAG (6) eine seleukidische Münzprägestätte, die in Jerusalem vor der Eroberung durch Judas Makkabaeus tätig gewesen sei. HOOVER (41) zog weitere Fundorte dieser Münztypen heran und sprach sich für eine etwas nördlicher gelegene Münzstätte, vielleicht Nysa-Skythopolis, als Produktionsort aus. Ein weiterer wichtiger Hortfund wurde von ELAYI/ELAYI (30) vorgelegt. Der in der Region von Hama gehobene Fund enthielt 20 Tetradrachmen des Demetrios I. und neun Tetradrachmen des Demetrios II.; Münzen des Alexander I. fehlen. Der um 140 v. Chr. verborgene Münzschatz ist deshalb von Interesse, weil er zeigt, dass Silbermünzen der östlichen Münzstätte Seleukeia am Tigris im Westen des Reiches zusammen mit in Antiocheia geprägten Stücken zirkulierten.

Daneben rückten weitere Spezialthemen in den Fokus der Forschung. Besonders intensiv wurden die Münzprägung und Wirtschaft der Levante bearbeitet. Wichtige Grundlagen bieten die Münzkataloge von Arados und seiner *peraia* (Marathos, Carne, Gabala, Simyra und Balanea) von DUYRAT (23 und 26; zu SC 72-3 siehe auch HOOVER 39; zu Simyra auch SPEK (73)). Auf der Basis detaillierter Analysen des Prägeumfangs, der Metrologie und des Münzumlaufs rekonstruierte DUYRAT die hellenistische Geschichte von Arados. Neben einer Reihe wichtiger Beobachtungen sei hervorgehoben, dass DUYRAT die Thesen ablehnt, Arados habe unter Antiochos IV. revoltiert und sei von Tigranes II. eingenommen worden. Die Bedeutung von Arados, Seleukeia in Pierien und Tyros als Münzprägestätten während der ersten Dekade des 1. Jhs. und der Jahre 64-2 v. Chr. wird zudem von DE CALLATAÏ (21) betont. Die herausragende Stellung von Arados wurde schließlich durch die Neuinterpretation einer Münzserie aus Gabala bestätigt, die gemäß HOOVER (42) nach der aradischen Ära in das Jahr 66/5 v. Chr. zu datieren ist. HOOVER (36) hat darüber hinaus die Bedeutung Phoinikiens als Seebasis für die Seleukiden nach 188 betont. Seiner Meinung nach geht die außergewöhnlich umfangreiche Münzprägung von Tyros auf ein spezielles Recht zurück, das von Ptolemaios V. verliehen und von Antiochos III. bestätigt worden sei.

Die große Bedeutung Phoinikiens könnte zudem die beispiellose zweisprachige städtische Münzprägung unter Antiochos IV. und seinen Nachfolgern erklären (vgl. MITTAG 63, 182-198). Auf der anderen Seite betont HOOVER, dass das "standardized formula for representing the region and the cities ... on the light weight Phoenician silver may represent some sort of league coinage formed under the auspices of the king". Eine umfangreiche Untersuchung der städtischen Münzprägung aus Berytos mit historischen Hintergrundinformationen, einer Rekonstruktion der Nominale und einem Katalog von 183 Münzen legte SAWAYA (69; s. auch 70-71) vor. Seine Untersuchungen bestätigen unter anderem die Lesung der Rückseitenlegende als „Laodikeia, Mutter von Kanaan“.

Die Münzprägung von Antiochos III. in Koilesyrien deuten HOUGHTON und LORBER (47) als Produkt einer temporären Militärprägestätte zur Bezahlung der Soldaten in einer sich ständig verschiebenden Kriegszone und zur Unterstützung von Garnisonen und Militärsiedlungen. In Bezug auf die Silbermünzen habe Antiochos III. den etablierten Geldmarkt belassen und den Umlauf der ptolemäischen Münzen erlaubt. In Ergänzung zu diesen Überlegungen weist BUTCHER (11) auf die Tatsache hin, dass nach der Eroberung Phoinikiens durch umfangreichen Import seleukidischen Kleingeldes und die intensive Produktion neuer Münzen eine „Seleucidization“ der Region mit lokalen Besonderheiten eingetreten sei. Ähnliche Entwicklungen rekonstruiert DAVESNE (20) für Anatolien, wo seleukidische Tetradrachmen in großer Menge im Zuge der Militäroperationen Antiochos' III. auftauchten; auf der anderen Seite spielten seleukidische Drachmen dort nur eine geringe Rolle und seleukidische Bronzemünzen zirkulierten nur in begrenztem Umfang.

In einem Aufsatz zur Geldpolitik des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. betont HOUGHTON (46) den generellen Trend zu einer Reduzierung der Münzstättenzahl und weist auf die Korrelationen dieser Anzahl zu militärischen Aktionen hin. Die Reduzierung des Gewichts und des Feinheitsgehaltes der Tetradrachmen im Jahr 128 v. Chr. habe darüber hinaus zu einer langsamen Schließung des seleukidischen Währungsraumes geführt. In einem weiteren Aufsatz untersuchte er die Geldproduktion in der Seleukis, wo sich Antiocheia nach 245 v. Chr. mit einer Produktion von 65 bis 70 % als wichtigste Münzprägestätte etabliert habe. Einen knappen Überblick über die wichtigsten Münztypen aus Antiocheia bietet auch EHLING (27). Zwei weitere Beiträge zu einzelnen Münzstätten seien noch erwähnt. BOPEARACHCHI (7) sprach sich (gegen SC) erneut dafür aus, Baktra als die wichtigste Prägestätte des seleukidischen Baktrien zu betrachten und NOLLÉ (65) konnte unter anderem mit Hilfe von Münzen wahrscheinlich machen, dass Seleukeia bei Issos eine seleukidische Neugründung war.

Fragen des Münzdesigns wurden mehrfach diskutiert. Zwei Serien Seleukos' I. haben dabei besondere Aufmerksamkeit erfahren: die Münzen mit dem gehörnten Pferd und die Susa-Nike-Münzen. HOUGHTON und LORBER haben betont, dass das gehörnte Pferd auf Seleukos I. verweise (und nicht auf Alexander III. bzw. Bukephalos), weil die Darstellung vor allem auf den späteren Münzen Seleukos I. erscheint (48, S.7-8). MILLER und WALTERS (61) deuten das gehörnte Pferd als ein persönliches Emblem des ersten Seleukiden und weisen in diesem Zusammenhang auf die mesopotamischen Vorstellungen des Horns als Zeichens von Königtum und Göttlichkeit hin. Dagegen hat CRIBB (17) den Reiter auf einem gehörnten Pferd auf der Rückseite von SC 203 als Alexander interpretiert, weil auf den Münzrückseiten üblicherweise nicht der Herrscher sondern eine Gottheit erscheine. Auch der behelmte Kopf auf der Vorderseite der Susa-Nike-Münzen wird von ihm als Alexander gedeutet, während HOOVER (34) in diesem Seleukos I. sah und IOSSIF (51) darin eine Assimilierung von Seleukos I. an Dionysos und Alexander erblickte. Zu Alexander auf Münzen aus Ekbatana, Susa und Babylon siehe auch DAHMEN (19).

Nach HOOVER (35) stellt der weibliche Kopf auf Bronzemünzen aus Antiocheia, Seleukeia in Pierien und Ake-Ptolemaïs aus der Zeit Seleukos' IV. und Antiochos' IV. deren Gattin Laodike IV. dar. Die Münzen Antiochos' IV. wurden von ZOLOTNIKOVA (78) zudem für die Frage nach der Göttlichkeit dieses Herrschers untersucht. Sie kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass sich Antiochos IV. nicht selbst zum erschienen Zeus erklärt habe, sondern dass ein allgemeineres Konzept von Göttlichkeit mit einer universalen Gottheit solarer Natur zugrunde gelegen habe, deren irdische Manifestation der König sei.

Ikonographie, Herkunft und Bedeutung indigener Gottheiten wie Sandan in Tarsos, Athena Magarsia in Mallos, Atargatis oder Hadad in Damaskos wurden in einer methodisch wegweisenden Studie von POHL (67-68) im Hinblick auf kulturelle Phänomene wie Persistenz, Assimilation, Adaption und Akkulturation untersucht. Insgesamt kommt die Autorin anhand der Münzen zu dem Ergebnis, dass die Vorstellung, ein Kulturkontakt zwischen Griechen und Nichtgriechen zöge eine konsequente Hellenisierung nach sich, zumindest für das seleukidische Kilikien und Syrien nicht bestätigt werden kann. So stellen die genannten Münzen einerseits eindrucksvolle Zeugnisse für die Persistenz älterer Kulte aus vorgriechischer Zeit dar und spiegeln andererseits zugleich bemerkenswerte Akkulturationsvorgänge wider, bedenkt man, dass seit Mitte des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. nicht mehr ausschließlich griechische Götter wie Apollon, Artemis oder Zeus, sondern alte einheimische Gottheiten auf seleukidischem Reichssilber erscheinen.

Die Rückseiten der städtischen Bronzemünzen aus Berytos (Baal von Berytos stehend von vorn bzw. unter Alexander II. in einer geradezu monumentalen Szene in einer von Hippokampen gezogenen Quadriga) wurden von SAWAYA (69) untersucht. Wie einige andere Städte beginnt auch Berytos unter Antiochos V. mit dem Prägen eigener Tetradrachmen, die auf der Rückseite den an die Ptolemäer erinnernden Adler tragen und von SAWAYA (70) in einem weiteren Aufsatz behandelt werden. Insgesamt werden acht Emissionen herausgearbeitet. Die Silberprägung endet dort mit Demetrios II. im Jahr 144/43 v. Chr.

Eine Einzeluntersuchung widmet DAHMEN (18) den Doppelfüllhorndarstellungen auf den Münzen des Alexander II. Er geht von der Beobachtung aus, dass zwei verschiedenartige Formen der Darstellungsweise existieren: Auf Silber- und Bronzestücken gibt es parallel hintereinander gesetzte Füllhörner, die ikonographisch auf ptolemäische Vorbilder zurückgehen. Nur auf Bronzen Alexanders II. gibt es außerdem antithetisch angeordnete Füllhörner, die an ihren unteren Enden ineinander verschlungen sind. Weitreichende historische Konsequenzen hat Dahmens Feststellung, dass die Füllhorndarstellungen der jüdischen Könige Johannes Hyrkan I. und Alexander Jannaios in ptolemäischer Tradition stehen und sich nicht an seleukidische Vorbilder anlehnen: „Der merkwürdige Widerspruch zwischen der anti-seleukidischen Politik der Hasmonäer nach Alexander II. und ihren vorgeblichen und scheinbaren gleichzeitigen Abhängigkeit von ihrem Kontrahenten durch die Übernahme eines angeblich explizit seleukidischen Motivs ist somit aufgehoben.“ Auch scheint sich die Ansicht durchzusetzen (vgl. EHLING, K.



Alexander II. Zabinas – Ein angeblicher (Adoptiv-)Sohn des Antiochos VII. oder Alexander I. Balas?, *SM* 177, 1995, S. 2–7), dass Alexander II. als Sohn des Alexander I. (nicht des Antiochos VII.) ausgegeben wurde (SHAYEGAN 72).

HUTH und POTTS (50) untersuchten die Fundorte der nach seleukidischen Vorbildern kopierten Münzen der Gerrhaer auf der Insel Failaka, in Syrien und Zentralanatolien. Daraus schlossen sie, dass Antiochos III. von den Gerrhaern Tribut in Form dieser Münzen erhalten habe, die dann auf dem weiteren Weg des Königs und seines Heeres nach Westen gelangt seien. Eine Imitation von Tetradrachmen Antiochos' III. durch Galater publizierte MILLER (60). HOUGHTON und LORBER (49) konnten nachweisen, dass unter dem kappadokischen König Ariarathes VII. Philometor (ca. 110–99 v. Chr.) postume Tetradrachmen Antiochos' VII. ausgebracht wurden. Das Geld diene Ariarathes VII. zur Bezahlung von fremden (vielleicht syrischen) Söldnern, und diese wollten mit weithin akzeptiertem Münzgeld bezahlt werden, während Geld mit Bild und Namen des kappadokischen Königs wohl erst mit Aufschlag (,Agio') hätte umgetauscht werden müssen. Für die seleukidische Numismatik bedeutet dies, dass zahlreiche, früher selbstverständlich Antiochos VII. zugeschriebene Tetradrachmen auszuscheiden und nach Kappadokien zu weisen sind.

Die Datierung der späten Seleukiden wurde kontrovers diskutiert. Unstrittig ist, dass mit *CSE* II 790 nun auch numismatisch das Datum H1E der Seleukidenära (= 218 S. Ä. = 95/94 v. Chr.) als Regierungsjahr für Seleukos VI. bezeugt ist, das kürzlich schon auf einem Marktgewicht für diesen König nachgewiesen werden konnte: WEIß/EHLING (75). Damit regierte Seleukos VI. in jedem Falle noch im Herbst 95 v. Chr. (und wahrscheinlich etwas darüber hinaus). Das Stück weist HOOVER einer kilikischen Münzstätte zu.

Das interessanteste und meist diskutierte Stück ist aber die Kleinbronze *CSE* II 824. Sie zeigt auf der Vorderseite die hintereinander gesetzten Büsten der Kleopatra V. Selene und des Antiochos Philometor und auf der Rückseite eine Nike mit Kranz nach rechts. Bereits 1952 hatte BELLINGER (Notes on Some Coins from Antioch in Syria, *ANSMN* 5, 1952, S. 53–63) eine Bronzemünze dieser Serie bekannt gemacht (Rückseite: Dreifuß), deren Legende aber nur teilweise lesbar war und ist. Ein weiteres, aber ebenfalls nur mäßig erhaltenes Exemplar dieser Serie (Rückseite: opfernder Apollon) wurde von KRITT (53) publiziert. Nach Vorarbeiten von BURGESS (10) konnte HOOVER (37) eine erste Deutung vorlegen: Er erkennt in dem König hinter Kleopatra V. Selene Antiochos XIII. und meint, die Serie sei vor 72/71 v. Chr. in Damaskos ausgeprägt worden. Dagegen weisen WEIß/EHLING (76) darauf hin, dass Antiochos XIII. den Beinamen *Philadelphos* (nicht: *Philometor*) führte und es sich deshalb schwerlich um den dreizehnten Antiochos handeln kann. Vielmehr haben wir mit Antiochos Philometor einen ‚neuen‘ König vor uns, offenbar den Bruder Antiochos' XIII. Mit den bei Cicero (Verr. 4, 27, 61) erwähnten *reges Syriae* sind dann dieser Antiochos Philometor und Antiochos XIII. gemeint, nicht, wie man früher annahm, Seleukos Kybiosaktes. Anders als HOOVER (37) datieren WEIß/EHLING (76) die gemeinsame Herrschaft der Kleopatra V. Selene und des Antiochos Philometor ins Jahr 92 v. Chr. Machtbasis der beiden wird Antiocheia gewesen und die Münzen deshalb auch dort geschlagen worden sein. Von Antiochos Philometor haben sich zwei Marktgewichte erhalten, die nach der Typologie zu schließen nach Antiocheia gehören dürften (vgl. die Diskussion bei WEIß/EHLING [76]).

Wie HOOVER (39) zeigen konnte, gibt es eine ganze Serie von „anomalous“ Tetradrachmen Philippos' I., die sich durch Stil und Monogramme einerseits von den sicher zu Lebzeiten geprägten Tetradrachmen unterscheiden, andererseits aber auch von den zur Zeit des römischen Proconsuls Aulus Gabinius ausgebrachten Silberstücken abweichen. HOOVER datiert diese Tetradrachmen in die Jahre 64–57 v. Chr.; sie gingen somit den unter Gabinius in Umlauf gebrachten Philippos I.-Tetradrachmen unmittelbar voraus und stellen nach HOOVER eine autonome Prägung der Stadt Antiocheia dar.

Auch Ereignisverlauf und Chronologie der späten Seleukidenzeit wurden von HOOVER (43) auf der Grundlage der literarischen und numismatischen Überlieferung ausführlich diskutiert. Dabei gelangt der Autor zu einigen neuen Ansätzen, so wenn er das Ende der Regierung des sechsten Seleukos auf 94/93 v. Chr. datiert (siehe aber oben: *CSE* II 790 und WEIß/EHLING [76]: 95/94 v. Chr.) oder für Philippos I. eine Regierungsdauer von 88/87 bis ca. 75 v. Chr. annimmt. Den Tod Antiochos' VIII. setzt HOOVER wieder, Flavius Josephus folgend, ins Jahr 97, während die Münzen eher auf 98/97 v. Chr. deuten.

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## BACTRIA AND PARTHIA

*Peter Franz Mittag*

### **Bactria**

During the past six years there has been an increase in research on Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coinage. One important aspect is that the history of the Bactrian and the Indo-Parthian kings turned out to be linked more closely than has ever been seen. The most important input to a new chronology of the Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan kings was provided by SALOMON (67), who published a Buddhist reliquary inscription with a threefold date (era of Vijayamitra, era of Azes and a “Greek” era). The reliquary was presented at a colloquium in 2003 and was therefore discussed even before SALOMON’s final publication (e.g. WILSON [88]). SALOMON himself pointed to several problems. The most important one is the old question whether the era of Azes is equivalent to the Vikrama era of 58/7 BC. If they are equivalent, the new “Greek” era started in 186/5 BC and should be connected with the earliest significant conquests of Bactrian kings in northwestern India and called the “Indo-Greek era”, which BOPEARACHCHI (23) connected with Demetrios I. During the same colloquium CRIBB (32) questioned the equation of the Azes era with that of Vikrama. This conclusion is based on three assumptions: (1) Wima Takto is the missing king from an inscription from Mathura (year 270), (2) Wima Kadphises is the missing king from another inscription from Mathura (year 299), (3) the Kanishka era starts in Mathura with year 1. Thus year 1 of the Kanishka era must be year 299 (or later) of the Greek era. Consequently the era of Azes must have started in 46 BC and cannot be the Vikrama era of 58/7 BC; for the same reason the Indo-Greek era began in 174 BC. On the other hand MACDOWALL (55) supposed that Salomon’s Indo-Greek era was used only in the area controlled by the Indo-Scythians because Maues tried to connect himself to Demetrios I and thus used the era starting in 186/5. On the contrary, in Surkh Kotal and Dasht-i-Nāvur an era beginning with the accession of Eukratides I in 171 BC was used. This would fit quite well with the results of CRIBB’s considerations. The question when the Indo-Greek era started and where it was used is of vital interest for the Bactrian coinage since WIDEMANN (85) identified letters on some Bactrian coins as dates following the Indo-Greek era.

Apart from the discussions on the new Indo-Greek era, several new coins have been published: new overstrikes by BOPEARACHCHI (12: Agathokleia over Diomedes), SENIOR (71: Vonones with Spalahores over Strato I), SENIOR (74: Azilises over Spalirises, Archebios over Epandros), SENIOR (77: Strato I over Heliokles II), SENIOR (78, no. 5 = 80, xvi no. 5: Strato I over Diomedes), BOPEARACHCHI (21: Euthydemos I over Diodotos), MITTAG (60: Apollodotos I over Eukratides I, Strato I over Menander I, Heliokles I over Eukratides I, Philoxenos over Strato I, Heliokles II over Menander I); new coin types and/or monograms: BOPEARACHCHI and LI (28: new monograms for Antimachos, Lysias and Eukratides II), SENIOR (70: 8 new Bactrian coins, 1 Hermaios [posthumous], 3 Azes, 1 Azes [posthumous, Hajatria], 1 Indo-Parthian coin; 71: new monograms on 6 Bactrian and 6 Indo-Scythian coins; 72: Hospises, Azes, Strato I, 2 Artemidoros; 73: new Maues coin), SENIOR (75: new monogram for Zoilos I and new Indo-Scythian coin types), SENIOR (81: Menander, Philoxenos, Epandros, Zoilos II., Azilises, Azes), MEARS (57: Azilises and Azes).

The most important new overstrike is that of Strato I (Epiphanes) on Heliokles II because there is a long known overstrike of Heliokles II on Strato I (BOPEARACHCHI, *RN* 1989, pp.55-8, no. 3-8). SENIOR (78), who published this new overstrike, deduced from it a parallel reign of Strato I and Heliokles II, but as he suggested two years later (SENIOR 79) there might have been two Stratos (Strato Dikaïos and Strato Epiphanes). JAKOBSSON (45) strengthened this suggestion by pointing to several strange facts, e.g. the old Strato Epiphanes wears – in contrast to Strato Dikaïos – a beard, has different monograms and different bronze coins etc. If this is true the new overstrike doesn’t prove a parallel reign of Strato I and Heliokles II.

BOPEARACHCHI and FLANDRIN in 2005 (25), published a very controversial new gold coin of Alexander the Great, allegedly with the only lifetime portrait of the king, struck in the Indus valley, and found in Mir Zakah, together with a gold double stater (?) of Agathokles for Alexander, a gold stater of Menander, a gold stater and silver tetradrachms of king Sophytes,. FISCHER-BOSSERT (37) and HURTER (43) questioned the authenticity of the coin in two review articles, which led to a conference held in Paris in March 2007. CHUGG (30) as well as other scholars expressed similar doubts. The most important objections (elephant-scalp headdress of Alexander on the obverse, design of the elephant on the reverse) remain open to discussion.

HOLT (42) in a book on “the elephant medallions” did not quite convince that they were a local coinage of Alexander the Great to be distributed to the soldiers after the battle of the Hydaspes, from dies cut by Greek engravers, but most likely struck by Indian mint-workers. See the review article by MITTAG (59).

In addition to single coins, some important new hoards were published by BOPEARACHCHI (17: Bara [Pakistan], 370 coins: 2 Zoilos II, 3 posthumous Hermaios, the others Indo-Scythian; BOPEARACHCHI interestingly observes that Azes II coins with a corrupt Greek legend nevertheless show a correct Karoshthi legend), FALK (36: Peshawar, about 1500 coins), SENIOR (76: Haripur: Indo-Parthian coins) and SENIOR (79: some coins from the Chakwal hoard). LITVINSKIJ/PICIKIJAN (51) published the Bactrian, pseudo-Parthian and Kushan coins found during the excavations in Takt-i Sangin.

Several articles with a wider scope have been published in order to establish a new chronology with different methodologies. They appeared more or less simultaneously and independently from each other. SENIOR (78) focuses on the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian kings. On the basis of pedigree coins, epithets, overstrikes, hoards, monograms, and reverse types, he tries to demonstrate that Eukratides I and Agathokles ruled simultaneously and that Eukratides I died about 139/8. He also questions whether Antimachos I was the same as Antimachos II (see also SENIOR 80, x-xl). In the same year Mitchiner revised his chronology of the Bactrian kings (61). SELDESCHLAGTS (68) used Indian literary texts and other evidence to demonstrate that the conqueror of north-western India was Demetrios II, who fled from Eukratides I to Mithradates I and Valarsakes who killed him, and that Menander never ruled in Pataliputra. On the basis of the geographical distribution of bronze coin finds, the pedigree coins, epithets, hoards and imitations, CRIBB (32) was able to establish a new chronology and to revise the territories of the kings from Diodotos I to Heliokles I who might have ruled until about 80 BC. Therefore CRIBB dates the Qunduz hoard to about 70 BC. MITTAG (60) arranged the various methods used to reconstruct the sequence of the Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings according to their reliability and reconstructed on the basis of reliable methods (dated coins, pedigree-coins, overstrikes and die-links) a sequence of 33 Bactrian kings. MACDOWALL (55) summarises all fix dates from various sources (for his criticism of SALOMON's equation of the Indo-Greek era and the Bactrian era see above): his main argument is debasements. In two articles JAKOBSON (44 and 45) examines the Indo-Greek kings after Menander and argues that Philoxenos must have been the most important king around 100 BC. On the basis of epithets and reverse types, he groups related kings (e.g. “the house of Philoxenos” and “the house of Antialkidas”) and stemmas of kings whom he thinks were relatives.

WILSON dealt with the reign of Eukratides several times. According to him the starting point of Eukratides' reign can be based on a the new chronology for Mithradates I of Parthia provided by ASSAR (3 and 6). Eukratides I must have died in 148/7, a date which would very well fit with the dated inscription from Ai Khanoum (year 24) (91 and 97: Eukratides I died 145 or 139). WILSON discussed other aspects of Eukratides' reign in earlier articles (95). He divided the early coins of Eukratides I without epithet into three groups and he concluded that Eukratides I did not seize power in Baktra but in another region, and only captured the city later (96). WILSON also discussed monograms as possible indications for joint reigns, as well as the spread of monograms from Bactria to regions south of the Hindu Kush (86 and 93). According to him the arrangement of legends confirms that Menander I's reign started before Eukratides I changed the design of his coins (before 162 BC). WILSON in a short article on “epithet timeline” also dealt with the problem of the beginning of the use of epithets on coins by several kings (92). He also discussed the coinage of Eukratides II and Demetrios II, probably sons of Eukratides I. (89). There are some discrepancies in WILSON's arguments: in 2003 (86) he is convinced that Eukratides I's enemy was Demetrios I, and that Demetrios II succeeded Eukratides I. In 2004, however, from the absence of epithets, he concludes (90) that Demetrios II must have died before Eukratides I.

CRIBB (31 appendices 1 and 2) examined the Indian coinage from its inception to the middle ages and established a new chronology for the earliest punch-marked coins to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. concluding that they must have been influenced by Greek and Achaemenid coins. ERRINGTON (35) corroborated a similar chronology, already proposed in 1983.

### Iconography

MACDOWALL (55) provides an outline of the gods on Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins. He points out that even local Indian or Scythian gods were represented in a Greek manner. This agrees with some of CRIBB's (33) remarks on the continuity of coin design in central Asia, like the horseman on the reverses (who since the time of Antimachos II, is not the ruling king but Alexander the Great). JONGEWARD examined the iconography of the Kushan coins in a series of articles (47-49). MILLER and WALTERS (58) focused on

the horns and ears on the helmet of Eukratides I, and interpreted them as a symbol of royalty and divinity according to Mesopotamian traditions.

### Metrology

MAC DOWALL (52) interpreted the new bronze coins of 12 and 24 grams of Demetrios I as a measure to connect the older Bactrian bronze coins of 8 grams with the local Indian coins of about 12 grams. He also calculates the earlier standard of bronze coins in the eastern provinces of the Seleucid Empire (a *chalkous* of 4 g), from Menander's bronze coins of Indian weight standard with marks of value (*chalkous* of 2.75g) (53).

### **Parthia and Elymais**

Parthian coinage was treated extensively: –ASSAR, in particular, dealt with the chronology in a series of articles (2-9). With the help of astronomical diaries, parchments, *ostraka* and coins, he reconstructed a new chronology for the period from the beginning of Parthian rule until the 50s of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. One of his articles on the Parthian “dark ages” appeared in *Parthica* 8, a volume dedicated to David SELLWOOD on his 81<sup>st</sup> birthday, which contained several contributions on Parthian numismatics; among them an article by VARDANYAN, who used the coin types to reconstruct the same period as ASSAR. Other dealt with the significance of coins for the reconstruction of Mithradates' II wars (DĄBROWA [34]), a plea against far-reaching conclusions concerning the political situation from overstrikes (SIMONETTA [83]) and considerations on the weapons on Parthian coins (WINKELMANN [98]).

Other articles deserve mention: SELLWOOD and SIMONETTA (69) dealt with the coinage of Orodes II and Phraates IV, reattributing SELLWOOD 40 and 41 to Phraates IV (Simonetta) or an unidentified ruler under Orodes II (Sellwood). GONNELLA (41) denies the existence of a mint at Artemita. By comparing coin series and using all available eras FRÖHLICH (38) dated Gondophares' reign to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. In another article she dealt with the representation of the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian kings as horseman, and the question whether there existed one or two Azeses (39). GARIBOLDI examined the epithet Philopator on Seleucid and Parthian coins (40). RIVES (64) and NADOOSHAN/ SADEGHI/MOSAVI (62) provided new data for the weights and the silver content of Parthian coins. SHEROZIA and DOYEN (82) published a catalogue of 574 Parthian coins found in Georgia.

VAN'T HAAFF (84) published a new catalogue of Elymaean coinage, which will become the reference book on the subject for years to come. On the basis of a critical discussion of previous scholarship, he was able to establish a new sequence of the Elymaean kings. Worth noting is VAN'T HAAFF's discovery (p. 4) that Kamnaskires I Megas Soter is to be distinguished from Kamnaskires II Nikephorus, who was succeeded by Kamnaskires III and Anzaze, Kamnaskires IV, and Kamnaskires V (p. 8). The Arsacid dynasty is reconstructed on the basis of Vardanian's sequence (p. 21-26) (Orodes I, Kamnaskires-Orodes, Orodes II, Phraates, Orodes III, Orodes IV, Orodes V). The degeneration of the reverse types during this period (ca. 25 BC – AD 228) according to him, is due to an intentional break with the earlier tradition and not to the incompetence of the engravers, since they were able to cut good obverses (p. 19).

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## THE PTOLEMIES

*Catharine C. Lorber*

### General works

General works on the Hellenistic world typically offer brief summaries of Lagid economic and/or monetary policy aimed at the non-numismatist (5, 6, 10, 11). Documents pertaining to Ptolemaic monetary and tax policy are translated in the revised editions of AUSTIN (1) and BAGNALL AND DEROW (2); the latter includes only epigraphic and papyrological sources and is strongly weighted toward the Ptolemaic kingdom.

Ptolemaic coins serve as evidence in studies of Hellenistic colonization by COHEN (4) and MUELLER (8), in BENNETT'S Ptolemaic genealogy website (3), and in a few passages in HUB'S magisterial history of Ptolemaic Egypt (7).

### Precious metal coinage

In his master's thesis OLIVIER (33) investigates every aspect of Ptolemaic gold coinage, drawing on hoards and metallurgical analyses conducted at the Centre Ernest Babelon. He examines the role of gold coinage in the Lagid monetary system: the evolving gold:silver ratio, commercial uses of Ptolemaic gold coinage, and exchange rates against foreign currency. OLIVIER demonstrates that each denomination of the Attic-weight gold coinage of Queen Berenice could also exchange on the Lagid standard and proposes that this coinage was struck for Ptolemaic troops stationed in or near Seleucid territory, in which case the queen honored should be Berenice Syra. Among the appendices is a preliminary die study of the *mnaiēia* depicting Ptolemy III with radiate crown, trident, and aegis.

The coinage of Ptolemy I has attracted the interest of several scholars. LE RIDER (26) and LORBER (28) both find that the Demanhur hoard implies a date of 324/3 for the opening of the Egyptian mint, though they disagree about its location. Noting control links between bronze and silver coinage, Lorber fixes the first reduction of the tetradrachm to 306/5, after the catastrophe at Salamis, with subsequent dates lowered accordingly. DE CALLATAÏ (18) adheres to the old chronology but sheds new light on the final reduction of the tetradrachm. Having identified extensive die linkage among Alexandrian tetradrachms of Ptolemy I with different control marks, he estimates that ten emissions were produced rapidly, perhaps in just two years. RODRIGUEZ (36) reconstructs Ptolemy's military assets and correlates changes in his coinage with his military policy, emphasizing iconographic appeals to Macedonian mercenaries. WHEATLEY (38) cites Sidon's year 22 tetradrachms of Ptolemaic type to date the battle of Gaza. Considering the revised die sequence for Tyrian tetradrachms against the historical background, he concludes that Ptolemy did not get permanent possession of Tyre and Sidon until 289/8 (WHEATLEY 37).

GITLER and LORBER (23) report a new Ptolemaic obol variety struck in Palestine after the battle of Gaza. The same authors (24) provide a corpus of Ptolemaic Yehud issues and propose a chronology based on die axes and Alexandrian comparanda.

DAVESNE (16) recognizes only two Lagid mints in Asia Minor, Ephesus and Tarsus; he limits their activity, and the penetration of Ptolemaic hoards into Asia Minor, to 265–255 and 246–240. His reattribution to Aradus of some coins considered Ephesian by Svoronos is rejected by DUYRAT (19).

HAZZARD (25) demonstrates that Ptolemy I was not termed Soter in official usage until 261/0, when ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ became the regular legend of Ptolemaic tetradrachms; the epithet was not introduced in the dating of documents until 259. Hazzard associates these changes with the introduction of a "Soter era" in January 262, whose purpose was to fix the celebration of the Ptolemaieia in relation to astronomical events. The so-called era coinage is dated by this era and, in Hazzard's view, is an official Ptolemaic mintage issued from Pelusium.

DUYRAT (19) updates Mørholm's corpus of the era coinage and offers a critical review of the scholarship, expressing skepticism about Mørholm's attribution of this coinage to Aradus. LORBER (31) also reviews the scholarly controversies and partially vindicates HAZZARD; she proposes that the era coinage originated on Cyprus and was carried to Coele Syria and Phoenicia by the Ptolemaic fleet during the Syrian Wars.

## Egyptian bronze coinage

The compelling questions of our period have been the face values of Egyptian bronze coins and the chronology of second- and first-century issues. LORBER (27) summarizes the development of Ptolemaic bronze coinage in Egypt, inferred largely from hoards. In her view, the third-century bronze drachm was normally a coin weighing *c.*72g, though a heavier weight standard based on a drachm of *c.*96g was temporarily adopted during the earlier reign of Ptolemy III. She reiterates hoard evidence indicating that most bronze coinage was removed from circulation at the end of the next reign, including these two largest denominations; further weight reductions followed this reform. For the bronze coins of Ptolemy II–III, PICARD (35) prefers a consistent set of six denominations, with a drachm of 65–75g and the heaviest denomination valued as an octobol. Because his reconstruction depends in part on his perception that types were used to identify denominations, he consolidates two pairs of neighboring denominations with identical types in Svoronos' system of eight denominations for Ptolemy II. However, the metrological study of FAUCHER (20) confirms two separate populations for each of the contested "twin" denominations. VON REDEN (51) rejects the idea that the bronze drachm must have existed as an actual coin, noting the lack of a demotic term for drachm. Based on salt tax rates and the existence of a demotic word for obol, she proposes that the bronzes of *c.*72g and 96g were triobols and tetrobols respectively, until the introduction of the *chi-rho* series in 231 when the bronze of *c.*72g became a tetrobol. Using the traditional Egyptian silver:bronze ratio of 1:60, von Reden calculates that the tetrobol of Ptolemy IV could have been equivalent to 40 drachms in the new accounting system adopted toward the end of the century.

LORBER (30) reaffirms the Egyptian origin of the rare bronze coins of Ptolemaic type issued by Antiochus IV (*contra* Mørkholm, who had assigned them to Cyprus). BLASIUS (15) inquires why the more common "Egyptianizing" bronze coinage of Antiochus IV borrowed its types and metrology from Ptolemaic coinage. For him, the "Egyptianizing" coinage is best understood as a currency struck at Antioch for use by the Seleucid army during its invasions of Egypt. To explain the absence of these coins in Egypt, he points to the removal of Ptolemaic EYA bronzes from Cyprus when the Seleucid occupation ended.

PICARD (34) submits that bronzes with the double eagle reverse remained in circulation over many reigns, filling the period between Isis head bronzes and the reformed coinage of Cleopatra VII.

FAUCHER and SHAHIN (55) publish a hoard of dated Ptolemaic bronzes (Svoronos 1190–91, 1193) found near Lake Mareotis together with a bronze wing severed from a statue, but no other coins. These varieties, attributed to Cyprus or Crete by Svoronos and to Syro-Phoenicia by Mørkholm, are demonstrably Alexandrian. The authors assign them to the first reign of Ptolemy IX.

PICARD (76) describes salient features of the assemblage of Ptolemaic coins from the French excavations at Alexandria: the absence of countermarks, the importance of cast coins, and unstruck flans evidently used in exchange. Small bronzes with the letters B—A and K—Λ (Svoronos 1732–1733) are well represented and Picard considers them to be 5-drachm pieces of Cleopatra VII, contemporary with her reformed 80- and 40-drachm bronzes.

## Bronze coinage outside Egypt

Our period has seen a number of reattributions, mostly based on finds and/or circulation patterns. DAVESNE (16) questions the attribution to Menelaus of Cypriote bronze coins with the types head of Aphrodite/eagle. WOLF and LORBER (39) examine an anomalous bronze coinage ostensibly of Ptolemy II and demonstrate that it was struck at Syracuse under Hieron II. ARSLAN and ÖZEN (52) publish a Ptolemaic bronze hoard from Turkish Thrace containing portrait coins of Arsinoe II (Svoronos 387) and new varieties with the types Poseidon/trident and Apollo/cornucopiae, all perhaps of Byzantium. ASHTON (81) and KONUK (83) catalogue the Ptolemaic holdings of the Fethiye and the Bodrum Museums. At both, two bronze series of Ptolemy II–III are conspicuously overrepresented, one marked by a trident and the other by a tripod. As both collections were formed locally, these series must have been minted in southwest Asia Minor, and not at Berytus and Ptolemais (Ake) where Svoronos placed them. LORBER (32) proposes that Ptolemaic bronzes with a female portrait labeled Queen Berenice, found in numbers at Ras Ibn Hani, represent a local mintage rather than the several products of Sidon, Tyre, and Ioppe or Gaza as Svoronos believed.

## Technical

FAUCHER'S doctoral dissertation (20) is a major contribution to the study of Ptolemaic bronze coinage, centered on production technique at Alexandria. It reports the results of metallurgical analyses conducted at the Centre Ernest Babelon on Alexandrian and provincial bronze coins, documenting the introduction of lead into the alloy in the second century and the improved tin content under Cleopatra VII. In addition Faucher examines every aspect of the minting process and of the coinage itself. His metallographic observations of the central cavities introduced under Ptolemy II confirm the theory of Guey and Picon that these conical holes were added individually to each flan to hold it steady on a lathe so that it could be smoothed before striking.

ARIEL (14) observes that Ptolemaic flan molds from Cyprus are essentially indistinguishable from those of Judaea. Curiously, stone or clay flan molds from Egypt are lacking, though pottery molds for forging coins have been published.

## Coinage in the Ptolemaic economy

Numismatists and papyrologists alike continue their efforts to understand coinage in light of written documents, seeking in particular to establish the face values of Ptolemaic bronze coins. The role of coinage in the Ptolemaic economy has emerged as a topic of capital interest, as scholars attempt to determine the degree of monetization and to define the operations and character of the economy. Several works in this area include accounts or partial accounts of the development of Ptolemaic coinage (41, 43, 46, 50, 51).

BURKHALTER AND PICARD (41) review the papyrological evidence for monetary units employed in different periods of Ptolemaic history. The third-century bronze drachm could, with the payment of *allagè* (the commission paid to exchange bronze coinage for silver, or silver for gold), be exchanged for a silver drachm at a slight discount. The bronze drachm of the second and first centuries must have been a unit of account rather than an actual coin, since prices for this period are given in minae and talents. The record of coin production does not support the thesis that these prices were due to a normal if aggravated inflationary process fueled by excessive monetary supply, but points instead to a currency reform at the beginning of the second century. The authors also compare the Egyptian bronze coinages of Cleopatra VII and Augustus, both of which employed marks of value, and conjecture that the 80-drachm bronze of Cleopatra was equivalent to an octobol on the silver standard, that of Augustus to a tetrobol. A lengthy table at the end of the article summarizes records of *allagè*, silver/bronze conversions, penalties, and obols and fractions.

In late second-century texts from Kerkeosiris, VERHOOGT (48) notes the mention of small sums in bronze—5, 10, 20, 50, 60, and 120 drachms—and suggests these might correspond to the face values of actual coins. He reports prices for the silver tetradrachm that fluctuate even within individual accounts, demonstrating that tetradrachms traded as market commodities, while separate accounts for bronze and silver support the theory of two standards advanced by other papyrologists. SALMENKIVI (47) cites a first-century text for a 1:500 ratio for the conversion of silver drachms to “copper” drachms of account.

There is growing consensus that the early Ptolemies imposed monetization through their tax policies. Several publications emphasize the connection between the tax laws promulgated after 264 and the introduction of an expanded system of bronze denominations (9, 35, 44, 46, 50, 51). Some also underline the profits inherent in closing the economy to foreign coinage, in striking gold coins underweight, and in promoting the use of fiduciary coinage for internal payments (9, 43).

LE RIDER AND DE CALLATAÏ (43) compare the monetary systems and fiscal policies of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms. They contrast the closed economy of the Ptolemies with the open economy of the Seleucids, noting that both developed from models already present in the Greek world. The continuing importance of payment in kind leaves them unpersuaded that either government sought to impose monetization on rural areas. Because both dynasties had ample reserves of precious metals in the form of luxury items, these authors reject the assumption that monetary production was constrained by bullion shortages. For them it reflects the preferences of the monarchs, whose principal need for coinage was to support military preparedness.

PICARD (9) too sees the desire for a strong military as the chief motive behind Lagid fiscal policies. He discusses the evolution of early Ptolemaic coinage in relation to three such policies: taxation in kind for the grain economy, money taxation of oil products, and the *apomoira*.

MANNING (44) and VON REDEN (50) both recognize coinage as an aspect of Ptolemaic state building. For Manning, currency itself was an expression of sovereignty, as was the imposition of its use, effected through tax laws and through the introduction of Greek financial institutions. He explains early Lagid economic policy as designed to ensure predictability, to insulate the treasury from risk, and to capture as much revenue as possible through taxation; the result was an economic intensification that eventually contributed to rural unrest. VON REDEN characterizes coinage and contracts as economic institutions whose introduction, in combination with Ptolemaic royal ideology and rituals, served to integrate Egypt both politically and economically while stimulating economic growth. Both authors also discuss specific taxes and other topics within these frameworks.

VON REDEN'S book on money in the Ptolemaic economy (51) is, like the two preceding studies, limited to the third century, and develops the same themes in much greater detail. Two chapters are devoted to the evolution of the coinage, covering familiar ground but also offering fresh ideas and useful information from the field of papyrology. Precious metal coins were aimed at Alexandria, the harbors, and the economy of cleruchs, while bronze coins were intended for the *chôra*; although exchangeable, these were essentially separate currencies, hoarded separately and usually separated in accounts. Monetization was uneven and in the *chôra* it could only be maintained by an extensive system of credit. Under these circumstances prices were not sensitive to money supply, so that the inflation of the late third century cannot be explained by an oversupply of coinage or a shortage of goods. VON REDEN reviews the documentary evidence for this inflation and suggests that the disappearance of monopoly banks (responsible for money changing) after the reign of Ptolemy III and of the salt tax after 217 may have contributed to a piecemeal disintegration of the monetary system under Ptolemy IV, culminating in the removal of most bronze coinage from circulation. A sixty-fold elevation in wages toward the end of the century indicates that bronze coinage had become an independent currency, the bronze drachm serving as a unit of account equivalent to one sixtieth of the silver drachm, consistent with the traditional Egyptian silver:bronze ratio of 1:60. Another chapter details the exchange of bronze and silver and the circumstances governing *allagè*. The rest of the book minutely examines every aspect of the Ptolemaic economy: money taxes and taxes in kind, rents, forms of remuneration, types of loans, patronage and protection in economic life, and banking.

VON REDEN (49) reiterates her insight that money circulating in Ptolemaic Egypt was probably not sufficient to pay taxes, making credit a vital adjunct of the tax system. For BINGEN (40), the prevalence of borrowing reflects the insufficiency of individual financial resources as well as of cash in circulation; it is proof of the deleterious impact on Egyptians of the monetary economy, new tax structures, and Greek capitalism.

MUHS (46) documents the taxes collected at Thebes before and after the reforms of 264 and describes in detail the processes involved in tax farming. MEADOWS (45) reinterprets an inscription at Argos that records donations by the coregents Ptolemy VI, Ptolemy VIII, and Cleopatra II, and by several Cypriot cities, suggesting that the latter amounts may represent the *apomoira*.

### **Excavation Coins and Circulation**

The Ptolemaic coins from excavations at Bakchias in the Fayum, published by PARENTE (75), are predominantly the second-century double eagle type Svoronos 1424, which gives way to tetradrachms under Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra VII. Ptolemaic coins are only weakly represented in NOESKE'S surveys of coin finds in Egypt (73, 74).

The Ptolemaic coins from excavations in Beirut, reported by BUTCHER (61, 62), are mostly of Alexandria and Tyre, whereas bronze varieties assigned to Berytus by Svoronos were not represented in the excavations, consistent with their reattribution to southwest Asia Minor by ASHTON (81). Stratigraphic evidence indicates that Ptolemaic bronze coins were removed from circulation after the Seleucid conquest.

The silver *minimi* of Judah rarely occur in controlled excavations. ESHEL and ZISSU (64) report a Yehud coin with Ptolemaic types from excavations at Horvat 'Ethri. Many Israeli sites have yielded Ptolemaic bronze coins, mainly of Ptolemy I and II and mainly of Alexandria and Tyre; space limitations do not permit commentary on each report, but we may note that an apparent gap for Ptolemy III is probably an artifact of erroneous attributions in the standard references.

Coin finds at Israeli sites have clarified the foundation of two Hellenistic cities. ARIEL (59) concludes that Nysa-Scythopolis was founded in the Ptolemaic period at Tel el Husn and relocated to Tel Istabbah in the Seleucid period, while EVANS (65) concludes that Strato's Tower must have been founded after the Seleucid conquest.

STEFANAKIS (77) surveys the evidence for circulation of Ptolemaic coinage in Crete. Numerous didrachms of Ptolemaic Cyrenaica were hoarded in Crete or overstruck by Cretan cities; the influx may be explained by the involvements of Cretan mercenaries. Otherwise Ptolemaic coinage found in Crete is dominated by issues of Ptolemy II, perhaps to be associated with the garrison established at Itanos by his admiral Patroclus.

CHRYSSANTHAKI (63) details Ptolemaic coin circulation in Greece and the Aegean. Along the Thracian coast and in the Aegean, Ptolemaic coinage is quite scarce and its presence does not correlate with areas under Lagid control, an indication that the Ptolemies did not impose the use of their coinage. Ptolemaic coinage in Greece reflects the dynasty's policy of intervention in Greek affairs. Silver subsidies from Ptolemy I and II enabled Athens to strike the series of tetradrachms of the style called *quadridigité* (QD), which financed the Chremonidean War. The extensive military operations of Patroclus in Attica during that war are attested by bronzes of Ptolemy II marked with a shield and monograms. Portrait bronzes of Ptolemy III have been found at sites throughout the Peloponnese and are believed to represent subsidies to the king's allies.

MANGANARO (72) documents the Ptolemaic coins found in Sicily, the majority of which are bronzes with a shield symbol, ostensibly of Ptolemy II.

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## CARTHAGE AND NORTH AFRICA

*Paolo Visonà*

Scholarly interest in the coinage of Carthage has grown significantly since the last reviews of research in this field by MANFREDI (14-15; cf. 18), even though no major corpus or comprehensive studies have appeared (cf. 32-34).

### **SNG and Collections**

Five new SNG volumes featuring museum collections from France (27), Great Britain (22), Greece (26), and Italy (8), and a supplementary volume of the SNG Copenhagen (29) contain Carthaginian and neo-Punic specimens (12). In addition, the Carthaginian coins in the collections of Biassono (5), Castelfranco Emilia (25, 96), Chieti, L'Aquila, and Pula (20), Finale Ligure (94), Forlì and Rimini (91), Montagnac (10), the Museum Carnuntinum (3, no. 34134), Naples' Museo Archeologico Nazionale (31; review: 35), Osijek (11), Pantelleria (67; 70), and select bronze specimens in Como (4) have been published. BALDUS' catalogue of the Karlsruhe Carthage exhibition features several Punic issues from the Berlin and Munich museums' collections (7). ALEXANDROPOULOS has published Punic issues from Sicily, Carthage, and Numidia in Toulouse's Saint-Raymond Museum (1), and the collection of Carthaginian and Numidian coins of the Banque Centrale de Tunisie (2). Other large private collections of Carthaginian coins have been edited by MANFREDI (20) and MARTIN (21).

### **Hoard, Site Finds, and Stray Finds**

LORBER (49) published an unprovenanced group of 255 Carthaginian billon and bronze coins that have been sold piecemeal since 1995 (cf. 6, p. 126). The contents of this assemblage are highly unusual, since they include reduced billon issues similar to SNGCop 190-191, that are known to have been struck during and after the Libyan Revolt, together with issues similar to SNGCop 351 minted during the second Punic War. According to LORBER, these coins circulated 'either together or in succession.' She argues that the SNGCop 351 issues began to be minted c. 216-215 B.C. and that the SNGCop 190-191 issues were struck as late as c. 210-205 B.C. However, the possibility that these coins came from separate hoards should also be taken into consideration. MANGANARO (52) re-examined the Selinunte hoard 1874 (IGCH 2213), containing 9 billon double-shekels of the Libyans overstruck upon Carthaginian issues. He believes that the Libyans may have begun minting coins with Carthaginian permission some time after the end of their revolt in 241-238 B.C., and he restated his dating of these overstriking to 213-212 B.C. CRAWFORD (90) makes some insightful comments on the Carthaginian electrum issue with Janiform head / Jupiter in quadriga (SNGCop 357-358) from the Muro Maurizio hoard. BALDUS (39) discusses a group of 5 large bronze coins similar to SNGCop 341-344 from the environs of El Djem (Tunisia) that may have belonged to a hoard. He suggests that they were minted c. 217/216 B.C. in central Italy for the Carthaginian troops, who would have taken them to eastern Tunisia in 203 B.C.; therefore they could be linked to Hannibal's presence in this area towards the end of the second Punic War. BALDUS also published some reduced silver shekels and double-shekels from Carthage (a portion of a larger hoard?), which were burnt in the fire of 146 B.C. (37; 7, p. 313, no. 89; cf. 61). VISONÀ (61) provided new data on the Cani Islands hoard (IGCH 2301). Lastly, BONAČIČ-MANDINIČ (104) has published a small hoard (or a fraction of a larger assemblage?) from Bosanski Petrovac in Bosnia, including Carthaginian and Numidian bronzes that exemplify the types of North African issues generally found in the northeastern Adriatic area.

### **North Africa**

The excavations conducted at Carthage, Leptiminus, and Simitthus, by American and German teams yielded several Carthaginian and Numidian coins (47; 53), including at least one previously undocumented variety (38). Bronzes of Numidia and Mauretania (Lixus, Tingis) from recent excavations in Morocco have also been published (36, 59; cf. 42), while older finds of Carthaginian coins from Rusadir have been re-examined (43-44). LAPORTE assembled a list of old coin finds from Siga in western Algeria including Carthaginian, Numidian, and Mauretanian issues (48); MUNZI reported on Carthaginian and Numidian bronzes found at rural sites in Tripolitania (54).

## **Sardinia**

Relatively few finds of Punic coins have been published since 2001 (63; 65). The most recent overview of Punic monetary circulation in Sardinia is by POLOSA (66).

## **Sicily**

FREY-KUPPER highlights new and noteworthy contributions to the study of Punic coinage in Sicily in this volume.

## **Malta, Gozo, Pantelleria**

Carthaginian and neo-Punic coins found in tombs at Malta since the 17<sup>th</sup> century are mentioned by LAGONA (68). NOVARESE and PERASSI published the Punic finds from the Italian excavations at Tas-Silġ (71-72), and undertook a systematic study of the coinages of Melita and Gaulos (73). MANFREDI (69) and CUTRONI TUSA (67) dealt with the circulation of Punic coins on the island of Pantelleria and with the coinage of Cossura.

## **Iberian Peninsula**

ALFARO ASINS (76-77), BLÁZQUEZ CERRATO (78), GOZALBES CRAVIOTO (45; 80) and PLIEGO (82-83) provide new data on finds of Carthaginian coins in Spain. Sardinian bronzes overstruck by Rhode c. 270-260 B.C. are illustrated by CAMPO (79).

## **Italy**

New and old site finds of Carthaginian issues have been published by ARSLAN (84-85), AURIEMMA and DE GASPERI (86), CATALLI (89), GARGANO (92), GORINI (93), SICILIANO and SARCINELLI (98), and TRAVAGLINI (99). Stray finds of Carthaginian, Numidian, and neo-Punic issues from northern Italy are discussed by BARELLO and ARSLAN (87), BERTINO (88), GORINI (94), MURIALDO (95), PARENTE (96), PERA (97), and VISONÀ (100).

## **Balkans**

Carthaginian and Numidian coins, mostly bronze (102-103, 105-108; for a denarius of Juba I: 109) come from site finds and stray finds in Croatia and Slovenia. A Siculo-Punic bronze was also found in excavations in western Greece (101).

## **Iconography and Epigraphy**

Solar symbolism and religious imagery on the coinages of Carthage and Cossura are the subjects of essays by MARLASCA (81), MORA SERRANO (23), SOLTANI (30), and SOLE (75), while royal portraits and titles on Numidian and Mauretanian coins were examined by NICOLAU KORMIKIARI (55-56) and MAJDOUB (50). MANFREDI (51) investigated the rare bronze issues bearing a crab on the obverse or reverse that have been tentatively attributed to the islands of Tunisia (SNGCop 475-488); she has also studied the representation of wheat and barley on Carthaginian and other North-African coins minted between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C. (13). GOZALBES CRAVIOTO discussed the bronze coins with neo-Punic legends struck by several mints in western Mauretania (46). RHORFI argues that the Latin legends on the coinage struck by Tingis before the reign of Tiberius indicate that this city became a Roman colony in 38 B.C. without first having been a municipium (57).

## **Survey Articles, Archaeometric Analyses, and Die Studies**

MANFREDI contributed two broad essays on Punic numismatics in which she dealt with iconography, metrology, the procurement of metal, the location and activity of mints, and minting techniques (18-19). MANFREDI also proposed to develop an online databank on Phoenician, Punic, and neo-Punic coins, and she provided a useful list of websites that feature these issues (16-17). FARISELLI (9) and ZIMMERMANN (62) have discussed the coinage of the Libyan Revolt against Carthage between 241-238 B.C. (for MANGANARO's one-

sided dating of this coinage, see 52); BEN ROMHDANE (41) and TAMEANKO (58) give brief overviews of the neo-Punic coinages of Leptiminus and Lepcis Magna, which were discontinued after the reign of Tiberius.

Although little archaeometric research was done on Carthaginian issues since 2001, the results of a chemical analysis of Carthaginian bronze coins found at Monte Sirai in Sardinia indicate that three specimens similar to SNGCop 94-97 and 102-105 were made with copper from Cyprus (64; cf. 19). However, no supporting evidence has been provided for this conclusion.

VISONÀ has completed two die studies on the Carthaginian billon double-shekels with a 8-ray and a 7-ray star struck between 255-241 B.C. (60), and on the silver coinage of Carthage minted c. 155-146 B.C. (61).

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## IMITATIONS OF GREEK COINAGES

*Carmen Arnold-Biucchi*

This is not the place to discuss the meaning and function of “imitations” in general. For the sake of clarity, however, it may be useful to give a very simplified definition: by “imitations of Greek coins” we mean genuine ancient coins, whose types were copied, adapted or at least inspired by well-known Greek coins struck in official mints that circulated widely in the ancient Greek world from Spain to modern Afghanistan and India, such as the Athenian tetradrachms or the coins of Alexander the Great. Imitations were usually minted in regions that had not been monetized previously and that had not used coins. Their actual mint can rarely be located precisely. These coins in most cases were of good metal and fineness and had the same intrinsic value as their models. So they should not be confused with ancient counterfeits.

Interest in ancient imitations has increased tremendously in the past fifty years and not only in the past six years under review, thanks to the wealth of new material made available for study through publications of new finds from excavations, and of public and private collections.. For this reason the editors of the present *Survey* decided to include separate sections on Greek and Roman imitations.

The different chapters of the Antiquity section already presented detailed information on many imitative coinages: for instance the important imitations of the coins of Thasos are discussed by PETER (see: *Der Balkanraum und das nördliche Schwarzmeergebiet* [122 PROKOPOV]. MACDONALD (15) in an article on Thasian-type tetradrachms struck over Athenian New Style tetradrachms also notes that “by the early decades of the first century B.C. even crude illiterate imitations of Thasian tetradrachms were preferred in the northern lands to the genuine products of the Athenian mint”.

For imitations of Philip II see PETER, *Balkanraum* (136, RENEIA AND PEONARU BORDEA). For important imitations in the Hellenistic period, see LESCHHORN, *Hellenistisches Kleinasien*, in particular [1, APOSTOLOU] for imitations of Rhodian coins and *plinthophoric* drachms and in general for the problem of “Pseudo-Rhodian” coinages. ASHTON continued his work on these coinages. Among the most interesting are two large issues of drachms with the name of Gorgos and symbols torch (or torch with star) and caduceus, which he argues were minted in Samothrace (3).

For Lycian imitations of Kalynda, see LESCHHORN, *Hellenistisches Kleinasien* [113 TRIETZ]. Imitations of Seleucid coins are treated in the *magnum opus* of HOUGHTON AND LORBER [see MITTAG, AND EHLING, *Seleukiden* (48)]. Similarly LORBER, *The Ptolemies*, addresses problems of imitations of Ptolemaic coins in her chapter, in particular some Syracusan imitations of bronze diobols of Ptolemy II (39, WOLF AND LORBER).

In the present very brief overview of Greek imitations, it seems important to focus on two major topics and summarize the research in those fields.

### **Imitations of Athenian “owl” tetradrachms**

First of all the imitations or alleged imitations of Athenian “owl” tetradrachms have received particular attention in the recent past. Since T.V. BUTTREY’s brilliant presentation at the INC in Bern in 1979 of a still unpublished hoard from the Fayum, bought in 1934, by American excavators, many “owls” had been reattributed to Egypt and classified into three different “styles” M, B and X. BUTTREY argued that the mint was most likely located in Memphis. These “re-attributions” raised the problem, among others, that if BUTTREY were correct, very little coinage would have been issued by Athens itself in the first third of the fourth century BC. FLAMENT had already raised questions about the Egyptian attribution in 2001 and has continued his work in several pertinent articles (6, 7, 9, 10) and in his book on Athens (8). On the basis of stylistic arguments, as well as on a re-examination of the hoard evidence and on a new series of metal analyses with PIXE on 81 Athenian tetradrachms in Brussels from the Tell el-Maskouta hoard (*IGCH* 1649) (68 classified as imitations, and the others were comparative specimens from the archaic period, the fourth century BC and of *pi*-style), FLAMENT is building a strong case to suggest that style M and B should be returned to Athens. The present reviewer is preparing a full publication of the Fayum hoard 1934 and the research conducted so far points in the same direction. Only style X seems certainly imitative. NICOLET-PIERRE published several articles on imitations of Athenian tetradrachms: she continues to follow BUTTREY’s classification of style M, B and X and to attribute all of them to an Egyptian mint (17 and 19). She also analyzed the

presence of Athenian coins in Sicilian and South Italian hoards and suggested that they too may be Egyptian imitations (18), though KROLL (14) argues quite convincingly for an Athenian attribution of the “owls” from the Lentini hoard 1957 (IGCH.2117). OECONOMIDES (19) in publishing the 1979 hoard of thirty Athenian coins rallies herself to the number of scholars who question that the owls of BUTTREY ‘s style M and B are imitations, especially when found in Greece circulating with “genuine” Athenian issues. See also the excellent and more detailed discussion in the chapter; Greece, by S. PSOMA. VAN ALFEN (23, 24, 25) published several hoards from Egypt, the Near East and Syria and tried to establish a more precise classification and attribution of “owl” imitations. He also approached the problem and the distinction between imitative and counterfeit coinage in a general and more comprehensive article (26). With GITLER AND TAL (11) VAN ALFEN presented a new hitherto unknown group of Athenian-style coins from Palestine. The authors suggest that these “dome-shaped” coins may well be the silver money mentioned in Edomite ostraca.

### Pre-Islamic coinages and Arabian Imitations

The second most important group of ancient imitations is that of the Pre-Islamic coinage of the Arabian Peninsula and work on those coinages has brought out some very important publications in the past six years. SEDOV (22) presented an excellent and succinct summary of the Pre-Islamic coinages of Yemen, which was omitted from the previous *Survey*. The long-awaited work of MUNRO-HAY (16) on the coinage of Arabia Felix has appeared and marks a most welcome step forward in the field, though as many comprehensive and broad surveys, it has its weaknesses (see the review by HOOVER AND HUTH [16]). The author gathered a lot of material that now allows a much better understanding and classification of the four main coinages of the kingdoms of that region: the Sabaeen, Qatabanian, Himyarite and Hadhramavat, all “Old Style” and “New Style” imitations of Athenian silver tetradrachms, struck between the fourth century BC and at least the second century AD. BOILET (4) publishes 153 coins of Arabia Felix from a private collection and suggests a new chronology for the Qatabanian and Himyarite coinages. HUTH presents the first known example of an Athenian imitation of the “pi-Style” tetradrachms from the second half of the fourth century BC with a South Arabian countermark, and discusses the earliest Sabaeen “New Style” imitations (12).

CALLOT (5) published a catalogue of the 122 coins in the museum of Sahrjah (UAE). Though he modestly stated that this new work does not pretend to replace POTTS’ two volumes of *The Pre-Islamic Coinage of Eastern Arabia* (1991 and 1994), he does take the opportunity to re-examine the “Arabian Alexanders”, to revise some of POTTS classifications and to bring new observations. HUTH AND POTTS (13) in a very important short note present some hitherto unattributed tetradrachms of Antiochos III and suggest not only an Arabian context but argue that they are in fact Arabian imitations of Seleucid coins that follow the Arabian Alexanders. These imitations of Seleucid coins have long been known in smaller denominations, silver obols in particular. Many more specimens have come to light in recent years and will no doubt be published in the coming years.

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# DIE RÖMISCHE REPUBLIK

*Bernhard Woytek*

Beide aufgezeigten Tendenzen verbinden sich in WOYTEK'S Monographie *Arma et nummi* (211), in der für die Jahre 49 bis 42 v. Chr. sowohl eine systematische Sammlung und Kommentierung aller Testimonien zur Finanzgeschichte aus den reichen literarischen Quellen als auch eine Gesamtinterpretation der Münzprägungen durchgeführt wird. Dabei ergeben sich neben neuen geldgeschichtlichen Perspektiven auch im einzelnen für die Datierung und Lokalisierung zahlreicher Serien neue Ansätze, sodaß nunmehr für eine weitere Phase der Republikprägung eine alternative Rekonstruktion des Prägeablaufs im Vergleich zu RRC vorliegt, die – wie WOYTEK'S Buch insgesamt – von der Kritik sehr positiv aufgenommen wurde.

Die großen Kontroversen um die Denardatierung sind endlich nur mehr Teil der Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Im Berichtszeitraum war, gesamthaft betrachtet, vor allem in zwei Bereichen verstärkte Forschungstätigkeit zu beobachten, nämlich einerseits zur Prägung der ausgehenden Republik, die unter verschiedensten Gesichtspunkten neu untersucht wurde, und andererseits im Bereich der Geldgeschichte ganz allgemein: Das Potential, das in der Betrachtung republikanischer Münzen als finanzhistorischer Quelle liegt, wurde durch CRAWFORD in RRC seinerzeit nur angedeutet und wird nun mehr und mehr für verschiedene Phasen der Republikprägung ausgeschöpft.

Der Trend zur Erforschung der republikanischen Finanzgeschichte schlägt sich auch in den Monographien von IOANNATOU (122), PEDRONI (161) und jüngst HOLLANDER (118) nieder, wobei letzteres, ohne Kenntnis der Arbeit WOYTEK'S geschriebenes Buch mit Gewinn für die Sache parallel zu *Arma et nummi* zu lesen ist. Mehrere substantielle Beiträge vor allem zur spätrepublikanischen Münzprägung sind in dem von AMANDRY (6) herausgegebenen wichtigen, thematisch geschlossenen Sammelband *Trésors Monétaires* 20 enthalten.

Besondere Erwähnung verdient die beeindruckende Arbeit von KING zum römischen Quinar (125), in der – neben einer umfassenden und umsichtigen Einleitung zu diesem Nominale in der Republik – ein zitierbarer Katalog auch aller der Autorin bekannten republikanischen Quinartypen geboten wird; der von ROTTINGHAUS (172) veröffentlichte neue Quinar mit Eule (zu RRC 135) bleibt hier noch unberücksichtigt. In dem Band ausgewählter Schriften MATTINGLY'S (139) werden viele bereits klassisch gewordene Abhandlungen zur Republiknumismatik mit einem kurzen aktuellen Kommentar des Autors unverändert neu abgedruckt.

## Spezialstudien

Der Iuno Moneta widmet HAUDRY (115) eine wenig überzeugende Monographie. Zum Problem der stadtrömischen Münzstätte(n) in republikanischer Zeit und der Topographie des Capitolshügels vgl. nun TUCCI (202), BAR (32) sowie SERAFIN (181) und NICOLAI (153); Allgemeines dazu bietet auch ANTONUCCI (29).

Die Erforschung der romano-kampanischen Münzen trat im Berichtszeitraum etwas in den Hintergrund. Sehr wichtig sind jedoch die Vorlagen von zwei Schatzfunden durch AMANDRY (11) und CEGLIA (62), wobei vor allem der von letzterer publizierte Fund von San Martino in Pensilis (aus einer archäologischen Grabung) für die absolute Chronologie der frühen römischen Prägung besondere Bedeutung besitzt: Dieser jüngst auch von BURNETT (51) detailliert analysierte, wohl ca. 250/240 v. Chr. verborgene Hort enthält insgesamt 163 Didrachmen bzw. Statere, worin neben Prägungen süditalischer und kampanischer Münzstände die erste und zweite römische Didrachmenserie (RRC 13/1 und 15/1) mit 3 bzw. 5 Exemplaren vertreten sind, jedoch keine späteren römischen Münzen, wie man hätte erwarten können. Die Chronologie der römischen Didrachmen wird also auch in Zukunft in Diskussion bleiben; strikt abzulehnen sind jedenfalls die auf Marchettis – wie von AMANDRY (11) wieder gezeigt, ganz fehlerhafte – Rekonstruktion gegründeten chronologischen Vorstellungen zur Quadrigatenprägung von DEBAES (74).

Intensiv wurden das aes grave und andere gegossene Geldformen untersucht: MOLINARI (144) veröffentlicht einen bisher unpublizierten stadtrömischen Schatzfund des 19. Jhs., dem gegenwärtig 42 Asse (RRC 35/1) sicher zuzuordnen sind. Eine Reihe relevanter Artikel ist in den von VANNI und BUSSI (204) veröffentlichten Kongreßakten *La moneta fusa nel mondo antico* versammelt (in der Bibliographie unter den jeweiligen Autoren verzeichnet); vgl. weiters NERI (150–151) sowie, zum aes rude, DE CARO *et al.* (59).

Die weit überwiegende Mehrheit der Einzelstudien widmet sich jedoch naturgemäß den Prägungen der Periode des Denarsystems. MARRA (138) legt eine ausführliche Analyse zum Zirkulationsverhalten und der Funktion der Victoriati vor, wobei sie deren zeitgleich mit dem Denar erfolgte Einführung nochmals bestätigt und mutmaßt, das Nominale sei von den Römern zur Bezahlung der Truppen ihrer italischen Alliierten hergestellt worden. MÜLLER (147–148) stellt aufgrund des für die Crepusius-Denare vorliegenden Datenmaterials statistische Überlegungen an, RYAN führt eine überzeugende Neuidentifikation eines der Münzmeister von RRC 403 durch (173) und macht sich um das Verständnis der Legende von RRC 437 verdient (175).

Wie bereits eingangs erwähnt, stand die in WOYTEK'S Monographie (211) detailliert beleuchtete Endphase der Republik im Zentrum der Bemühungen der Forschung. Sehr produktiv war AMELA VALVERDE, dessen Beiträge jedoch in erster Linie wegen ihrer ausführlichen Bibliographien heranzuziehen sind: Seine inhaltlichen Positionierungen überzeugen nämlich kaum, so etwa, wenn er (23) ohne neue Argumente gegen WOYTEK (211) sowie ESTIOT und AYMAR (86) für RRC 483 (Nasidius) wieder zu Crawfords Lokalisierung in Massilia, 43 v. Chr. zurückkehren will. Spezifische Fortschritte sind für die Münzprägung Iulius Caesars zu verzeichnen, dessen bedeutende Rolle in der Entwicklung hin zum kaiserzeitlichen Währungssystem WOYTEK (212) herausstellt: MOLINARI (143) legt ein Stempelcorpus der so häufigen Hirtius-Aurei des Jahres 46 v. Chr. vor (RRC 466), und WOYTEK (215) untersucht die Hintergründe von RRC 443 (Elefant/Priestergeräte). Den Versuch eines Stückcorpus zu den seltenen Prägungen des Q. Cornuficius (RRC 509) unternimmt AMANDRY (7). Beiträge zu dem umstrittenen Problem des „free coinage“ leisten DE CALLATAÏ (55) und FORABOSCHI (92). Die wichtigste Untersuchung zur Methodengeschichte der römisch-republikanischen Numismatik wird HOLLSTEIN (119) verdankt.

### **Sammlungskataloge**

Im Berichtszeitraum erschienen mehrere Sammlungskataloge, die teils oder ausschließlich republikanisches Material verzeichnen, vgl. etwa Braunschweig (130), Catanzaro (66), Cluj-Napoca (103), Elche (1), Pavia (39), Prag (129) oder Split (44). Hervorzuheben sind sowohl hinsichtlich der Bedeutung und Quantität des Materials als auch der Vollständigkeit der Illustration jedoch die Kataloge aus Belgrad (BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ und POPOVIĆ, 45) und Madrid, Real Academia (CHAVES TRISTÁN, 64): In letzterer Sammlung befindet sich auch eine zuerst von GARCÍA BELLIDO (99) veröffentlichte, vorher unbekannte ROMA-Drachme in der Typologie des Eidszenengoldes (RRC 29) von spanischer Provenienz. Im letztgenannten Beitrag möchte GARCÍA-BELLIDO außerdem rare Kleinsilberprägungen des iberischen Raumes (Typologie: Kranz/R und Marskopf/Pferd) als römische Not-Emission des Zweiten Punischen Kriegs identifizieren, und zwar als libella und simbella – Silberäquivalente zu As und Semis –, wie bei Varro (l. l. 5,174) erwähnt.

### **Schatzfunde der Denarperiode**

Neue Inventare von Hortfunden, die Crawfords RRCH ergänzen, legen für Bulgarien PAUNOV und PROKOPOV (157) und für Rumänien MOISIL und DEPEYROT (142) vor. Die übrige Publikationstätigkeit in diesem Bereich verteilt sich auf die willkommene Neuveröffentlichung altbekannter großer Funde – wie etwa RRCH 80 (187), RRCH 197 (64), RRCH 425 (152), RRCH 430 (134) oder RRCH 465 (155) – und auf die Vorstellung einer beachtlichen Anzahl bisher unbekannter Horte, von denen hier nur die bedeutendsten genannt werden können. Der von GORINI (109) veröffentlichte Schatzfund von Enemonzo ist aufgrund der Vergesellschaftung von ursprünglich mehr als 359 römischen Victoriaten mit 40 norischen Tetradrachmen für die keltische Numismatik noch wesentlich wichtiger als für die römische. Die Publikation führt jedoch vor Augen, daß die anonymen Victoriata – alle 297 Stücke in dem Hort werden vom Herausgeber als RRC 44 bestimmt – dringend einer neuen feintypologischen und stilistischen Untersuchung bedürfen. GIOVE (105) publiziert einen Hort von 35 Denaren bis RRC 286, MANGANARO PERRONE (137) unter anderem den neuen Hort „Casalini Sottani“ von 210 Denaren bis RRC 298, CATALLI (28) einen Hort von 994 Denaren bis RRC 394 (nur mit der entscheidenden Korrektur durch AMANDRY zu benützen), BONAČIĆ-MANDINIĆ (40) zwei Horte von 168 Denaren bis RRC 395 und 191 Denaren bis RRC 434, GUZZETTA (113) einen Hort von 89 Denaren bis RRC 422, ADAM-VELENI (2) einen Hort von 125 Denaren bis RRC 488, RRC 494 und RRC 508. PROKOPOV *et al.* (167–168) veröffentlichen insgesamt drei Denarschätze der ausgehenden Republik (291 Stücke bis RRC 494? [rekonstruierter Fund]; „Oryahovitsa“: 232 Stücke bis RRC 494 und RRC 515; „Stoyanovo“: 70 Stücke bis RRC 511). Die Bedeutung republikanischen Münzmaterials auch noch für den hochprinzipatszeitlichen Geldverkehr illustriert exemplarisch der Schatzfund Wien-Rennweg (75).

## Geldumlauf, Streufunde

Wir müssen in diesem Rahmen aus Platzgründen auf die Verzeichnung republikanischen Materials in Reihenwerken wie etwa Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland verzichten und uns auf Spezialstudien beschränken. Erwartungsgemäß sind hier zunächst verschiedene italienische Fundplätze und Regionen zu nennen, aus denen Republikprägungen im Kontext des übrigen Münzmaterials veröffentlicht wurden (vgl. etwa 33, 34, 58, 63, 85, 104, 165). Eine spezifische Erwähnung verdienen die Erkenntnisfortschritte zur Rolle republikanischen Geldes in Pompeii (106, 116–117, 171, 194). STANNARD (188–189) hat im Berichtszeitraum zu dem Phänomen der Zirkulation und Nachahmung von Münzen von Ebusus in Latium und Kampanien in republikanischer Zeit weitergearbeitet.

Für das heutige Frankreich ist neben der Publikation der Fundmünzen von Bibracte durch GRUEL und POPOVITCH (110) vor allem die magistrale Studie von PY (170) zum südgallischen Bereich hervorzuheben. Das Zirkulationsverhalten republikanischen Geldes in Carnuntum untersucht in größerem Zusammenhang WOYTEK (217); BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ und POPOVIĆ (47) analysieren die erste Phase römischen Münzumlaufs im serbischen Teil des Donautals und im zentralen Balkangebiet. Besonders erfreulich ist die dynamische Publikationstätigkeit hinsichtlich Dakiens, das für das republikanische Material ja eine beachtliche Bedeutung besitzt; vgl. etwa GÄZDAC *et al.* (102), LOCKYEAR (132) sowie TALMACHI (195).

## Technik

Das Verständnis technischer Aspekte der republikanischen Münzprägung wurde in den vergangenen Jahren entscheidend bereichert. BALBI DE CARO *et al.* (31) untersuchten die Herstellungstechnik der denarii serrati und äußerten die Vermutung, daß die Zähnung des Randes der noch ungeprägten Schrötlinge eine notwendige Maßnahme zur Sicherstellung einer problemfreien Prägung gewesen sein könnte, weil das für diese Münzen verwendete Silber angesichts seines – im Vergleich zu ungezähnten Denaren – besonders niedrigen Blei- und Kupfergehaltes von sehr geringer Elastizität war. Es ist notwendig, diese überraschende These zukünftig durch metallanalytische Untersuchungen größeren Umfangs zu prüfen. MALKMUS (136) legte eine aktuelle Zusammenstellung auch aller momentan bekannten antiken Prägestempel mit republikanischen Münzbildern vor. DE CALLATAÏ (54) diskutierte das Phänomen des Auftretens von Denaren mit besonders breitem und dünnem Schrötling in den 80er Jahren (etwa RRC 354). WOYTEK (216) wies für eine Gruppe der caesarischen Elefantendenare die Herstellung aus ‚Mehrfach-Aversstempeln‘ nach, wie sie für viele griechische und keltische Münzprägungen belegt sind, und stellte (218) anlässlich der Publikation einer außergewöhnlichen späterepublikanischen Denarüberprägung auch grundsätzliche Überlegungen zu diesem Thema an.

## Imitationen

Beiträge zu der recht gut überschaubaren Imitationsprägung der Eravisker nach republikanischem Vorbild leisteten KOLNIKOVÁ (126) sowie TORBÁGYI (198). Das wesentlich komplexere und quantitativ weit bedeutendere Phänomen der dakischen Imitationen untersuchten DAVIS (69, 71–73) und LOCKYEAR (132). Bei der von WOYTEK (214) isolierten Gruppe irregulärer caesarischer Aeneasdenare handelt es sich nach weiteren Forschungen des Autors ebenfalls um antike Imitationen. Die in der Nähe von Nakskov in Dänemark entdeckte Imitation nach einem Vorbild des Denartyps RRC 281 publiziert HORSNÆS (120–121).

Der Autor dankt allen Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die die Erstellung dieses Überblicks durch Literaturhinweise erleichtert haben.

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## FROM THE DEATH OF CAESAR TO THE DEATH OF COMMODUS

*Sarah E. Cox*

There have been notable developments in the study of early imperial coins since the last Congress. Among them are important discoveries within the general subject of circulation, many relating to mints and monetary reforms, often made with the aid of scientific analyses. The role of the military in the distribution of coins has engaged scholars, as has the issue of whether coins were used as a carrier of messages. Articles falling under the general heading of Roman economy have addressed such issues as coins versus documentary transactions and the use of gold. Finally, there have been myriad specialized studies relating to individual emperors or dynasties, particular geographical regions, and topics such as countermarks and deliberate defacement. The Bibliography is selective rather than exhaustive, but many items that could have been included here are listed in other chapters.

### Circulation

Compilations of hoards have enabled scholars to analyze coin circulation geographically, both regionally and empire-wide. REECE (117) compares two sites in France, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, published by BOST AND NAMIN (28), and Toulouse, to a collection of 108 large and small sites distributed around the empire; he finds the two towns show a similar pattern of coin supply up to ca. AD 260 and are close to the imperial mean. DEPEYROT AND MOISIL (48) produce a chart showing the zones in which denarii of particular emperors are most prevalent, while LANNA (95) focuses just on Neronian bronzes. Using a database compiled from Trajanic precious metal hoards and bronze evidence published by A.S. Hobley in 1998, DUNCAN-JONES (52) finds some marked diversities in supply to different regions. Italy, for example, received far less silver than the Germanies, which received far less bronze than Britain. This evidence for regional variation suggests that coins circulated mainly in the regions to which they were supplied, a conclusion supported by pairs of die-linked coins within several hoards, such as those observed by AMANDRY, AUBIN, AND MORTREAU (11), CURTEIS AND BURLEIGH (44), AND BECKMANN (19). ESTIOT (56), in her examination of circulation within the Rhone Valley/Alpine region of France and Switzerland, illuminates the methodological problems encountered in such an enterprise.

Circulation patterns of the legionary denarii of Antony and the imperial period quadrantes have engaged several scholars. DILLON (49) proposes that the cash-strapped Octavian used Antony's enormous issue as a convenient resource from which to pay his own veterans after Actium. WOYTEK (152) disputes the theory, originated by Theodor Mommsen, that the long-lived denarii were selectively excluded from Trajan's recall of silver, arguing logically that their sheer numbers ensured their survival. The quadrans is found relatively frequently in Italy; as DUNCAN-JONES (51) shows, it was plentiful at Pompeii. CANTILENA *et al.* (36) report that it was used less at Paestum than at other Italian sites, though its use intensified after semisses stopped being struck. Finds in hoards and in excavation sites have provided new information regarding its use outside Italy. For example, BESOMBES AND MORIN (24), in their publication of the reconstructed hoard of Vilaine, note 48 Augustan quadrantes with an eagle, a variety widely diffused in Germany; this may be its westernmost findspot. FREY-KUPPER AND LIGGI ASPERONI (64) report five quadrantes found in the baths at Avenches. Most important, by comparing the huge number of quadrantes found at Nijmegen, overwhelmingly of a single Domitianic type, with those at other military sites, KEMMERS (89) has uncovered a strong regional pattern of distribution based on type. Her finding has implications for many issues of lively interest, such as mint locations, the role of the army in coin distribution, and even the possible use of coins for directed messages.

### Mints and Monetary Reforms

When did the precious metal mint relocate to Rome? This question has now been answered, thanks to the metallurgical analyses of Julio-Claudian denarii undertaken by BUTCHER AND PONTING (31), who show continuous minting from Augustus through Claudius, indicating a single principal mint for denarii at Lugdunum, though minor or subsidiary mints remain possible for large issues such as Gaius and Lucius under Augustus and Tiberius's PONTIF MAXIM.

Several articles have refined and revised our knowledge of mint operations. The hoard of Augustan aurei published by AMANDRY, AUBIN, AND MORTREAU (11) reveals two officinae with two engravers working at Lyon between 10 and 3 BC, allowing the authors to revise Giard's catalogue of Lyon for nos. 64-70. AMANDRY, ESTIOT AND GAUTIER (12) have published the second Supplement to the Lyon catalogue, using new material and



metallurgical analyses to refine Giard's classifications. For example, the late Republican *Copia dupondii* are now dated 38-36 BC, and the Lyon altar asses are revised to 7-3 BC.

BESOMBES, particularly in his publications of the large Saint-Léonard (20) and Vilaine (24) hoards, offers fresh perspectives on Julio-Claudian bronzes. For example, the Nîmes III dupondii with portraits of Augustus and Agrippa are reassigned to the reign of Tiberius. Even more ambitious is his complex reclassification of the minting of bronzes under Claudius (22), which encompasses, in addition to Rome and Lugdunum, mints at Spain 1, in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, and at Tarraco. He also identifies the hands of numerous engravers. This important study makes use of a wide variety of information, including style, portrait type, weight, die axis, geographical distribution of finds and some metallurgical analyses, but some die studies would be useful to shed light on workshops and mint organization. Two such studies, ALLEN (7) and BECKMANN (19), were undertaken for Trajan's gold; combined together they arrange the minting of aurei sequentially from AD 103 until the end of his reign. ELKINS (55) conducted a smaller study of Colosseum sestertii whose linkage patterns suggest that their production was interrupted by the fire in Rome in AD 80.

In addition to the metallurgical analyses mentioned above (12, 20), KLEIN *et al.* (93) used lead and copper isotope analysis to trace copper sources for *aes* coins of Augustus and Tiberius found in the Tiber. Most revelatory were the results published by BUTCHER AND PONTING (31) and by WOYTEK *et al.* (132, 154), as they clarify when the monetary reforms of, respectively, Nero and Trajan took place. Nero's case is the more complicated. At Rome in AD 60/61, he debased the denarius only slightly, but then at Lugdunum, for the issues of 62-64, he reverted to its original fineness. At Rome in 64, he reduced it significantly, to 80% silver, the Neronian "standard," only to raise it again at the very end of his reign to 90% – where it stayed until early in the reign of Vespasian, who reverted to 80%. The picture under Trajan is simpler: his denarii were reduced once from 90% silver to 80%, though in AD 100 (after his return to Rome at the end of 99), rather than in 107 as generally assumed.

### **The Role of the Military**

The relationship of the army to coinage was the subject of a Round Table at the last Congress; there and in separately published studies questions have been raised about military mints, the supply of coinage, and its circulation. BESOMBES (21) concludes that the bronzes produced at Nîmes and Lyon were earmarked as payments to military camps along the Rhine and in the interior of Gaul. GARCÍA-BELLIDO (66 and more fully in 65) thinks Augustus deliberately established mints away from the frontier, with the result that *stipendia* were paid at the end of campaigns (to avoid transport) and the supply of bronze was erratic.

New discoveries suggest some minting was done within the camps. Most exciting is the find of a Tiberian PONTIF MAXIM die in the legionary camp at Vindonissa, next to the officers' building, which DOPPLER *et al.* (50) find suggestive of official use. Kops Plateau, published by VAN DER VIN *et al.* (133), provided evidence for a military mint for AVAVCIA coins, both in the find of a coin mold, mentioned by AARTS (1), possibly used in their production, and in a hoard of 19 of these pieces, 13 of which have the same reverse die. VAN HEESCH (135) hypothesizes that these coins were minted at Nijmegen. MANOV (98) thinks two reverse dies found in Bulgaria indicate military mints.

Supply and circulation were not uniform but related to conquest and troop movements. BESOMBES (20, 22) explains the hoards of Saint-Léonard and Vilaine as ensembles formed in a military context, and KEMMERS (90) convincingly associates the overwhelming number of Caligulan coins at the fort of Albaniana with that emperor's failed attempt to conquer Britain and his successor's subsequent success. Legionary transfers that moved Spanish coins to the German *limes* were discussed by GARCÍA-BELLIDO (65), and KEMMERS (92) shows how coins from northern Italy and Celtic areas found at Nijmegen could have been brought there by troop movements through those regions. VAN HEESCH (134) and WIGG-WOLF (141) review circulation in northern Gaul. KEMMERS (90, 92) sees different supply patterns for silver and bronze to the troops at Nijmegen, characterized as pro-active and reactive, and also discusses how supply was regionally differentiated, especially for bronze, allowing her to address the ideological aspects of coin distribution, a subject she recognizes as controversial.

### **Messages for Regions and Legions**

The proliferation of reverse types invites questions about their distribution and purpose. DUNCAN-JONES (52), using evidence from the Trajanic period, finds regional differences in the distribution of types but sees no propagandistic purpose, since most of Trajan's reverse types, he believes, were "traditionalist" in theme – i.e.,

religious rather than topical. He notes, as does ABDY (3), the case of the Britannia asses of AD 153-155, but feels that targeting specific areas with specific messages would only add to already complex transportation issues. KEMMERS (92), undertaking a similar investigation for Flavian coins at Nijmegen, finds no particular messages directed at the legion on silver, but does see evidence of topicality in the bronze, such as the extreme rarity of types relating to life in Rome. Like the Britannia coins, the Domitianic quadrantes found along the German *limes* may have been minted specifically for this area.

Some specialized studies of the meaning of particular issues are mentioned below, but other works relating to iconography have been omitted, in light of their treatment in another chapter.

## **Economy**

Issues relating to the Roman monetary system have engaged many scholars since the last Congress. WOYTEK (148) offers a succinct overview of the basic financial structures of the Roman economy, beginning with the *aerarium*, which is the focus of WOLTERS (143), who discusses its income from taxation and its disbursements for the civil service and military, grain distributions and expenses for infrastructure and entertainment. DUNCAN-JONES (51) shows that bronze coins dominated the circulation pool at Pompeii by their sheer number, but gold coins represented over 60% of monetary value. CANTILENA (35), also noting the minimal amount of gold in circulation there, examines the findspots for the more important hoards. While local elites used gold for hoarding or investments, and businessmen/artisans had small quantities, aurei have also been found with the skeletons of slaves and a soldier. As TALIERCIO MENSITIERI (129) points out, these were people fleeing with their accumulations of liquidity. LO CASCIO (96) looks at the broader use of gold in the Roman monetary economy and finds that it had a commercial role, was useful in large transactions, and was ubiquitous; hoard compositions are not substantially different in the various areas of the empire. JONGMAN (86) explains the large money supply, with the greater part of its value in gold, as reserves against property transfers for marriage and inheritance.

A different image of trade and credit is maintained by other scholars. RATHBONE (116) sees cross-Mediterranean shipping on an unprecedented scale facilitated by legal contracts, banks, and credit. To some extent wealth moved as coin or as goods, but a great deal of commercial transactions were done via documents, such as those in the banking archive of the Sulpicii, detailed by CAMODECA (34). According to TCHERNIA (131), it was the recall of loans like those documented in the tablets of the Sulpicii that sparked the financial crisis of AD 33, not a shortage of coin, as posited by MARTÍN-BUENO AND LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (99). The sudden need for cash led to the sale of property, causing a drop in land prices and the ruin of many houses. Imperial intervention in the form of interest-free loans eventually restored equilibrium. HARRIS (73) also subscribes to the view of documentary transactions and pervasive credit. This, he suggests, may be one reason the elites were so little aware of, or disinterested in, the changing designs of imperial coins.

## **Specialized Studies**

### Late Republic

The most important work to cover the immediate aftermath of Caesar's death is WOYTEK (144), whose changes – for the years encompassed by this chapter – concern many of CRAWFORD's numbers between 479 and 515. Independently, but in agreement with him, ESTIOT (57) dates a rare denarius of Q. Nasidius (*RRC* 483/1) to between 42 and 39 BC. WOYTEK (153) publishes a particularly interesting overstruck denarius from 42 BC. AMELA VALVERDE (14) dates the DIVOS IVLIVS bronzes of Octavian to early 37 BC and connects them to his campaign against Sextus Pompey. ASSENMAKER (16) thinks Octavian's group of CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR emissions began after Naulochus, as some of the types refer to a naval victory. ABDY and HARLING (4) publish the exciting discovery of a die-duplicate second LEGES ET IVRA aureus of Octavian, found in the Hart Collection at the Blackburn Museum in England when the collection was entered into a database.

### Augustus and the Julio-Claudians

BRINGMANN AND SCHÄFER (29) make extensive use of coins as historical sources in their new book on Augustus. WOLTERS (142) distinguishes a group of the Gaius and Lucius denarii marked with an "X," which he dates to AD 5 in connection with the institution of the ten centuries named for them. MELLADO RIVERA (106) explores the identification of the *principes iuventutis* with the Dioscuri, beginning with Gaius and Lucius, finding in the use of this imagery a "theology of power" regarding dynastic succession. Imagery associated with dynastic succession is also a central theme in COX (42), who dates the erection of the Ara Providentiae to between AD 14 and 16.

CHANTRAINE (41) reviews the evidence of the coins found at Kalkriese, concluding they should be dated AD 9, in association with Varus. FORABOSCHI (59) examines Nero's monetary policies. DEL CASTILLO (40) thinks any Galban coin bearing the *praenomen* Servius should be dated after 11 September 68.

### Flavians

The Flavians have received a number of studies, the most important being the long-awaited revision of that part of *RIC* II by CARRADICE AND BUTTREY (38), who bring the catalog up to date with much new material, useful frequency estimates in the catalogue entries, and substantially more illustrations. Particular aspects of Flavian coinage are treated by other authors. For Vespasian, BARRETT (18) distinguishes the coins for Vespasian's wife and daughter, both named Domitilla, the sestertii for the wife and the gold and silver for the daughter. COX (42) looks at Vespasian's Ara Providentiae asses, and JACOBO PÉREZ (84) examines the themes of *concordia* and *libertas*. His published dissertation (85) explores the role of coinage in Vespasian's consolidation of power. NOREÑA (112) charts relations between the theme of pax on coinage and the Templum Pacis, and SEELENTAG (125) solves the riddle of Titus's supposed title *Designatus Imperator*, based on a market specimen of these sestertii with a fuller legend. ELKINS (54, 55) looks at the Colosseum sestertii of Titus, while BUTTREY (32) and KAMPMANN (88) consider the goddesses Maia and Minerva on precious metal coins of Domitian. BUTTREY (33) also makes a cogent argument for dating Martial's *De Spectaculis* to AD 83-85, based in part on the Rhinoceros quadrantes of that period.

### Adoptive emperors

SEAR (123) has published the second volume of his standard reference work covering Nerva through the Severans. Trajan's coinage has received abundant attention, including an excellent overview by WEISER (139), as well as more specialized studies. SEELENTAG (124) has a valuable, innovative section on the *nummi restituti*, which are also discussed by HARVEY (74) AND WOYTEK (149). The prolific and engaging Woytek offers four more studies: on the rare semisses and quadrantes related to mines (146, 147), on the proliferation of cast counterfeits (150), and on Trajan's citation of seven Flavian reverse types (151). LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ (97) studies a particularly detailed example of the Hadrianic sestertius depicting a galley (*BMC* III.1391), on which he reads COH[ORS]/V PR[AETORIA]. PUDILL (114) discusses Hadrian's mausoleum as a model of his funeral pyre.

### Antonines

RÉMY AND COTTE (118) publish for the first time six very rare bronze coins of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus found in the Bibliothèque in Grenoble, and HURTER (83) does likewise for some gold issues of Commodus from the "Urfa hoard." DUNCAN-JONES (53) looks at the Antonine coinage with empresses and discovers that the model was Hadrian's decision to mint for Sabina when he attained his decennalia, apparently the time for various monetary initiatives.

## **Geographical**

### Italy

FACCHINETTI (58) analyzes coin offerings in pools of water in the Italian peninsula and discusses the interesting finds at the fountain dedicated to Anna Perenna in Rome, where lead curse tablets suggest a more magical than religious deposit for at least some of the specimens. Also in Rome, SERAFIN (127) studies the massive find near San Michele. CUGLIA AND WILLIAMS (43) compare coin circulation at Rome, sites in southern Etruria, *Latium Vetus*, and Campania and discover essentially analogous loss patterns. DUNCAN-JONES (51) describes the anomalous circulation of Neronian bronzes at Pompeii, where hoards contain either a preponderance of his coins or virtually none, a polarity not seen with other emperors. HOBBS (77, 78) reports briefly on coin finds in Insula 6 at Pompeii, and TALIERCIO MENSITIERI (130) publishes those from Regio 9. BESOMBES *et al.* (23) analyze a small hoard of Julio-Claudian bronzes from southern Etruria.

### Spain

HOZ MONTROYA (81, 82) studies Neronian bronzes in western coin finds, looking at their chronology and regional distribution. RIBERA I LACOMBA AND RIPOLLÉS ALLEGRE (119) collect articles on 26 hoards found in Valencia, including the one from Alaquàs containing 47 coins from Vitellius to Trajan, originally published by T. HURTADO, and the huge Llíria 3 hoard, which GOZALBES *et al.* (71) presented at the last Congress. At the same venue, CARRILERO MILLÁN AND LOPÉZ MEDINA (39) discussed their preliminary findings regarding a hoard of denarii discovered near Córdoba.

### France

Three new volumes of *Trésors monétaires*, nos. 20-22, have appeared. Volume 20, in addition to AMANDRY *et al.* (11) mentioned above, contains the report by BOST AND MARTIN (27) on the Julio-Claudian gold hoard from Montans. BESOMBES (20) fills volume 21, but volume 22 again has multiple contributions, two of which concern bronze hoards. One, found in Rouen and published by HOLLARD AND PILON (79), includes a sestertius with an exceptional bust of Trajan wearing a *balteus*, a *consecratio* sestertius for Hadrian, and a new sestertius combination for Antoninus Pius. The other, larger one, in Bourg-Blanc, is published by AMANDRY AND HOLLARD (13). VON KAENEL (87) discusses the eclectic contents of a grave discovered in 1874 in Chassenard, among which were two pairs of iron obverse and reverse dies. Their iron composition and unusual shape and size suggest that they were not intended for use but were prestige objects associated with the deceased, a Gaul who had risen through the ranks to become a Roman citizen.

### Britain

Volume 11 of *Coin Hoards from Roman Britain* has appeared, filled with interesting material, predominately silver. The largest silver hoard, containing 9,238 pieces, is that from Shapwick VILLA, reported by ABDY AND MINNITT (5). Of the two gold hoards, Shillington, published by CURTEIS AND BURLEIGH (44) and mentioned above for its internal die links, also has several die links with coins in the British Museum and a Pax type for Titus Caesar previously known only on denarii. The largest bronze hoard, with 425 pieces, mostly sestertii, was found at Curridge; studied by ABDY *et al.* (6), it clearly shows that extremely worn coins from the first and second centuries continued to circulate into the third. These three hoards and more are set into the larger context of coin supply and circulation in Britain by ABDY (2). The topic of worn sestertii is also examined in the discussion of the Longhorsley hoard by ABDY (3).

### Areas covered by the FMR series and Switzerland

For the Netherlands, *FMRN* III.1 for Nijmegen-Kops Plateau has appeared (133, 1, 135) along with the important studies of the Augustan legionary fortress and Flavian *canabae legionis* at Nijmegen by KEMMERS (89-92).

For Germany, *FMRD* IV.1.1 covers the city of Mainz, IV.3.2-5 are concerned with finds from Trier, IV.4.1 is for Koblenz, V.3 publishes material from Kassel and VI.3.2 from Neuss, while X and XIII together collect the finds from Sachsen-Anhalt and from Thüringen. SCHUBERT (121), the author of V.3, also has an interesting excursus on gold coins found in Nordhessen.

Turning to Switzerland, the exciting find of a Tiberian die at Vindonissa (50) was mentioned above, and PETER (113) has thoroughly studied the important sites of Augst and Kaiseraugst. More recent finds from the latter site include bronze coins with remnants of wool fabric adhering, clearly indicating a purse, according to RAST-EICHER AND PETER (115). FREY-KUPPER (61) noticed this also at Petinesca. The quadrantes found at Avenches were mentioned above, but it is worth noting that FREY-KUPPER AND LIGGI ASPERONI (64) also publish from that site a halved Series 1 Lyon as countermarked AVC in ligature on the obverse.

For Austria, *FMRÖ* IV.1 covers Ovilavis/Wels and VI, Steiermark. VONDROVEC (137) and RUSKE (120) present thorough analyses of the coins found at Carnuntum, and GROH and VONDROVEC (72) examine the recent coin finds from Mautern-Favianis. DEMBSKI *et al.* (47) publish a hoard of gold and silver found within the civil settlement associated with the legionary camp at Vindobona, which had a chronological span of nearly 300 years, from the second century BC to the second century AD, and an enormous number of Republican coins. Finally, *FMRSI* V and *FMRHr* 18 have appeared.

### Balkans

BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ (26) publishes the modest finds from the excavations of the very interesting Augusteum at Narona. The more extensive finds from Roman sites in Romania are being collected in a new series, *Coins from Roman Sites and Collections of Roman Coins from Romania*, overseen by GĂZDAC (67-69). Issued so far are volume 1 on Vulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, volume 2 on Porolissum, and volume 3 on ancient and Byzantine coins in the Natural History Museum of Transylvania. Romanian hoards have been published by DEPEYROT AND MOISIL (48) and by MOISIL AND DEPEYROT (110). KREMYDI-SICILIANOU (94) discusses hoards found in excavations at Dion in Macedonia.

### The East

Coinage in Syria is addressed by AMANDRY (9), BURNETT (30), and METCALF (107), among others, and coin finds in Judaea are discussed by BUIOVSKY (25) and HENDIN (76).

### **Miscellaneous Topics**

#### Countermarks

Inquiries into the purpose and meaning of countermarks continue unabated, including both general catalogues and individual studies. In MARTINI (101, 102), two volumes of countermarked coins from Moesia and Thrace, the author revises his chronology, now dating most of the examples to Nero and the Flavians. MARTINI (103), a catalogue of the enormous Pangerl collection, is a standard reference work, cited even online. WERZ (140) also publishes a private collection, that of Dr. Bech in Mainz; its holdings are much smaller than Pangerl's, but WERZ compares every countermark with other examples worldwide, identifying when the same stamp is used.

Other scholars have included discussions of countermarks in their publications of hoards and site finds. BESOMBES (20) has a chapter on the 550 examples at Saint-Léonard and a list of 68 examples at Vilaine (24). FREY-KUPPER and LIGGI ASPERONI (64) promise a study of the different types found at Avenches. Both VONDROVEC (137) and KEMMERS (92) provide succinct summaries of the various purposes and types. Kemmers also relates a few of the more unusual specimens at Nijmegen, such as a Claudian dupondius retariffed by the application of an AS countermark, another Claudian dupondius whose original countermark was chiseled off, and a dupondius/as of Nero countermarked with a monogram of Vespasian's name. MIŠKEC (108) discusses a sestertius of Nero with the countermark SPR found in Slovenia, filling a gap for this type, as other examples had only been known on dupondii and asses. LANNA (95) describes two countermarked Neronian coins in the Medici-Lorena collection in Florence, a dupondius stamped PR on the obverse in connection with Vindex and an as, also countermarked on the obverse, but for Vespasian, a type usually found on the other side of the Alps. MARTINI (100) publishes four sestertii, three of Trajan and one of Britannicus, with fake countermarks.

#### Defacement

Several scholars address whether instances of defacement on coinage reflected official policy and action or was merely personal. In the case of coins of Caligula on which the C for Gaius had been hacked out, GOCHT (70) sees an intentional and official suppression of identity, while the similar treatment of Claudius's coins was an inadvertent consequence of their being accidentally mixed in with those of Caligula. VARNER (136) associates the obliteration of an individual's *praenomen* with legal sanctions barring a family from continuing to use that name. Both he and CAREY (37) discuss Neronian portraits defaced by chisel marks or countermarks applied to his throat and mouth and one example where his famous coiffure was removed. HEINRICHS (75) asks whether the coins of a disfavored person were ever recalled, as Cassius Dio 60.22.3 reports for Caligula, and concludes that Dio's story is a literary fiction; while lesser measures could be taken (e.g., the removal of a name or portrait), and coins might be recalled if distribution was restricted (e.g., troop payments that had not yet spread widely into the general population), recalling coinage in wide circulation was impractical.

### **Miscellany**

WALBURG (138) discusses a hub for a Tiberian obverse die in the collection of the German Bundesbank. SCHUMACHER (122) examines when emperors tended to add Pontifex Maximus to their titlature, and STEVENSON (128) similarly looks at refusals and acceptances of the title Pater Patriae.

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## DE PERTINAX À LA RÉFORME DE DIOCLÉTIEN (192-294)

Sylviane Estiot

Foisonnante et dispersée : la production scientifique dans le domaine de la numismatique du III<sup>e</sup> siècle est à l'image de cet âge de bouleversements qui voit le système monétaire imploser et les réformes de 274 et de 294/295 tenter les nécessaires remises en ordre, cela dans un empire immense où les réponses à la crise monétaire sont locales et les expédients multiples pour remédier au phénomène récurrent de pénurie de petite monnaie. Ce compte-rendu ne prétend pas à l'exhaustivité, que le lecteur trouvera en interrogeant les bibliographies en ligne comme celle de l'Année Philologique ou du DAI (Dyabola).

### Corpus, inventaires

Pour les inventaires nationaux de trouvailles monétaires (trésors, sites, ensembles significatifs), la période marque une prise de distance par rapport aux méthodes et à la collection même des *FMR* (*Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit*). La collection mère *FMRD* s'est enrichie de nouveaux volumes, particulièrement pour la Rhénanie-Palatinat et les cités de Trèves, Mayence et Coblenche (244-246, 206, 142, 297, 30, 270, 185). La série des *FMR* de Slovénie se poursuit (272), celle de Croatie débute (204), le répertoire des trouvailles de Vénétie se complète (212, 198, 47), CIOLEK (68) donne pour la Pologne l'inventaire des trouvailles de Poméranie. Mais l'école autrichienne propose une révision drastique du concept *FMR*, celui d'inventaires aux items listés par numéros du *RIC* : comme déjà dans les volumes *FMRÖ* consacrés au site d'Ovilavis/Wels (292) et à la Styrie (264), la publication des monnaies de Carnuntum, verrou du système militaire sur le Danube (ALRAM & SCHMIDT-DICK: 15) donne lieu à un remarquable travail collectif qui dépasse le stade du catalogue, donné sous forme de CD, pour laisser toute sa place à l'analyse numismatique et historique : les chapitres concernant la circulation monétaire (293), le règne de Régalien (83), l'étude des *Limesfalsa* coulés ou des *subferrati* frappés (223) sont d'une particulière importance.

AMANDRY *et al.* (17) donnent un « corpus d'atelier », avec un second Supplément au Monnayage de l'atelier de Lyon, dont les nouveautés sont nombreuses sur la période 274-294 AD (compléments : 46, 73, 296). Un « corpus de dénomination » est dû à KING (177), celui des quinaires, qui sont devenus un élément constitutif des « Sonderprägungen » liées aux célébrations et distributions impériales et essentiel pour l'histoire événementielle, mais l'identification de leurs ateliers d'émission reste délicate. HOBBS (155) donne un inventaire des dépôts de métal précieux, or et argent, dans le but d'évaluer le succès économique des individus et des régions, mais d'une interprétation difficile pour le III<sup>e</sup> siècle : sont envisagés à égalité, ramenés à un équivalent en poids d'or, les trouvailles de métal précieux (vaisselle, bijoux, lingots), mais aussi les dépôts exclusivement monétaires (83% de l'ensemble) parmi lesquels prédominent naturellement les dépôts du temps de l'hyperinflation, antoniniens dévalués et imitations radiées : un biais qui donne des Gaules et des Germanies l'image peu réaliste de provinces économiquement prospères.

La publication des grandes collections institutionnelles, une étape nécessaire pour la révision des corpus de référence, marque le pas. Or les cinq volumes *RIC* IV et V datent de 1927-1949 : la publication des collections du British Museum ayant servi de référence jusqu'à 238 AD, le traitement des périodes ultérieures dépend d'un état de la science remontant à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et au catalogue de H. Cohen. Avec le catalogue des monnaies de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (ca 2000 exemplaires), ESTIOT (106) donne le corpus des frappes monétaires des règnes d'Aurélien, Tacite et Florian et une étude historique traitant des différentes questions liées à ces règnes-charnière. Pour l'or, la période a vu paraître le catalogue de plusieurs collections institutionnelles (240, 289, 128) ; PERASSI (215-216) propose l'inventaire des bijoux monétaires par dépouillement des catalogues de vente disponibles depuis 1887.

### Trésors

L'étude des trésors monétaires constitue un aspect crucial des recherches. Tant pour l'accroissement de la documentation primaire qu'ils apportent que pour l'évaluation de l'impact militaire et socio-économique des mutations du III<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ici les positions restent relativement tranchées entre ceux qui cherchent dans les horizons d'enfouissements monétaires les marqueurs d'une « géographie de l'insécurité » et ceux qui les interprètent dans un contexte plus général de monétarisation croissante de l'empire et d'adaptation aux mutations que l'État romain impose à sa monnaie. L'enjeu est, bien sûr, une approche plus exacte de la « crise du III<sup>e</sup> siècle ». Trésors, dépôts, accumulations : les questions de catégorisation sont évoquées par AUBIN (28). Le terminus réel des trésors de bronze

qui paraissent s'achever avec la dynastie antonine est évoqué de nouveau par ABDY (4, 5, 7) et BERNARDELLI (42). HOWGEGO (171) et DUNCAN-JONES (99) reprennent, dans le sillage de leurs articles de 1996 et de 2001, leur discussion sur la « mobilité », réelle ou apparente, des deniers sévériens et constatent de nouveau leur désaccord. Avec la republication du trésor de Frâncești (1944), DEPEYROT ET MOISIL (88) produisent une vaste synthèse sur la base de 246 trésors de deniers, de Trajan à Alexandre Sévère, ca 200 000 monnaies, et éclairent l'évolution de la production du denier qui culmine sous Antonin pour décroître rapidement, sauf sous Septime Sévère et Caracalla où elle retrouve le niveau des règnes de Trajan et Hadrien alors que la masse métallique monnayée a décri de 40% en raison de la dégradation du poids et de l'aloi. TOURATSOGLU (282) part du trésor de Larisa (11 deniers et sesterces jusqu'à Marc Aurèle, mais 357 grecques impériales du *koinon* de Thessalie jusqu'à Maximin) pour brosser un large tableau des trésors monétaires enfouis entre ce règne et la réforme de Dioclétien en Grèce et dans les Balkans (recoupant les provinces danubiennes examinées par GAZDAC: 122, *infra*). Une introduction historique dense dresse le tableau des invasions barbares et des campagnes impériales à travers les marqueurs épigraphiques et archéologiques (fortifications), auxquelles T. relie résolument l'enfouissement des trésors.

Le volume *Coin Hoards of Roman Britain XI* (9) étudie particulièrement les trésors de deniers d'époque sévérienne, dont le gros trésor de la villa de Shapwick (10, 75, 1, 299, 11, 2, 31 ; 249). En Écosse abandonnée après le retrait de l'armée romaine du mur d'Antonin, les trésors sévériens semblent ne montrer que la difficulté du monnayage frais à pénétrer dans une économie encore monétarisée (BLAND & ABDY: 48), mais HOLMES (169) et HUNTER (172) proposent une interprétation alternative : ces dépôts sont le résultat de tributs payés par Rome aux barbares, immobilisés en bloc comme réserve métallique ou pour leur valeur de prestige dans une économie non monétaire. L'énorme trésor de Marcianopolis Reka-Devnia, Bulgarie, 81 096 monnaies, datable de 251 et des guerres gothiques de Trajan Dèce (pour une datation plus précoce ca. 242 AD, METCALF: 202) fait l'objet d'une republication par DEPEYROT (87). Le catalogue de Mouchmov, 1934 est réorganisé par ateliers et émissions suivant le *RIC* : l'importance du document permet une étude quantitative des thèmes iconographiques utilisés par la propagande.

DE GREEF (79) retrouve pour les trésors de la période 253-269 AD le sillon jadis tracé par BLANCHET, 1901 ou KOETHE, 1942 en choisissant pour les enfouissements monétaires (767 trésors, d'Allemagne au Portugal) l'explication univoque de l'invasion barbare sans croisement avec les données de l'archéologie : après un bref examen, les explications politiques ou monétaires sont repoussées au profit d'une hypothétique cartographie des invasions. ESTIOT (105) rappelle pour la région rhodano-alpine les problèmes de méthode inhérents à ce type d'enquête bibliographique macro-régionale ; DETALLE (93) s'interroge sur l'impact réel des incursions de pirates sur les enfouissements en particulier sous Postume ; ECK (100) s'appuie sur les témoignages épigraphiques croisés avec les cartes d'enfouissements monétaires données par SCHULZKI, 2001 pour évaluer l'ampleur de la crise militaire dans le territoire de Cologne.

Les centres de production des imitations radiées sont encore mal connus, mais on cerne mieux leur concentration au nord de la Loire : le volume 22 de *Trésors Monétaires* consacré aux dépôts de l'ouest de la France leur donne *de facto* une place particulière (27, 164, 39 ; voir aussi 263, 50). DROST (97) étudie le trésor de Rennes, de profil inflationniste : comprenant à l'origine 10329 monnaies, il se compose de 2/3 d'émissions avilies centrales Gallien/Claude/Divo Claudio et 30% de monnayage gaulois, officielles et imitations. AUBIN *et al.* (29) présentent les travaux de démontage du trésor de Pannecé, réparti entre trois contenants. Le trésor, ca 42000 monnaies au *tpq* 274, présente le profil classique des dépôts inflationnistes : 75% de monnaies avilies Gallien/Claude II/Empereurs gaulois et 23% d'imitations radiées. La grande cruche (env. 18000 monnaies) a fait l'objet d'une micro-fouille stratigraphique selon un protocole opératoire appliqué à la fouille d'urnes cinéraires.

Trois trésors de Xanten/*Colonia Ulpia Traiana* sont publiés (KLAGES & LIESEN: 178) : pour le trésor au *tpq* 260, le parallèle avec le trésor de l'Insula 20 et la date d'abandon du camp légionnaire de Vetera II laisse supposer un événement militaire majeur, usurpation de Postume ou incursion franque. EHLING (101) à propos du trésor de Marktl *tpq* 235/6 et OVERBECK (211) pour le trésor d'Osterzell *tpq* 251 étudient les horizons monétaires témoignant des raids alamanniques en Rhétie. Sur le *limes* rhétique toujours, les fouilles du camp légionnaire de Regensburg-Grasgasse montrent par l'étude du matériel numismatique, céramique et mobilier (armement) que le camp fut détruit ca 281-283 par une incursion germanique (REUTER: 252) : l'incendie du fortin proche de Pfatter est datable de la même période (SCHMIDTS : 269).

L'important trésor de l'agora de Iasos, Carie (TONDO: 281), 2986 antoniniens et 11 deniers clos sous le règne de Gallien, aurait réclamé une étude plus aboutie : en donnant un catalogue par types et non par atelier, T. renonce à identifier la part des ateliers orientaux dans cette documentation abondante, particulièrement celle

d'Antioche sous Gordien III. La trouvaille eût gagné aussi à être replacée dans son contexte et commenté en parallèle avec des trésors turcs de même horizon, comme celui de Haydere (BLAND, 1991) : les deux dépôts paraissent témoigner d'une invasion gothique ca 264 AD. RUSKE (256) publie un trésor de provenance orientale comprenant un ensemble de monnaies de Probus qu'il attribue à l'atelier d'Antioche tout en notant son style, inspiré de Cyzique : il retrouve, mais sans la connaître, la discussion qui opposa WEDER et KING (NC 1984) sur les Monnaies orientales de Probus, une question toujours ouverte.

BESLY (45-46) livre avec le trésor de Rogiet, 3813 monnaies, une étude essentielle sur un de ces rares trésors « réformés » connus qui attestent l'élimination du monnayage de l'empire gaulois, puis des séries d'inflation de Gallien et de Claude, ne laissant que les *aureliani* et deniers postérieurs à la réforme d'Aurélien et, pour les trésors britanniques, des monnaies terminales au nom de Carausius et d'Allectus. Rogiet a d'ailleurs pour spécificité son nombre important de 'Q-radiates' d'Allectus (784 ex.). Étant donnée la rareté des *aureliani* 274-295 dans les trésors et l'obsolescence des ouvrages de référence, le lecteur eût aimé que B. bénéficie d'un espace plus généreux pour l'étude et l'illustration de ces quelque 2 800 exemplaires, majoritairement de Lyon et de Ticinum, pour lesquels il propose une révision stimulante des classements. La publication annoncée du trésor de Gloucester 1960 (15544 ex.) clos avec Carausius et composé de 99% d'*aureliani* d'Aurélien à la Tétrarchie offrira sans doute l'occasion de cette révision du monnayage réformé 274-295 AD. La découverte fin 2005 de l'énorme trésor de Petrijanec, Croatie, 27735 monnaies au terminus 294/5 et 99,4% d'exemplaires entre Aurélien et la Tétrarchie (étude préliminaire ŠISA-VIVEK *et al.*: 273) suscite un espoir similaire, particulièrement pour les ateliers de Siscia et de Serdica.

## Espagne, Portugal

MARTINEZ MIRA (201) compile la liste des trésors du III<sup>e</sup> s. de la péninsule ibérique.  
*tpq* 253-274 : Quinta das Cortes (234) ; Arjona (72).

## Grande-Bretagne

Les notices des *Coin Hoards* (NC 2002-2007) donnent le descriptif succinct avant étude complète des trésors monétaires exhumés sur le sol britannique.

*tpq* 193-235 : Longhorsley (4-5), Great Melton (75), Birnie 1 et 2 (169), Arborfield (1), Bottesford (299), Curridge (11), South-East York (31), Prestwood (2), Shapwick Villa (10)  
*tpq* 274-294 : Chalgrove II (6), Rogiet (46).

## France, Bénélux, Allemagne, Suisse

Pour un complément au corpus des trésors de Picardie (TAF VIII), BERDEAUX-LE BRAZIDEC: 36.

*tpq* 193-235 : Nîmes (37), Ambrussum (38), Ville-sur-Lumes (96)  
*tpq* 235-253 : Ste-Foy-Tarentaise (187), Villaines-La-Carelle (160), Mérouville? (66)  
*tpq* 253-274 : Bourg-Blanc (18) ; Chaudardes (40) ; Rouen, Espace du Palais (166)  
*tpq* 274-294 : Port-Vendres (64), Boutenac (157), Lalouquette III (61), Erdeven (39), Pannecé (29), Loupian (162), Marne (158), Péderne (164), Plourhan II-Lantic (39), Rennes-Préfecture (97, 39), Besné (50), Guéhenno II (27), Bourg-St-Maurice (187), Puycasquier (135), Pont-L'Abbé (39).

## Italie

BERNARDELLI (42) donne un inventaire sommaire de 75 trésors de bronze du III<sup>e</sup> s. ; DEMEGLIO (84) de 29 trésors du Piémont.

*tpq* 193-235 : Mel (198, 11/11), Trichiana (198, 18/3).  
*tpq* 235-253 : Curago (198, 12/1(2)).  
*tpq* 253-274 : Rimigliano (63), Pavie 1868 (290), Dolcè (212, 13/1/2), Pialdier (198, 18/1).  
*tpq* 274-294 : Pavie 1890 (291), Garda (212, 15/2), Fontanamare relitto « A » (114).

## Allemagne

*tpq* 193-235 : Heeren (185, X/1103), Günstedt (185, XIII/1112), Xanten (178), Schwabhausen (185, XIII/1055).

*tpq 235-253* : Marktl (101), Xanten (178), Mayence (142, 1260), Osterzell (211).  
*tpq 253-274* : Xanten (178, port romain), Trèves-Domgrabung A (245, 3006/2), Holzhaleben (185, XIII/1125), Mayence (142, 1261).  
*tpq 274-294* : Pfatter-Seppenhäusen (269), Trèves (245, 3011/2-3), Mayence (142, 1255).

### **Illyricum, Danube, Balkans, Grèce**

*tpq 193-235* : Linsberg (82), Carnuntum X (257), Kis-Dém (241), Frâncești (88), Barza (239).  
*tpq 235-253* : Bocșa (218), Porolissum 1-2 (148), Marcianopolis-Reka Devnia (87), Larisa (282).  
*tpq 253-274* : Gösseling (81), Carnuntum IV (257), Burgenland (267), Buzet (204, 20/2).  
*tpq 274-294* : Petrijanec (273).

### **Pologne**

*tpq 193-235* : Zabrowo (68, 392), Golub Dobrzyń (68, 103), Osa Rywałdzik (68, 241), Rekowo (68, 280), Struszewo (68, 324), Resko (68, 281), Gierłoż (68, 100), Goszyn (68, 109).  
*tpq 235-253* : Owczarnia (68, 247).  
*tpq 253-274* : Piła (68, 255).

### **Afrique, Asie mineure**

Pour l'Afrique du nord, SALAMA (259) donne l'inventaire sommaire de 11 trésors (Algérie, Tunisie).  
*tpq 253-274* : Iasos (281), Metropolis (150).  
*tpq 274-294* : Asie mineure (256), Aichit ? (253).

### **Règnes**

Les règnes de Philippe (KÖRNER: 179) et de Probus (KREUCHER: 181) ont fait l'objet de monographies fort bienvenues ; ces travaux cependant ne font que peu de place à la monnaie comme source primaire, réexaminée sur nouveaux frais. Pour Valérien et Gallien, PFISTERER (221) propose une datation des émissions qui manquait au corpus de GÖBL, 2000. La publication des monnaies de Carnuntum, son atelier, donne l'occasion d'une monographie consacrée à Régalien complétant les travaux de Göbl et de DEMBSKI (DEMBSKI *et al.*: 83). MAIRAT (196) étudie la transformation de l'atelier provincial de Cyzique en Monnaie impériale sous Claude II, grâce au transfert de l'atelier indéterminé d'Asie mineure SPQR ouvert par Gallien. GANSCHOW (117) revient, sans connaître l'article de Huvelin, 1992 qui l'avait précédé dans cette voie, à la datation haute du règne de Claude II qu'on donnait avant les études papyrologiques de REA, 1972 et de PRICE, 1973.

Les règnes d'Aurélien, de Tacite et de Florian ont fait l'objet d'une étude historique ainsi que d'un corpus numismatique exhaustif dans le cadre de la publication des collections monétaires de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (ESTIOT: 106,107) ; des monnaies inédites sont apparues depuis cette date (159, 163), en particulier un chaînon manquant dans les documents datés du règne d'Aurélien, un denier de Rome *Tr P VII Cos III* (THIRY: 279). ESTIOT & GYSEN (112) proposent un corpus des premières émissions de Probus frappées à Rome et ESTIOT (108) reconstitue pour Ticinum les émissions, série courante et *donativum*, liées à la campagne germanique de Probus de 277/8 sur le Rhin et le Danube supérieur. ESTIOT *et al.* (110) établissent l'existence à Cyzique de frappes pour Carus seul empereur, alors simple usurpateur, comme il y en eut à Lyon et à Ticinum.

Pour cette période que les apories du *RIC* IV et V laissent dans l'ombre, tout signalement de monnaies rares ou inédites est d'importance, particulièrement les « frappes exceptionnelles » (Sonderprägungen), marqueurs chronologiques et historiques. DOYEN (95) rappelle l'existence de deux quinaires de Caracalla, maintenant décrits sous les n° 6 et 15 du corpus de KING (177). GRAU (146) présente un denier inédit au nom de Diaduménien Auguste *Pontif Tr P* ; NOGUEIRA (207), un sesterce au nom de Maxime *Germanicus* ; RANUCCI (248), un as spectaculaire d'Otacia Severa qui malgré la présence du sigle SC relève de la classe des médaillons. Un sceau de plomb trouvé à Brigetio (PROHASZKA: 242) représentant les portraits affrontés de Philippe l'Arabe et de Gordien III n'a pu être produit qu'après la mort de Gordien et l'élévation de son préfet du prétoire. PERASSI (214) publie un *aureus* de Salonin César monté en pendentif trouvé dans une sépulture à Milan ; HOLMES (168) deux médaillons du règne conjoint de Valérien et Gallien, dont un *Abschlag* d'*aureus* sur un flan de billon argenté.

ABDY (3) interprète aussi comme une frappe sur métal vil de coins prévus pour l'or une étonnante monnaie présentant au droit la double image de Gallien en Janus lauré, au revers Jupiter et la Victoire dans un quadrigé. Cette exacte reviviscence du quadrigat romain dont la frappe cesse à l'introduction du denier ca 211 av. n. è. pose la question de la « mémoire monétaire » de l'État romain. A. compare cette reprise antiquaire aux *aurei* où Gallien figure couronné d'épis qui sont la copie du type syracusain de Déméter/Korè, R/ Victoire dans un bige (4<sup>e</sup> s. av. n. è.).

Un double *aurelianus* de Florian portant XI à l'exergue et émis à Rome (DEARING: 76) demande confirmation en particulier par une analyse métallique : on n'en connaît ni pour ce règne, ni pour cet atelier. Un médaillon unique de Probus, frappe sur métal vil d'un multiple d'or qui ne nous est pas parvenu, est réattribué à l'atelier de Lyon, 5<sup>e</sup> émission (ESTIOT: 103). LOPEZ SANCHEZ (193) postule des bustes casqués de cette même émission exceptionnelle de Lyon l'existence d'un corps de cavalerie caserné dans la ville. GAUTIER (120) présente un denier sur coins d'*aureus* pour Probus ; DAHMEN & ILISCH (74), un *solidus* inédit de Constantin dont le revers *Securitas Saeculi* reproduit un type d'or de Probus. Les *aurei* au nom de Constance Chlore César R/ *Providentia Deorum* attribués à Ticinum sont rendus par ESTIOT (103) à l'atelier de Lyon pour l'émission célébrant la fondation de la Tétrarchie. LAPORTE (184) reprend le dossier des *aurei* de la Dyarchie émis à *Iantinum*/Meaux pour proposer une date de frappe en 293. GAUTIER (121) attribue un quinaire de Constance Chlore César au revers *Virtus Augg*, Hercule étranglant des serpents, à l'atelier de Trèves avant 294 : le quinaire est stylistiquement différent des quinaires au même type mais légendés *Primu(m) Ausp(iciu)m* frappés à Lyon pour Galère César. ZSCHUCKE (303) *contra* classe ces fractions à Trèves après la réforme de Dioclétien, en 297 ; KING (177) suit les classements de GAUTIER.

Le phénomène de l'usurpation, abcès de fixation des difficultés régionales de l'empire face à la pression barbare, paraît l'expression extrême des formes exceptionnelles du commandement (vicariat, commandements unifiés) qui se multiplient. Le cas des deux usurpateurs du nom de Saturninus cités par l'*Histoire Auguste*, l'un sous Gallien, l'autre sous Probus (*Quadr. Tyr.*) est examiné par ESTIOT (104) qui élimine du corpus monétaire les faux forgés dès le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle pour donner un visage aux tyrans cités par l'*HA* et conclut à l'historicité de l'usurpateur Saturninus sous Probus en remplaçant les *aurei* authentiques à son nom dans les frappes d'Antioche. NOLLE (208) s'intéresse à Proculus, autre membre du *Quadrigé* à propos de la seule monnaie authentique connue de l'usurpateur, une imitation radiée entrée dans les collections de Munich, très influencée par le style des frappes lyonnaises de Probus. L'existence d'un nouvel empereur gaulois, Domitianus, a été confirmée par la combinaison de deux hasards : en 2003, la seule monnaie connue à son effigie, réputée perdue et considérée comme un faux, a été retrouvée dans les collections de Nantes permettant ainsi son authentification par ESTIOT & SALAÜN (113) ; en 2004, ABDY (6, 8) identifiait un deuxième exemplaire de la même paire de coins au sein du trésor de Chalgrove. Le règne éphémère de Domitianus se situe en 271 AD, à la charnière de ceux de Victorin et de Tétricus, et le personnage est probablement à identifier avec l'usurpateur homonyme cité par Zosime et le général subordonné à Auréolus évoqué par l'*Histoire Auguste* (voir aussi 217, 258, 205).

Sur la complexe question des ateliers monétaires des empereurs gaulois, des études récentes reviennent à la classification ancienne de ELMER, 1941 (atelier I : Cologne ; atelier II : Trèves). La *communis opinio* reçue ces dernières années sur le sillage des études des trésors de Cunetio et de Normanby avait inversé l'identification et voyait en Trèves l'atelier principal de Postume jusqu'au moment où en 268, l'apparition des séries CCAA (*Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*) attesterait l'ouverture d'un second atelier, cette fois à Cologne. WEISER (294, 295, voir aussi 154) revient à l'identification de Cologne comme premier atelier de Postume à partir d'une bourse trouvée dans une sépulture à Cologne qui se clôt avec des frappes de Gallien et de Salonin César, ainsi que par un quinaire d'or inédit de Postume portant la titulature erronée *Postimus* du tout début du règne. SCHULZKI (271) s'intéresse à la provenance des « Sonderprägungen » des empereurs gaulois, monnaies d'or et Abschläge : 40 exemplaires sur les 55 de provenance connue proviennent de tombes de la CCAA et des environs immédiats. Sur ce dossier, un élément décisif pourrait bien avoir été apporté par les récentes fouilles faites à Trèves-Simeonstiftplatz en 2005 (publications préliminaires GILLES: 138, 139) qui ont fait découvrir les restes de l'atelier monétaire officiel, près du mur nord de la ville non loin de la *Porta Nigra* : matériel de frappe, réglettes de cuivre coulées, flans, mais surtout trois épreuves d'*aurei* de Tétricus père et fils émis pour les Quinquennales de début 274, ainsi que plus de 300 antoniniens des émissions finales de l'atelier II (*Laetitia*, *Hilaritas*, *Salus Augg* pour Tétricus père, *Spes Augg* pour Tétricus fils) qui identifient Trèves comme l'atelier secondaire de l'empire gaulois.

Concernant les empereurs des Gaules, HOLLARD: 156, GARNIER: 118, DROST: 98 présentent *aurei* et Abschläge inédits (voir aussi 26, 134, 302). GARNIER (119) publie une étonnante imitation radiée de Tétricus II dont le revers copie la scène de sacrifice des Tétrarques devant une porte de camp, le type des *argentei* introduits par la

réforme de Dioclétien : l'imitation est postérieure à 295 AD. Les derniers prototypes copiés par les imitations radiées datent des règnes de Probus/Carus qui marquent l'arrêt de la production de ce monnayage de nécessité : les très rares imitations radiées reproduisant des types postérieurs prouvent que non seulement elles restaient la petite monnaie en circulation, mais qu'on pouvait même occasionnellement en produire de nouveau - on en connaît au type *Gloria Exercitus* (ca. 330) - à côté des imitations diadémées d'époque constantinienne.

L'empire britannique continue naturellement à exercer ses attraits outre-Manche. LYNE (195) apporte un matériel inédit très intéressant sur lequel il édifie des hypothèses audacieuses (voir aussi 293). La monographie de WILLIAMS (298) sur Carausius reprend la voie explorée par les études de Shiel, 1977 et de Casey, 1994, mais avec un centrage sur le monnayage de billon radié. L'approvisionnement en numéraire de la Bretagne révèle l'ampleur des frappes des empereurs britanniques, mais l'inclusion des imitations radiées dans la période post-274 (non prises en compte par W.) l'aurait très nettement minorée. La localisation des ateliers de frappe fait naturellement l'objet d'une analyse poussée : les données de 11 sites archéologiques majeurs, qui démontrent par ailleurs la part considérable du monnayage sans marque dans la circulation (50%), permettent à W. de discuter les identifications proposées, en particulier pour l'atelier C, voire même d'en envisager de nouvelles, et de les repousser au profit de l'hypothèse d'un atelier unique « tri-partite » localisé à Londres.

### Iconographie et formulaires

SCHMIDT-DICK (268) donne le premier volume d'un corpus iconographique consacré aux types de revers destiné à couvrir la période impériale d'Auguste à Valérien : il concerne les représentations féminines figurant seules. Les impératrices sévériennes exercent toujours leur pouvoir de fascination (12, 35, 180) ; Zénobie, nouvelle Cléopâtre, est parée des mêmes attraits aux yeux des modernes (56). Seules Salonine et Séverine peuvent leur être comparées, auxquelles, comme pour les princesses syriennes, le droit monétaire sera concédé pour d'autres raisons que pour leur statut d'épouses ou de génitrices (CALLU: 62, ESTIOT: 107, MARTIN: 199, SCHACHINGER: 265). LOPEZ SANCHEZ (190) revient sur la question d'un partage du pouvoir entre Gallien et Salonine, Aurélien et Séverine à partir de la masculinisation du portrait monétaire des impératrices ; sur ce point, PERASSI (213) explique l'identité des traits d'Aurélien et de Séverine par la standardisation technique au sein des ateliers et l'utilisation de poinçons d'effigie dans les premières étapes d'élaboration des coins d'avvers.

DAGUET-GAGEY (73) s'intéresse à la légende monétaire *Restitutor Vrbis* introduite par Septime Sévère ; BRENOT (54) suggère, à travers l'examen d'un revers figurant *Luna* sur un bige de taureaux que Caracalla ait pu être un dévot du dieu *Sin-Lunus* adoré à Carrhes. ARNALDI (20) étudie l'image d'Océanus qui apparaît sur des deniers de Septime Sévère et des médaillons d'or de Maximien Hercule ; HAEGEMANS (149), la représentation des empereurs de l'année 238 ; BLAY DETRELL (49), la série de restitution des empereurs *Divi*. FESTY (115) interprète l'inscription énigmatique *Arn/Asi* encadrant Apollon au revers de médaillons de Trébonien Galle et de Volusien comme une référence à un sanctuaire ombrien du dieu (*Arna/Asisium*).

Pour la légende de revers des bronzes représentant Gallien en Génie du Peuple Romain portant couronne radiée et *corona muralis*, POGGI (237) propose un développement nouveau *Int(egra) Vrb(e) SC* plutôt qu'*Int(rata) Vrb(e)* ou *Int(roitus) Vrb(is) SC* comme suggéré par Yonge, 1979 : plus qu'à l'*adventus* de Gallien en 265, ces bronzes feraient allusion à la protection de la Ville contre les raids germaniques comme celui de 259/260. P. réinterprète en conséquence la couronne d'épis que Gallien arbore à même époque sur des *aurei* non plus comme le signe de l'initiation de Gallien aux mystères d'Éleusis, mais comme la *corona obsidionalis* ou *graminea* qui récompensait le chef militaire pour avoir libéré une ville d'un siège.

Sur l'atelier de Siscia, des études ponctuelles apportent compléments et corrections (136, 109, 276, 278). GRANDVALLET (144, 145) s'attache aux portraits militaires et, comme aussi HEKSTER & MANDERS (153), à la guerre des images que se livrent Gallien et Postume ; HOLLARD & PILON (165), à la légende *Pri(n)cipia Aug(usti)* d'un antoninien d'imitation de Postume. LOPEZ SANCHEZ (192) examine la série légionnaire de Victorin et (191), les frappes monétaires destinées directement aux *comitatus* et armées mobiles ; ALLARD (14), le titre de *Restitutor orbis* porté par Aurélien ; ESTIOT & GYSEN (111), une série de bustes rares ou inédits de Probus dont certains absents de l'étude de Bastien, 1992-1994.

MARTIN (200) étudie l'épithète *Conservator* à travers la numismatique, l'épigraphie et la littérature pour le règne de Dioclétien : le monnayage le réserve à Jupiter, un retour à la tradition qui marque la mise à l'écart de *Sol*. Le culte solaire fait l'objet d'une monographie (BERRENS: 43) qui réinscrit les extravagances d'Élagabale et l'officialisation du culte de *Sol Invictus* par Aurélien dans l'évolution sur le long terme d'une démarche de



légitimation du pouvoir impérial. LA BEDOYERE (80) reprend son magistral décryptage de la formule virgilienne INPCDA / RSR qui figure sur un médaillon de Carausius (Egl. IV, 6-7 : *Redeunt Saturnia regna, iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto*).

L'étude de la propagande monétaire se centre sur des aspects particuliers, la promotion dynastique et le discours militaire (HORSTER: 170, SALAMONE: 260-262, WOLFF: 301, DMITRIEV: 94) mais se pose vite la question de la méthode et de l'élaboration d'un instrument de mesure capable d'évaluer l'intentionnalité du message, sa perception et son impact. Des méthodes statistiques s'imposent qui permettent de discerner le public ciblé (HEKSTER: 151) en fonction du métal ou des dénominations, mais surtout de quantifier un « indice de pénétration » basé non pas sur la fréquence des types (listés généralement selon les entrées du *RIC* qui répertorie un type rarissime à égalité avec un type extrêmement répandu), mais sur la masse des monnaies propageant le message, mesurée à travers les monnaies de sites ou les trésors quantitativement significatifs (MANDERS: 197, OVARI: 210, DEPEYROT: 87).

### Système monétaire

L'éclatement du système monétaire, la difficulté à appréhender la réalité de la nouvelle politique monétaire imposée par les réformes d'Aurélien et de Dioclétien, les réactions du public et l'extension réelle de l'inflation nourrissent réflexions et colloques : sur les effets de la loi de Gresham (AUBERT: 24, BERNARDELLI: 42), la gestion des stocks métalliques (CHRISTOL: 67), les usages et les usagers (VAN HEESCH: 284, 285, LORiot: 194), la tarification des espèces (KATSARI: 175 sur la date du décrochage du cours 1/25 de l'*aureus* en termes de deniers ; LO CASCIO: 189 sur la valeur de l'antoninien à un denier et quart sous Dèce d'après une lettre de Cyprien). ESTIOT (106) souligne les convergences entre les réformes d'Aurélien et de Dioclétien et suppose un système où l'*aurelianus* reste estimée à 2 deniers avec une teneur en argent garantie à 5% par les marques XXI/KA : « 20 qui font 1 ». L'*aureus* est stabilisé au 1/50 de livre (marque I.L, 800 deniers au ratio or/argent 1/12,5), les divisions du bronze et un denier *usualis* réintroduits. L'introduction de l'*argurion neon* (Zos.1, 61, 3) se fait au prix d'une dévaluation de la valeur faciale de l'antoninien radié, ramené à un denier. Le rappel de l'antoninien et l'introduction de l'*aurelianus* connaissent de fortes disparités régionales, effectifs dans la zone italo-balkanique, différés pour les régions nord-occidentales : les monnaies des empereurs gaulois et leurs imitations, officiellement décriées sous Probus, y seront remplacées, non par des *aureliani* frais, mais par le mauvais billon de Gallien et de Claude retiré ailleurs. VERBOVEN (287) réexamine l'évolution du système monétaire romain et met l'accent sur le rôle régulateur des banques et du crédit sur le cours des changes et sur l'évolution modérée des prix. STROBEL (275) critiquant les théories métallistes estime que le public a admis la fiduciarité du système monétaire jusqu'à la brèche psychologique créée par les réformes d'Aurélien. Il interprète en conséquence les marques portées sur le monnayage comme l'expression de leur valeur faciale : le cours de l'*aureus* resté au tarif augustéen de 25 deniers aurait doublé en 273 à 50 deniers (marque I.L = 50 deniers) et encore une fois en 274 à 100 deniers, le tétradrachme alexandrin doublé à 2 deniers, la valeur de l'*aurelianus* réformé aurait été fixée à 5 deniers (XX.I/XX = 20 sesterces) et un double *aurelianus* créé (dans ce cas, X.I = 10 deniers).

CORBIER (70, 71) donne dans le volume XII révisé de la *Cambridge Ancient History* (54) deux chapitres fondamentaux, consacrés l'un à la monnaie du point de vue de l'État romain, l'autre à la monnaie par rapport à ses usagers : dans le premier, C. s'appuie sur trois décennies de recherche numismatiques en soulignant acquis et zones d'incertitude pour balayer magistralement sur le très long III<sup>e</sup> siècle les mutations que l'Empire fait subir à sa monnaie et à sa fiscalité afin d'équilibrer ses rentrées et ses dépenses, malgré l'accroissement de ses besoins et en l'absence de toute possibilité d'emprunt public.

### Circulation monétaire

Un effort constant a été consacré aux trouvailles monétaires provenant des sites archéologiques : on ne peut citer ici toutes ces études, les monnaies du III<sup>e</sup> siècle n'y jouant qu'un rôle partiel.

Les travaux les plus significatifs rassemblent des échantillons quantitativement considérables. Concernant les provinces danubiennes : VONDROVEC (293) analyse l'approvisionnement et la circulation à Carnuntum (8710 monnaies du III<sup>e</sup> s.) en rapport avec des sites comme Flavia Solva et Ovilavis récemment publiés (SCHACHINGER: 264, VONDROVEC: 292). Dans une thèse monumentale GAZDAC (122) étudie la circulation monétaire de la Dacie, de sa création à son abandon, dont les schémas propres sont examinés en parallèle avec les provinces sud-danubiennes des Pannonies et des Mésies (pour des études plus ciblées : 123-127, 129-133). Găzdac souligne la pénurie récurrente de petite monnaie qui mène à la production des *Limesfalsa* jusqu'à l'ouverture au milieu du III<sup>e</sup> s.

d'ateliers provinciaux périphériques produisant du bronze correspondant aux dénominations romaines, Viminacium ouvert en 239, l'atelier *Provincia Dacia* ouvert en 246 sous Philippe (mais la production y chute dès 249) Les Mésies, la Mésie inférieure surtout, bénéficient quant à elles d'un influx de bronzes civiques grecs frappés entre 180-249, puis d'antoniniens. La Dacie se caractérise par rapport aux provinces adjacentes par une proportion encore plus haute de deniers coulés aux prototypes sévériens. La cartographie des trésors sur ce vaste espace régional met en relief l'impact des guerres carpiques sous Gordien III-Philippe, de l'invasion gothique 250/251 AD sous Dèce, des attaques sarmates et de l'usurpation d'Ingénuus et Régalien (voir aussi 235, 236, 219). BURSCH (55) et CHAMEROY (65) étudient phases et fonctions de la diffusion du numéraire romain dans le Barbaricum, en éclairant ce que l'exportation « en bloc » doit aux paiements de tributs aux peuples barbares.

BUTCHER (57) livre un ouvrage dépassant l'horizon de la Syrie romaine essentiel pour ses études de circulation monétaire aux niveaux civique (bronze), impérial provincial (argent) et impérial, que complète son analyse de la circulation monétaire à Beyrouth (58) et le réexamen de l'appareil de production : il réattribue au seul atelier d'Antioche sous Septime Sévère les deniers et *aurei* jusque là considérés comme émis par Émèse et Laodicée à un atelier balkanique, les deniers « orientaux » d'Élagabale ; il doute de l'attribution à Antioche des deniers orientaux de Sévère Alexandre ; inversement il attribue à Rome les tétradrachmes MON.VRB. Les pics de production de l'argent ne semblent entretenir que peu de liens avec l'accroissement de l'activité militaire (campagnes orientales) mais plutôt avec les réformes monétaires en cours (abandon du tétradrachme au profit de l'antoninien sous Trébonien Galle) ; à ce propos, voir aussi METCALF (203) et ELTON (102). Pour l'Asie mineure, KATSARI (176) interprète la percée de l'antoninien en fonction de la raréfaction du bronze civique pour les transactions quotidiennes, tout en notant une monétarisation insuffisante (or) pour les échanges de plus grande ampleur.

### Fausse monnaies et imitations.

Le III<sup>e</sup> siècle connaît l'un des pics épidémiques de la production d'imitations : deux colloques se sont attachés à évaluer le phénomène (AUBERSON *et al.*: 23, VANNI & BUSSI: 286). PETER (220) fait le point sur le phénomène : depuis l'époque sévérienne, des bronzes coulés dans les régions danubiennes (*Limesfalsa*) ; dans les provinces nord-occidentales des faux deniers, coulés dans des moules monétaires de terre cuite ; puis, lorsque l'antoninien a atteint le point le plus bas de son avilissement et que les mesures déflationnistes d'Aurélien produisent leurs effets, une production massive d'imitations radiées frappées. KROPFF (182, 183) dans le sillage des études de KING revient sur la distribution géographique des imitations radiées, ainsi que sur la question du caractère plus ou moins officiel de leur production et du degré de tolérance dont elles jouissent sur le marché (aussi 296). À propos des 821 *Limesfalsa* de Carnuntum, PFISTERER (223) livre une étude de référence : leur métrologie, bien inférieure aux poids réguliers (inférieur à la moitié pour le sesterce) en fait des imitations, plus que de la fausse monnaie. À Carnuntum, le monnayage de bronze coulé, présent dès les I<sup>er</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> siècles (moins de 10%) constitue à l'époque sévérienne presque la moitié des bronzes en circulation (47% pour Septime Sévère, 52% pour Caracalla) pour décroître drastiquement sous Alexandre Sévère (30%, et d'après des prototypes antérieurs à 231 AD). La reprise massive des émissions de bronze à Rome et l'ouverture de l'atelier de Viminacium en 239 marquent la fin de ce monnayage de nécessité. ARSLAN: 21 pose les prolégomènes d'une étude des bronzes coulés pour l'Italie.

La date de la production effective des deniers coulés reste un champ de débats (R.-ALFÖLDI: 247). AUBIN (25) en réexamine la chronologie, non d'après les prototypes moulés, majoritairement d'époque sévérienne, mais par l'association des moules monétaires avec d'autres traceurs archéologiques. Il soutient l'hypothèse d'une production plus tardive, postérieure à AD 260, alors que l'époque de Gordien et de Philippe (parallèlement à la réintroduction de l'antoninien) est plus communément admise, mais sans exclure que les productions tardives soient les manifestations d'un phénomène sur le déclin. Se pose alors la question de la fonction de ces deniers coulés dans une circulation monétaire d'où les deniers officiels sont chassés par l'antoninien pour être thésaurisés : leur attrait sur le public et leur fréquence sur les sites est à la mesure de la suspicion qu'éveillent l'antoninien et ses dévaluations, mais pourrait être aussi du domaine du symbolique comme le prouve le moule monétaire de Newstead, Écosse, trouvé dans une zone géographique abandonnée après les campagnes sévériennes : comme le moule bivalve de Corseul, il associe un avers sévérien (Caracalla) à un revers d'antoninien d'Aurélien ca. 273 que plus de 70 ans séparent (HOLMES & HUNTER: 167).

STRIBRNY (274) analyse cette prime accordée aux deniers hors de l'empire : des groupes de deniers produits dans le Barbaricum et issus des mêmes coins se retrouvent dans des zones aussi éloignées que l'Allemagne, la Pologne, la Suède et la Hongrie. Produits par frappe à partir de coins eux-mêmes empreints par des deniers officiels du II<sup>e</sup> siècle et des Sévères puis retravaillés, ces derniers barbares sont datés de ca 225/250 par S. qui

attribue leur dissémination en ensembles clos aux échanges établis entre élites militaires germaniques et sarmatiques depuis la fin du II<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Pour revenir sur la chronologie de la production des diverses classes d'imitations sur le territoire impérial et sur l'organisation d'un atelier de faux monnayeurs, les découvertes archéologiques de Châteaubateau apportent des réponses fondamentales (fouilles et matériel numismatique : PILON: 225-232, PILON *et al.*: 233, GRICOURT *et al.*: 147). Trois sous-structures y fonctionnent sur une période ca 260-285 AD, de manière contemporaine et qui produisent à la fois du monnayage frappé et du monnayage coulé, seul exemple connu en dehors de l'atelier d'August (PETER, 1990).

### Analyses métalliques, recréation expérimentale de processus techniques

Analyses métalliques et reconstitution des techniques ont surtout concerné - ce n'est pas le moindre des paradoxes - les monnayages d'imitation. Toutefois, la connaissance du monnayage d'argent des Sévères a considérablement profité des analyses de GITLER & PONTING (140) sur la base d'un échantillonnage ouvert (deniers officiels, romains et orientaux ; tétradrachmes ; faux deniers coulés) : elles révèlent un taux d'argent fixé à 46% par Septime Sévère en 194 et commun aux deniers et aux tétradrachmes, un apport de bronze caractérisant les tétradrachmes comme les deniers orientaux ; elles permettent la discrimination entre l'aloï de « Laodicée » et d'« Émèse » (pour l'importance des isotopes du plomb comme signature d'atelier, voir 238) et de mettre en valeur la variabilité du métal des deniers coulés : les mêmes moules servent à couler du bronze au plomb ou un alliage d'argent possédant un taux de métal fin supérieur aux deniers officiels.

BECK *et al.* (32) montrent expérimentalement que l'enrichissement de surface des monnaies argentées peut être obtenu dès la préparation des flans. Le processus du placage argenté d'antoniniens d'imitation de Postume est étudié par BECK *et al.* (33) et reproduit par DERAISME *et al.* (91). Pour les *subaerati*, voir BOZZINI *et al.* (53). La reconstitution expérimentale d'une coulée de monnaies au plomb (DERAISME *et al.*: 89, 90) a été tentée dans un fac-similé du moule antique trouvé à Châteaubateau. La technique de production des bronzes d'imitation *subferrati* - flans de fer revêtus d'une pellicule de bronze - est étudiée expérimentalement par PFISTERER & TRAUM (224) : un coin susceptible de frapper un flan à cœur de fer ne pouvant être obtenu par le surcoulage d'une monnaie authentique, les auteurs expérimentent la « méthode du coin frappé » par une monnaie officielle, qui joue ainsi le rôle de poinçon/patrice.

### Crise du III<sup>e</sup> siècle, un concept en cours de révision

Y a-t-il eu une crise au III<sup>e</sup> siècle (LIEBESCHÜTZ: 188, DE BLOIS: 77) ? Colloques et tables-rondes ont rapproché les spécialistes pour introduire des points de vue plus équilibrés dans le « modèle » paradigmatique de crise : le mot même n'est utilisé qu'entre guillemets, accompagné de synonymes euphémisants (JOHNE *et al.*: 173, QUET: 243, HEKSTER *et al.*: 152). La monnaie n'y est plus guère mise à contribution, du moins comme elle l'était naguère comme signe omniprésent de l'effondrement du système monétaire sur les sites et marqueur de l'insécurité dans les trésors. Elle trouve une place plus balancée comme l'un des paramètres de la crise, réexaminée au même titre que les témoignages littéraires (biaisés par la rhétorique ou la polémique), la baisse des témoignages épigraphiques (qui se poursuit au IV<sup>e</sup> s. y compris dans des régions comme l'Asie mineure pour lesquelles d'autres indicateurs attestent de fortes populations et une prospérité retrouvée), la réévaluation de la baisse démographique (épidémies) ou les modifications des structures agricoles (métayage, colonat, concentrations autour de grandes villas expliquant les abandons des petits établissements). La notion de crise globale (Weltkrise) est battue en brèche au profit d'approches régionales beaucoup plus nuancées : WITSCHER (300) résume sa thèse de 1999 pour conclure, sinon à la prospérité de certaines régions de l'empire (Afrique), du moins à une « stagnation à haut niveau » ; DE BLOIS (77) lui concède l'idée d'évolutions lentes, mais ponctuées d'accélération critiques surtout pour les zones des *limites* ravagées par les invasions. L'hypothèse heuristique selon laquelle les désordres monétaires sont pris comme la cause, ou la traduction, d'une crise économique et sociale se trouve réévaluée. CORBIER (71) modère l'impact de la crise et rappelle les fondamentaux de l'économie romaine, une société essentiellement rurale structurée par des centres urbains, où les échanges en nature jouent un rôle important et qui n'est traversée que pour une part seulement par des besoins monétaires (transactions à longue distance, paiement des taxes). JONGMAN (174) sur les mêmes données matérielles adopte une position inverse. Corbier distingue très justement, pour juger de l'état de l'économie, le niveau de l'Empire, superstructure selon les termes braudéliens qui a sa propre cohérence et sa logique, des autres niveaux qu'il nous faut apprendre à voir. Il en va de même de la monnaie : nous sommes à même de mesurer les manipulations de l'État romain sur sa monnaie à travers leur traduction physique, avilissement du métal et inflation des signes monétaires, mais il est difficile de connaître leur impact en termes d'inflation et de

hausse des prix sur des économies régionales fort diverses. À l'autre extrémité, au niveau des échanges courants, le public use de la monnaie avec une liberté qui se soucie peu des décrets, décrets et tarifications officiels : les sites nous montrent l'importance des différentes classes d'imitations dans la circulation ; l'archéologie (105, 58, 41, 61) par une meilleure attention portée à la répartition de la monnaie en stratigraphie ou à son association avec d'autres marqueurs mobiliers, permet d'échapper à la « tyrannie du terminus » pour mieux saisir l'usage de la monnaie sur le très long terme, mesurer la continuité de son usage (résidualité) ou la réviviscence à époque ultérieure des stocks monétaires enfouis en attente de réutilisation.

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## THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD (294-498)

*Peter Guest*

A great deal has been achieved in the field of late Roman numismatics during the years since the last International Numismatic Congress. This brief survey will attempt to summarise the main areas of research, highlighting the most significant publications as well as indicating some of the directions in which future work could be focused. The late Roman world (between the reforms of Diocletian and Anastasius) represents one of the most dynamic periods in ancient numismatics and a great many numismatists, as well as historians and archaeologists, have contributed to the ever expanding knowledge and understanding of coinage during the fourth and fifth centuries. Considerable progress has been made in several areas of research, including the reporting of new finds (hoards, excavated assemblages and single coins), the publication of regional and national corpora of various types, and, ultimately, the exploration of what we understand about the production, circulation, use and loss of coinage during these tumultuous centuries that mark the end of Antiquity.

2006 was the 1700<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the elevation of Constantine I to Caesar in York and several important exhibitions were held to commemorate this event. Exhibitions in Trier and York were highlights and both were accompanied by catalogues containing chapters on numismatic topics. The paper by ABDY (2) focused on the Beaurains (Arras) hoard of solidi as the accumulated wealth of an officer at the time of Constantine, while the Trier catalogue edited by DEMANDT AND ENGEMANN (50) includes chapters on the nature and iconography of early fourth-century coinage (ENGEMANN [66]; GILLES [84]), and the impact of the currency reforms under Constantine, particularly on the Trier mint (GILLES [85]). DEMANDT AND ENGEMANN (51) also published the proceedings of the international colloquium on Constantine held at the University of Trier, which covers historical, archaeological as well as numismatic themes.

Several studies of early fourth century coinage together have added to the knowledge of currency at the beginning of the Late Roman period. BÖHNKE (23) discusses the reduction of the bronze nummus to 1/96<sup>th</sup> of a libra under Licinius, HOLLARD (97) proposes a new issue for Licinius at London, GAUTIER (74) discusses two finds of argentei dating to the first Tetrarchy from the Balkans, while the Bridgend hoard of 1,424 bronze coins to 310 by BESLY (21) is an exemplary publication of an important find. The output of the Lyons mint in the fourth century is examined by AMANDRY AND GAUTIER (6, 7), GAUTIER (74, 75) and DROST (64). DOYEN (63, 64) published a previously unknown issue for Crispus at Antioch, as well as a new nummus type and a rare siliqua of Constantine I, while GAUTIER (76, 77) and GAUTIER AND DROST (73) used material located in Vienna and Florence to reconstruct the silver coinage of Maxentius. The iconography of Constantine's coinage is the subject of papers by BERNARDELLI (20), exploring the use of the chi-rho Christogram on silver medallions, and DAHMEN AND ILISCH (46) who discuss the reuse of old Proban reverse types on gold issues. The results of metallurgical analyses of Constantinian medallions published by BOLLARD (24) contribute much needed data on the composition of gold coinage at the beginning of our period of study.

Hoard continue to provide a wealth of information on the nature of late Roman coinage, from new finds as well as the re-examination of hoards discovered in the past. The national numismatic journals contain details of numerous hoards every year (i.e. COIN HOARDS, 40-44) and unfortunately it is not possible to list all of those in this brief survey. However, several important hoards of the fourth and fifth centuries have been the subject of more thorough analysis, including finds from all parts of the Roman world and, importantly, beyond. ASOLATI (10-11) has published the fifth century hoards from Valli di Comacchio and Camporegio in Italy, the latter consisting of at least 131 bronze copies. ASOLATI's (12) discussion of the Falerii Novi hoard includes a summary of recent thinking on the circulation of bronze currency in the fifth century. Hoards of bronze coins are most common from within the Roman Empire and other notable finds of small change include the hoards from Sardis (BURRELL [28]), Carnuntum on the Danube (HUMER AND GAZDAC [101]) and Cafarnao on the Sea of Galilee (ARSLAN [9]).

Hoard of gold coins, particularly the solidus, are also found within the empire, though gold coins are also found in the barbarian lands beyond the imperial frontiers too. CIAMPOLTRINI's (37) publication of the Saturnia solidus hoard also contains details of other fourth and fifth century hoard of gold coins from Tuscany. The Szilágsomlyó (Şimleu Silvaniei) hoard of fourth century gold medallions and items of jewellery from Romania is the subject of DEMBSKI's analysis (52), while GAZDAC (83) has published another two medallions probably from the same hoard. Hoards of solidi are relatively common from Central Europe and the Carpathian region and PROHÁSZKA has re-published the hoards from Starosinets (129) and Szügy (128), the latter consisting of at least fifteen looped or

pierced late fourth-century solidi together with other gold objects. In fact, late Roman gold coins are found throughout the so-called 'Barbaricum' and HORSNÆS (99) has published a series of new hoards from the Baltic island of Bornholm to add to the numerous other finds known from this region in the fifth century, while BURSCHE (31) discusses the Polish Zagórzyn hoard, also comprising fifth century solidi. Britain, however, is the area usually associated with the discovery of Roman gold and silver hoards, of which the largest and most spectacular is the Hoxne Treasure discovered in 1994. The 579 late fourth and early fifth-century solidi, 60 silver miliarenses and 14,570 siliquae and half-siliquae (including a substantial number of imitations) recovered from Hoxne had been packed into a wooden chest together with 29 items of gold jewellery and 124 pieces of silver tableware. The publication of the coins from the treasure (GUEST [93]) includes a detailed chronology of the siliquae from 361 to 402, discussion of the inter-related phenomena of the clipping and copying of siliquae, as well as the results of the metallurgical analyses of over 100 of these silver coins, both official and copies. BENDALL (18, 19) has studied the 'anonymous' half-siliquae that also appear in Hoxne, while other contemporary finds include those from Carnuntum (DEMBSKI [53]). The circulation and use of Roman coins in fifth and sixth century Britain is discussed in ABDY (1), ABDY AND WILLIAMS (3) and MOORHEAD (116); the first describes mainly gold and silver coinage, the second includes a comprehensive catalogue of coin finds in post-Roman Britain, while the last article concentrates on finds of Roman bronze coins, many from Anglo-Saxon contexts. The general circulation of late Roman precious metals in Late Antiquity, including in the form of coinage, is the subject of the analyses by BARATTE (15) and HOBBS (96), though the most exotic find is the copy of a Leo I solidus from Luoyang province in China (LIN AND METLICH (106).

A number of national and regional corpora have been published recently, many of which include fourth and fifth century coins. Sometimes these are collections of hoards only (such as the work of BONVALOT AND RICHARD (25) covering the Haute-Saône region of France), though the most common approach currently is to publish all finds of coins from a region together, including hoards, excavated site-finds and single finds. Thus, we now have new or updated corpora from Germany (for instance, BACKENDORF [13]), Austria (VONDROVEC [140] and SCHACHINGER [134]), France (BOST AND NARVIN [26]), Switzerland (FREY-KUPPER [72]), Spain (GAWANTKA [80]), Croatia (MIŠKEC [113]) and Wales (GUEST AND WELLS [91]). It is noticeable that numismatic material from Central and Eastern Europe has been more widely published in recent times. This includes the re-publication of a 1960s corpus of Roman coins from the former U.S.S.R. by KROPOTKIN (105), CIOŁEK'S publication of Roman coin finds from Pomerania in Poland (38, 39), while TSUKHISHVILI AND DEPEYROT'S (137) corpus of coins from Georgia also includes important late Roman material from this part of the Caucasus. Romania and the lower Danube region have been the subject of several published catalogues of coins, notably those by DEPEYROT (54), GAZDAC AND COCIȘ (81), OCHEȘEANU (123), PREDA AND PETAC (127), and VÎLCU, ISVORANU AND NICOLAE (139). More speculative analyses of coin circulation in the area of the lower Danube by GAZDAC (82) and MOISIL (114) rely on the publication of coins in these catalogues and our progress in the future will depend on the continued prompt reporting of new finds, particularly from those areas about which little is still known.

Many of the national and regional corpora include non-hoard finds, particularly assemblages produced during archaeological excavations. These are of considerable value for understanding the role of coinage as monetary and non-monetary objects, and several important collections of site-finds have been published separately in monographs and journal articles. The area of the Western Roman Empire has produced catalogues and analyses of coins from excavations in Paestum, Vada Voleterrana and Fanum Fortunae (including its hinterland) in Italy (CANTILENA, PANTULIANO, PELLAGRINO AND SATRIANO [34], FACELLA [68] and CASILLO [36]), the settlements at Saint-Ouen-du-Breuil (GONZALEZ, OUZOULIAS, AND VAN OSSEL [89]), Oudenburg (POPOVITCH [126]) and Bibracte (GRUEL AND POPOVITCH [90]) in France, as well as numerous sites in Great Britain and Germany (for example, BACKENDORF [13]). The eastern part of the Roman Empire has seen the publication of coin reports from the major excavations at Butrint in Albania (MOORHEAD, GJONGEÇAJ AND ABDY [115], MOORHEAD [118]), Iasos and Nemea in Greece (KNAPP AND MACISAAC [103], PENNESTRÍ [124, 125] and ALEXOPOULOU AND CALLEGHER [4]), Asia Minor (BALDUS [14]) and Egypt (NOESKE [122]). However, the most important collection of excavated coins comes from the excavations prior to the redevelopment of central Beirut in the 1980s and 1990s, and BUTCHER'S (33) comprehensive publication of this collection of vast assemblage of everyday coinage includes a complete catalogue and the detailed analysis of coin supply and loss in the city, including the fourth and fifth centuries. The many seasons of excavations at Caesarea Maritima are another valuable new contribution to the study of site-finds in the Near East (DEROSE EVANS [58]), while BJOVSKY (22) and GITLER AND WEISBURD (88) discuss the evidence for coin use in the rest of Palestine in the Late Roman period. NOESKE (121) provides an interesting survey of late Roman coin circulation in the East, comparing the situations in Egypt and Roman Syria.

DELMARE (49) and MILEWSKY (112) explore the monetary history of Late Antiquity using non-numismatic evidence (the Theodosian Code and early Christian literature respectively). Other studies of general

numismatic themes include KROPFF (104) on the burial and loss of late Roman coin hoards, VAN HEESCH (94) on the transportation of coinage in bulk around the late Roman world, and FILOCAMO (70) who examines the relationship between coinage and the production of wine in southern Italy. BURSCHE (29, 30), GUEST (92) and ESTIOT (67) all look to regional patterns of supply and circulation of coinage in their studies of Roman currency in northern Barbaricum, the Balkans and the north-western Alpine region. FAILMEZGER's (69) study of fourth century bronze coinage is a general survey of the function of small change, while ILUK's (102) volume deals in more detail with the political, social and economic roles of late Roman high value gold coinage.

In the future we can look forward to the publication of new finds of late Roman coinage, from areas already well represented as well as other regions where the details of coin circulation in Late Antiquity are not so well known. This will continue to generate more discursive and interpretative analyses, although perhaps we should anticipate reaching the point where researchers are increasingly subject to data 'overload'. In order for the subject to grow and expand it is necessary that numismatists welcome the opportunities offered by the digital age and use the power of the internet to advance knowledge and understanding. This means making numismatic data available in a convenient digital format online, so that all researchers have access to the vast datasets that currently exist only in paper form. There are numerous difficulties and obstacles that need to be overcome before this ambition is realised (the standardisation of numismatic terminology is the most obvious), but none of these are insurmountable and the rewards could be revolutionary for the discipline. Several national and regional numismatic databases are now available online (for example, the *Iron Age & Roman Coins from Wales* database, which contains records of over 50,000 coins in total, can be found at: [http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/archive/iarcw\\_bcs\\_2007/](http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/archive/iarcw_bcs_2007/)), though trying to combine these together is still not as simple as it could and should be. The INTERFACE project, based at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University, Frankfurt, aims to resolve these differences by providing a central portal from which all digital databases could be accessed. The success of INTERFACE, and other projects like it, will change the way that numismatics is undertaken and should allow numismatists to explore research questions that until only a few years ago we could only dream about.

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## ROMAN PROVINCIAL COINAGE

*Sophia Kremydi*

### General studies

#### The RPC project

The period under review has witnessed a third reprinting of *RPC* I and the publication of volume VII.1 on the coinage of the province of Asia by SPOERRI-BUTCHER (126), discussed in the relevant section. The coinages covered in *RPC* IV for the Antonine period can now be found on-line (9) : it is a large database (over 45,000 coins from 386 cities), which is easy to handle and search; the site also contains a short introduction aimed at the general public, as well as useful maps. A second supplement of *RPC* I and II has also appeared on the web (5). It includes new material, corrections on dating and attributions, as well as an updating of the bibliography and mint index.

#### Conference Proceedings

Apart from the Proceedings of the 13<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Numismatics (1), which comprise a wide range of publications discussed below, several other congresses have led to collective volumes, largely presenting research on more specific areas of research. A conference held in Oxford (11) resulted in a book dealing with coinage as indicator of civic identity, in other words examined how and to what extent local communities used coinage in order to construct and advertise their public identity. HOWGEGO (10) set the scope and general framework of the discussion through the use of selected topics whereas BURNETT (6) aimed at discerning the different attitudes towards coinage in the western and eastern parts of the Empire which were understood as a cultural choice rather than as an economic necessity. In the same volume WILLIAMSON (32) discussed aspects of identity in the Roman Empire providing parallels from contemporary history. The main question addressed was to what extent the subjects of the Roman Empire 'possessed' Roman culture. Various types of evidence were considered and the author sustained that the use of coinage in understanding identity is limited. WEISS (30) examined the much debated matter of Roman control over provincial issues and once more asserted that imperial intervention was limited; through the use of epigraphic parallels he was able to show that the names of magistrates on coins referred to responsibility for execution. PRICE (24) discussed how mythologies were used by communities in Asia Minor. Special emphasis was given to the creation of local versions of panhellenic myths and to the relocation of myths from mainland Greece to western Asia Minor. KLOSE (15) presented numismatic evidence on local and panhellenic festivals and games in the cities of the east. He asserted that emperors granted cities the privilege of holding festivals to ensure their support and that cities illustrated them on coins to flatter emperors. In the same volume WILLIAMS (31) discussed "how coins were made and used just before and just after the Roman conquest" of Britain. The traditional thesis on Romanisation of Britain before the conquest was questioned through the discussion of archaeological, numismatic and literary sources. An overview of Spanish coinage under the perspective of identity was provided by RIPOLLÈS (25). He showed how the arrival of the Romans influenced the use, metrology and appearance of local coinages. GOODMAN (12) examined the coinage of the two Jewish revolts under the perspective of what it can tell us about Jewish cultural and political self-representation.

Two important conferences have been published during the period under review, one on the coinages of Syria (3) and the other on those of Egypt (7). Both have seriously contributed to our understanding of the monetary history of these regions and have put forward innovative views on their coinages which shall be discussed below. A volume dedicated to the economy of Asia Minor during the Roman period (19) includes contributions on monetary economy, whereas important new material from the mints of Lower Moesia can be found in the acts of three congresses held in Chisinau (26, 27, 28). Finally, in the proceedings of a conference (13) dedicated to the contribution numismatic finds and the methodology of their study AMANDRY (2) underlined the importance of provenance for the attribution of issues that do not bear an ethnic through examples of the late republican and early imperial period. In the same volume PERA (22) provided an overview of hoards, site finds and local museum holdings from Asia Minor.

### Other general studies

The period under review witnessed the publication of an important book by JOHNSTON (8) on the denominations of bronze coinage in Asia Minor during the third century. Through the study of marks of value and countermarks the author discussed units, revaluations, and regional patterns of denominations, circulation patterns as well as the impact of the changes in the Roman imperial system on local issues. She showed that cities had the

initiative of taking decisions on monetary matters that concerned them and asserted that local issues circulated freely within regional boundaries. The silver coinages of the eastern empire were discussed by METCALF (18) who suggested that Rome promoted a regional currency system in order to control and ensure the provision of silver in the provinces. A study on numismatic circulation in the Balkans was published by TOURATSOGLU (29) who accumulated all Roman and provincial hoards from Maximinus Thrax to Diocletian and provided a synthesis of the political and monetary history of the region. Moushmov's old book on ancient coins of the Balkans, a valuable source of numismatic material for the provinces from Dacia to Macedonia, is now available on-line (20). Moreover VARBANOV (49) published four volumes of a type catalogue of provincial coins mainly from the Balkans that includes price evaluations.

In a book on the 'neokoroi' cities of the eastern Empire BURRELL (4) relied heavily on coins since numismatic iconography and legends often provide unique information concerning religious architecture, festivals and cults. KATSARI (14) analyzed the 'proto-national' identities of the Roman state and the Graeco-Roman cities, and examined coinage under this perspective. Iconographical studies on Roman provincial coins often address the question of to what extent religious or mythological themes reflect 'political' rather than 'cultural' choices. PETER (23) discussed the spread of Sarapis types in Moesia and Thrace during the third century, described cases of syncretism with local deities and suggested that the appearance of double busts of the god and the emperor had a political implication. LALAGÜE-DULAC (17) discussed the interpretation of Hephaistos coin types in various cities of Asia Minor and suggested that these reflected the special interests of blacksmith associations. PAPAGEORGIADOU-BANI (21) studied the numismatic iconography of Roman colonies in Achaia and Macedonia and examined the contribution of coin types to our understanding of the 'nature' of colonies. She underlined that the dividing line between 'Roman' and 'local' elements can be hard to discern and insisted on the intervention of central government on provincial issues.

The first volume of the Lexicon published by LESCHHORN AND FRANKE (16) includes Greek and Latin inscriptions on Greek and provincial coins.

### **Collections Catalogues**

The publication of SNG volumes on Roman provincial coins is a relatively new phenomenon. The two volumes of the Hunterian Museum (GODDARD: 36) present and illustrate over 5,000 coins from a geographically representative sample of cities from the western Provinces to Egypt, with a particular abundance of coins from Alexandria. One of the first Turkish collections to appear in the SNG series, was that of the Anamur Museum (TEKIN AND ALTINOLUK: 48), which contains mainly coins from Cilicia and from other regions of southern Anatolia. The Bulgarian SNG series was inaugurated with the first volume of the Bobokov collection in Ruse (DRAGANOV: 35) presenting over 2,000 coins of the colony of Deultum. The second volume of the Leypold collection in the Austrian series (SZAIVERT AND DABURON: 47) has also appeared, containing provincial coins of Asia Minor from Phrygia to Commagene, whereas the Spanish coins of the Lorichs collection in the Royal coin cabinet of Stockholm were published by RIPOLLÈS (43).

Other SNG volumes where Roman provincial material is catalogued together with Greek coins include the first volume of the Christomanos collection in Athens (OECONOMIDES: 42), the collection of the Society of Antiquaries in Newcastle upon Tyne (MEADOWS and WILLIAMS: 40), as well as two new volumes of the Munich collection; one on Attica, Megaris and Aegina (KROLL: 37) and a second on Caria (BALDUS: 33), containing a large number of provincial coins with an extensive bibliography and detailed comments.

Amongst collections published individually one should mention the Zarifis collection (PAPAGEORGIADOU-BANI: 44) where a representative sample of provincial coins were published together with Roman imperial issues. On collections of specific regional interest see: The Sutzu collection (PETAC: 45) with a large number of coins of Istros, Callatis and, especially, Tomis and the YASHIN collection (YASHIN: 50) on Ascalon, Gaza, Raphia and Anthedon. Sections of the BCD collection have appeared in auction catalogues; the Peloponnesian section (39) is probably the richest source of material for this region, whereas volumes on Euboia (41), Olympia (38) and Boiotia (34) all include rare provincial specimens. On Macedonian and Paeonia see: ŠELDAROV (46).

## Regional Studies

### Achaia

In an important book on the history and coinage of the Messenians GRANDJEAN (53) devoted a chapter to the final phase of this coinage in the first century AD. In an article on the Hellenistic coinage of the cities of Amorgos, LIAMPI (55) included issues of Minoa and Aigiale from the Severan period. SUGDEN (61) discussed an earlier issue of Minoa struck in 138 AD. WALBANK-HOSKINS (62) presented a preliminary report on her research on the coinage of the Roman colony of Corinth from Domitian to Commodus. She thoroughly discussed iconography and denominations but her main contribution lies in the conclusion that the resumption of Corinthian coinage under Domitian coincided with a monetary reform that assimilated local denominations to those of Rome. MOUCHARTE (56) published a die study of the coins of Corcyra. The catalogue is organized by reverse type but the pseudo-autonomous issues are absent. She noted a common obverse die between Corcyra and Nicopolis. CALOMINO (51) published a newly discovered well preserved specimen of a rare issue of Nicopolis, which allows a correction of the reading of legend to ΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. The author discusses in detail the unusual inscription, the iconography as well as the metrology of the issue. PAPAETHYMIU (58) studied the metrological system of the coinage of the Magnetes, and demonstrated that local denominations did not coincide with the Roman. The same author also (57) discussed the well-known numismatic evidence relating to the visit of Nero to Greece from a different point of view. DAHMEN and LICHTENBERG (168) showed that on the basis of the ethnic ΠΕΛΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ, a bronze coin of Caracalla, which they had previously attributed by to Pella in the Decapolis (52) in fact must belong to Pellene in the Peloponnese.

KNAPP (54) published a monograph on the coins from the excavations at Nemea, mostly classical and Hellenistic, that sets the coins within their archaeological context and provides an interesting discussion on topics such as the circulation of bronze coinage, or the nature of sanctuary finds. SPOERRI-BUTCHER published individual finds from the excavations at Eretria, and tentatively attributed an Augustan issue without an ethnic to Chalkis (59), adding two unknown denominations to an issue of Iulia Domna from the same mint (60). TOURATSOGLOU (29) published coins of the Thessalian League together with Roman coins and jewellery from a third century hoard from Larissa. On collections of Achaian coins see: (34, 38, 39, 41).

### Macedonia

KREMYDI-SICILIANOU (66) discussed Macedonian coinage under the perspective of identity. References to Roman institutions and Roman cults were examined in contradistinction to the way elements of local identity survived and re-emerged. Differences between Hellenic cities and Roman colonies were underlined. The same author (70) provided a general overview of monetary production in Macedonia under the Empire. LIAMPI (71) published a classification of the coinage of the Macedonian Koinon, retaining the traditional Julio-Claudian date for the pseudo autonomous issues, and supporting a localization of the mint at Beroia. DAHMEN (64) studied the Alexander busts on coins of the Macedonian Koinon and proposed a new sequence of types. TOURATSOGLOU (74) discussed the third century issues of Beroia; he offered a vivid picture of the social life of the city through epigraphic and numismatic sources and commented on the iconography of the coins related to Alexander the Great. PAPAETHYMIU (73) presented a monograph on the mint of Edessa with a detailed catalogue and a commentary on the coinage; of special interest is her discussion on the confusion of the cities of Aegae and Edessa in late Roman sources, as well as the publication of a unique specimen without the imperial portrait. GJONGEJ and PICARD (65) studied the coinage of Apollonia from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC to the imperial period, basing their research on unpublished finds from the ancient site. The important new material allowed the secure attribution of uncertain issues and the dating of pseudo-autonomous issues excluded from *RPC I*. BOZKOVA published coins of Stobi including new, unpublished, varieties dating to the Severans (63).

KREMYDI-SICILIANOU (69) collected recent hoard evidence from Macedonia and concluded that there was a development from a restricted circulation of civic coins in the first century to a wider circulation in the third. In addition, the same author published three excavation hoards from the colony of Dium (67, 68); the hoards contain mainly local currency from the time of Antoninus Pius, and confirm the dating of pseudo-autonomous issues of Dium, Philippi and the Macedonian Koinon in the second century. On coin finds from Butrint see: MOORHEAD (72).

### Thrace

In an article on the identity of cities in Lower Moesia and Thrace PETER (88) observed that local and indigenous identities were preserved and especially emphasized in the third century, though references to the imperial cult and provincial governors were also encountered. The same author also (87) commented on a rare coin

of Philippopolis bearing Isis Pelagia and connected the type with the river Hebros. WEISS (91) published an article on Iulius Crassipes, legatus in Thrace, and relied on an unpublished coin of Anchialos to identify the person, for whom information from other sources was confusing. KOMNICK (83) published an interesting coin from Bizye depicting Philip I and his son saluted by the people. The same author produced a short monograph (84) on the coinage of Nicopolis ad Mestum whose mint production was restricted to a single issue struck in 211AD. The reason for this issue remains obscure, but the author focused on the study of iconography. DRAGANOV (79) published a die study on Deultum based on the material from a private collection already published as an SNG (35), as well as a preliminary publication on the same subject (78) focusing on an isolated Trajanic issue and the colonies' foundation date. In her monograph on the mint of Abdera CHRYSSANTHAKI-NAGLE (76) dedicated a separate chapter to the coinage of the imperial period, commented on the iconography, the chronology and the metrology of the coins, and provided a concise outline of the history of the province of Thrace. On Mesembria see: (LAZARENKO 85), (DIMOVA 77), on Serdica (HRISTOVA AND JEKOV 82) and on Thasos: (PICARD 89). On grave hoards from the necropolis of Augusta Trajana (MINKOVA AND PAFFORD 86). On excavation finds see TEKIN (90) for Ainos and FILIPOVA (80) for Kyustendil.

BOZHAKOVA (75) published a detailed catalogue of the Brestnitsa hoard, which included unpublished varieties for Pautalia, Serdica and Augusta Traiana whereas a third century bronze hoard containing coins from mints in Moesia Inferior (Marcianopolis, Nicopolis ad Istrum) and Thrace (Hadrianopolis, Deultum) was published by GUSHTERAKLIEV (81).

#### Moesia – Dacia

CONTON (92) published a preliminary report of a study on the coinage of Nicopolis ad Istrum, provided a short overview of coin circulation and a sample of the catalogue. A treasure of silver drachms of Caesarea in Cappadocia buried under Vespasian, was discovered in Rumania and part of it was published by DIMA and TALMATCHI (93). POPESCU and TALMATCHI (109) provided additional evidence for silver issues from eastern mints circulating in Moesia. On bronze hoards see: DIMA (95) and KIYASHKINA (104). On single finds of Stobi and Provincia Dacia see: PETAC AND NEGRU (105).

A number of short publications on mints of Lower Moesia have appeared which mainly include material from private collections. On Callatis: GRAMATICU and IONITA (96, 97, 98). On Tomis: IACOB (103) and on Dionysopolis: DIMA (94). On pseudo-autonomous coins of Istrus and their chronology see: PETAC and SANDOR (106) and PETAC (107). Numismatic representations of Hermes on coins of the cities of Lower Moesia were discussed by IACOB (102). For an important collection of Moesian coins see: PETAC (45).

A series of mint studies has started to appear on the mints in Lower Moesia (Marcianopolis: 99, Dionysopolis: 101), Upper Moesia (Viminacium: 100) and Thrace (Serdica: 82). On finds of a Roman fortress in Dacia see: PISLARU (108).

#### Northern Black Sea - Bithynia - Pontus

A commented catalogue of the coinage of the Bosporan kingdom, from the first century BC to the middle of the first century AD was published by FROLOVA and IRELAND (111). The material, drawn mainly from Russian collections, contributes important additions to *RPC* and covers an interesting transitional period. FROLOVA (110) also devoted a monograph to the mint of Tyra and MACDONALD (112) published a general introduction to the coinage of the Kingdom of Bosporus including the imperial period.

IRELAND (114) compiled a synthetic treatment of the coinage of Pontus and Paphlagonia from the time of Mithridates I, that highlights the rhythm, the volume and the purpose of civic coinage in the region, while cautioning against the underlining methodological limitations. LESCHHORN (115) studied the representations of Egyptian gods on civic coins and concluded that they were much more frequent in the western and more Hellenized region of Bithynia.

ÇIZMELI (113) published a systematic corpus of the coinage of Neocaesarea and the Koinon of Pontus. She offered an interesting discussion on topics such as the organisation of coin production, the occasions of issue and the circulation of third century coins in Mesopotamia, in a synthesis that advances both our knowledge of the coinage of the region, and numismatic methodology. WOJAN (116) published a die study on the coinage of Kerasous that provides a systematic treatment of the historical geography and the coinage of this city, and a similar article on Trapezous (117).

## Asia

SPOERRI-BUTCHER's publication of *RPC* VII 1 (126) is undoubtedly one of the most important contributions of the past six years. It covers the coinage of the province of Asia for the period 238-244AD. Deriving originally from a doctoral thesis the volume includes material from more than the ten 'core collections' and -unlike other *RPC* volumes- provides a die study. The catalogue, however, is not easy to use: it contains 809 varieties minted from seventy three cities. The author was able to show that the supposed peak of monetary production during the reign of Gordian is in fact a misinterpretation. Of special interest is the chapter on metrology as two different denominational systems, "occidental" and "oriental", are shown to have been used in Asia. The contribution of coinage to our understanding of historical events was also meticulously analyzed. The same author has emphasized the importance of the huge die study undertaken in the *RPC* volume in an article as well (127) where she discussed the organization of monetary production in Asia. SPOERRI-BUTCHER was able to confirm Kraft's theory on the existence of multiple "workshops" and she developed his conclusions concerning their function and their influence on civic coinages. Her observations on the dissemination of the imperial portrait are original and interesting.

An outline of numismatic iconography for the Province of Asia was drawn by HEUCHERT (122). Influence from Rome and references to Roman politics were shown to be rather meagre, while communities in Asia tended to build their identity on local traditions. An evolution from fewer and simpler images to more varied and complicated iconographical types can be traced between the first and the third centuries, in most parts of the Empire. Two studies on Pergamum, an important mint with an exceptionally rich iconography, were published by WEISSER. The author (130) focused on issues referring to the relationship between the city and the emperor and to the role of influential individuals on coinage. He showed how the Asclepius iconography was related to Caracalla and interpreted civic issues in the name of Aulus Iulius Quadratus, a distinguished citizen of the city and proconsul of Asia, as an 'advertisement' of his achievements. In another paper WEISSER (129) discussed the meaning of the capricorn on coins of Pergamum and Ephesus and its connection to the cult of Augustus. NOLLÉ (125) corrected the reading of a legend on a second century coin of Ephesus referring to *Victoria Romanorum*, presented the evidence for the existence of such a cult in the city and proposed that the so-called 'PARTHIAN' monument should actually be understood as an altar in the honor of the goddess of victory. AMANDRY (118) commented on the Trajanic issues in the name of the monetary Theodoros and on the interesting and very rare use of the verb *εχάραξεν* which, according to the authors' convincing interpretation has the meaning: "was responsible for the issue". The coinage of Hydisos in Caria was studied by DELRIEUX (120). The Hellenistic coinage was followed by sporadic issues during the imperial period. Interesting inscriptions mentioning officials were found on these coins and commented on by the author.

Finds from the sanctuary at Didyma were published by BALDUS (119) who however listed pseudo-autonomous issues under the Hellenistic section. They show a high preponderance of issues of Miletus interpreted as an obligation to exchange foreign coins in the city; in his review WEISSER proposed a different interpretation. Other excavation reports from Cyzicus: KOEKER (123) and Clazomenae: MOUSTAKA - TSELEKAS (124).

In an article that aimed at examining the function of the Ionian Koinon in the imperial period, HERMANN (121) used numismatic and epigraphic evidence in order to draw conclusions concerning festivals, officials and other institutions. WEISS (128) opened an old debate and proposed that the function of Asiarches included that of Archiereus Asias. An interesting coin of Stektorion in Phrygia, contributed to his argumentation.

## Lycia-Pamphylia

TOLGA TEK (131) interpreted the high presence of coins of Gordian III from Rome and the simultaneous reemergence of local issues in Lycia, as a result of the needs that had to be met after an earthquake.

## Cappadocia - Galatia - Armenia

ABRAMZON (132) published a fraction of the Gerzeul hoard containing silver coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia and commented on monetary circulation in Cappadocia. For coins of Caesarea found in Moesia see: (DIMA AND TALMACHI: 93). ARSLAN (133) published a catalogue on the coinage of the kingdom and Koinon of Galatia, and the Roman mint at Ancyra.

AMANDRY (134) discussed dated issues of Artaxias and furthermore assigned an issue formerly attributed to Aigos Potamoi to the Armenian mint. The first known issues for Tiridates I and his wife Cleopatra –a personality unknown apart from these issues- were published by KOVACS (135); the important new material is well placed within its historical context. VARDANYAN (136) attributed a rare bronze issue to Sohem, a king that ruled in Armenia under Lucius Verus.



### Cilicia

In a meticulous article combining numismatic, epigraphic and literary evidence ZIEGLER (142) discussed the spread of the cult of Elagabalus, its assimilation with earlier local cults by eastern communities and its perception at Rome. At the core of his discussion was a unique coin from Anazarbos. The same author (141) proposed the possible identification of a victorious monument in Anazarbos mentioned on coins. In another article ZIEGLER (139) studied the military iconography of coins of Tarsus struck under Pupienus, and asserted that the passage in the *Historia Augustae* referring to a military campaign of the emperor against the Parthians was authentic and reflected a campaign that was planned but never realized. ZIEGLER (140) also discussed the coinage of Tarsus under a completely different aspect: through religious iconography of Hellenistic and Roman issues he attempted a study on cultural identity.

The recent discovery of a hoard of silver coins of Aegae under Hadrian provided the opportunity for the first treatment of this coinage by LORBER and MICHAELS (138). The exceptional silver issues, conveniently dated by the Caesarian era, were shown to be the result of the special privileges given to the city by the emperor. BUTCHER (137) demonstrated that the much discussed die link between Carallia in Cilicia and cities of Lydia, does not exist since the Cilician coin has been tooled.

### Cyprus

PARKS (144) published her Ph D dissertation on the Roman coinage of Cyprus. Though her study addresses important topics, such as the issuing authority of provincial issues, or the circulation of “foreign” coins in a somewhat superficial manner, it still provides an important contribution to our knowledge of the interesting coinage of Cyprus. Numismatic finds from the French excavations of Salamis were published by CALLOT (143). A number of provincial issues of Cyprus and the surrounding regions were found in a site that provided mainly Byzantine material. Provincial and imperial issues were treated together in the commentary, an approach that leads to some confusion.

### Syria and Syria-Palestina

The study of Syrian coinage has substantially advanced through the publication of the acts of a congress held in Damascus (3) and the monograph of BUTCHER (152). In the former volume BURNETT (150) discussed the reaction of Syria to the impact of the Roman world and outlined how it differed from other parts of the Empire. He clearly delineated the regional differences within the province by examining designs and physical appearance of coinage, denominations, language and script. AMANDRY (145) underlined the exceptionally large issues of *denarii* and *aurei* struck during the first years of the reign of Vespasian in the east and related this exceptional output to the war in Judea. In a separate publication HOOVER (158) has come to a similar conclusion for the dated bronze issues of Gaza. BUTCHER (151) examined the circulation of civic issues of cities in northern Syria and concluded that – unlike the Antiochian SC issues- they had the right to circulate only within the city that issued them. This pattern seems to have diminished under the Severans. AUGÉ (168) reached a different conclusion concerning Decapolis and Arabia. KRZYŻANOWSKA (159) discussed the chronology of the bronze coinage of Palmyra and its role in the monetary circulation of the region. METCALF (163) provided a quantitative analysis of Antiochian and Roman silver from Dura. In the same volume finally SAWAYA (166) attributed a bronze issue of Octavian to Berytus and related it to a first installation of veterans in ca. 29-27 BC. The parallel striking of coins with Greek legends was seen as a proof of the coexistence of the two autonomous communities. This hypothesis was questioned by SARTRE in his conclusions (164).

BUTCHER (152) studied the various coinages of northern Syria after its annexation to Rome. Silver and bronze issues of Antioch, civic issues, league coinage, the regal coinage of Commagene as well as imperial issues that were struck for circulation in Syria, are all included. The author proposed the title provincial-imperial for the regional coinage of Antioch, but his main contribution lies in the combined treatment of the various coinages of the region and in their examination within the broader context of other eastern areas. He provided an interesting model for the supply and use of coinage in the Roman East, insisted on local control over currency, questioned the direct links between coinage output and military campaigns and suggested a model for the collection of taxes. By using Syrian coinage as paradigm the same author (153) addressed general questions such as the authority and the audience for civic issues, the interpretation of symbols or hidden meanings behind generic types. MCALEE (162) published a comprehensive and well organized catalogue of the various coinages minted in Antioch, based to a large extent on his personal collection. He presents a synthesis of the scholarship on the subject, discusses various aspects of these coinages, in particular the bronze denominations.

BUTCHER (154) published coin finds of a wide chronological range from Berytus in a book that deals with questions relating to the interpretation of coin finds and coin circulation. In his die study of the coinage of Botrys SAWAYA (165) also discusses city eras, the monetary system and the typology. LEVY (161) reopened the discussion on the Tyrian tetradrachms, maintaining her earlier view that there was no mint transfer to Jerusalem; she dated the 'crude' issues to the years between 20/1 and 34/5 AD and commented on control marks. WEISSER and COTTON (167) arrived at the same conclusion; they also examined references to 'Tyrian silver' or 'Tyrian drachms' on papyri and inferred that these terms survived after the coins had ceased to be minted. The bronze coins of Tyre with Pygmalion were discussed by GITLER and BJOVSKI (156) who established a chronological sequence of the varieties of this type. BJOVSKI (148) proposed a reconstruction of the sacred precinct of Melquart in Tyre based on numismatic and literary evidence. In addition she published (149) a new coin of Damascus representing the metamorphosis of Daphne, whose cult is only attested in Antioch. The coinage of Nysa-Scythopolis was treated in a monograph by BARKAY (147) and FACELLA (155) provided a brief introduction to the economy of Commagene showing that monetary production increased considerably after the annexation to the Roman Empire. KUSHNIR-STEIN (160) discussed eras on Palestinian coins and concluded that they usually marked an important change in the status of the city. The concentration of dated coins in the areas west of the Euphrates was shown to continue the Hellenistic tradition. GITLER and KUSHNIR-STEIN (160) published a new date on the coinage of Marisa in Idumaea, discussed its historical implications and suggested that the restoration of the Palestinian cities by the Romans took longer than previously thought. For a collection of civic issues of southern Palestine see: YASHIN (50).

The general characteristics of the coinages of Syria and Arabia were described by AUGÉ (146), who emphasized continuity with Hellenistic monetary tradition.

#### Arabia

LICHTENBERGER (171) published a monograph on the cults and cultural identities of the cities of the Decapolis that combined numismatic, epigraphic and archaeological evidence. This study not only provides a large amount of material, but also an important synthesis for the region. AUGÉ (168) discussed monetary production in the Decapolis and in Arabia, and postulates the existence of a regional pattern according to which issues of one city were complemented by those of another. DONCEEL (170) published a preliminary study on the coinage of Canatha and discussed iconography, metrology and provenance of the coins. DAHMEN and LICHTENBERGER corrected their earlier attribution of a coin with the inscription ΠΕΛΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ, acquired in Dubai, to Pella in the Decapolis (169), to Pellene in the Peloponnese (52). (see above under ACHAIA).

#### Egypt

A symposium held in Alexandria in 2002 (7) took a new look at the question of how isolated the monetary production of Egypt actually was in the Hellenistic and Roman world. AMANDRY (172) summarized the papers on the Roman period and concluded that new research indicates that Egyptian coinage was more integrated into the economy of the Empire than previously believed. In addressing this question BURNETT (177) examined the ways in which Alexandrian coinage was exceptional and 'different' from other provincial issues and showed that it was in fact more 'Romanized' than is usually supposed. From a similar perspective ANDREAU (174) questioned the 'closed' currency system of Egypt, accepted the circulation of *aurei* in the province and suggested that the relative isolation of Egypt was the result of the political and social situation of the country established during the Ptolemaic period. LICHOCKA (189) published a preliminary report on the numismatic finds from the Polish excavations in Alexandria: it shows that the vast majority of Roman coins came from the mint of Alexandria and that Ptolemaic coins remained in circulation until the early Empire. AMANDRY (172) commented on the Alexandrian coinage found in the western part of the Roman Empire and added new evidence to that collected by CALLU. A detailed survey of research on Alexandrian coinage was provided by BACKHOUM (175).

Metal analysis of silver tetradrachms of Alexandria and Tyre by BUTCHER and PONTING (178) showed that provincial silver in the Julio-Claudian period was not overvalued in relation to the *denarius*. The authors also tentatively proposed that the debasement of the *denarius* under Nero could have been due to eastern influence. SAVIO (190) produced a comprehensive study of the tetradrachms of Alexandria whereas GÖLITZER (187) published a book on the Alexandrian coinage of the Julio-Claudian period. He presented new metal analyses of the late Ptolemaic and early imperial silver, discussed the relationship of the Roman silver and bronze coinage to that of Alexandria, and commented on coin types as propaganda. LEGUTKO (188) studied ten series of Alexandrian coins dated to AD 260-263, attributed them to two separate mints and connected them to the events of the civil war. STAFFIERI (191) examined the transmission of the autonomous coinage of the usurper Domitianus on the tetrarchic coinage at the mint of Alexandria.

In a series of articles to be continued GEISSEN and WEBER (186) have undertaken a detailed study of the coinage of the forty two nomes; numismatic evidence is examined in conjunction with other archaeological and literary evidence, especially papyri, in a study that results in a thorough insight of the cults of the nomes and their identity. GEISSEN also produced a number of other articles on this subject. He supports the view (185) that nome issues were produced at Alexandria, that they do not depict the main titular deity of each nome but that they reflect an integration of Greek and Egyptian religious conceptions and practises. Elsewhere (183) he elaborated his arguments concerning the issuing authority and maintained that the *Archiereus Alexandreias kai Aigyptou* was responsible for the production and the iconographic program of the coins. In (184) he concentrated on the nome coinage under the Antonines. BRICAULT is preparing a corpus of the nome issues and provided a preliminary catalogue of the relevant coins in the Brussels collection (176).

CHRISTIANSEN published two books on monetary circulation in Egypt, one on hoards (180) and the other on stray finds (181). A preliminary report on his conclusions on hoards in Roman Egypt was published earlier (179). Elsewhere (182) he attempted to estimate the volume of production of the mint of Alexandria under Hadrian.

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## IMITATIONS OF ROMAN COINS

Markus Peter

Imitations of Roman coins are an extremely heterogeneous group in geographical, chronological and functional respect. Their chronological range and geographical distribution exceed the limits of the Roman empire by far and cover areas from the Arabian peninsula (45) to China (39), from Scandinavia (32-35, 40, 69) to India (8, 70), and from the Republic to – in a remote sense – early medieval Germanic gold bracteates (47). The numerous implications of imitations not only to numismatics but also to archaeology and history have instigated a growth in scientific research in recent years, which can only be treated in a very superficial manner within this short contribution.

PETER (48) presents an overview of imitations produced within the Roman empire. MALKMUS (42) revised his important catalogue of all known ancient coin dies, many of which are ancient forgers' tools. Imitations of republican denarii in Dacia, but also the Eraviscan coins have been treated in several recent publications which have added new insights on these particular groups (17-20, 36, 41, 70-71; see also M. NICK's and B. WOYTEK's contributions in this volume). AMELA VALVERDE (2) and WOYTEK (77) discuss imitations of denarii of C. Iulius Caesar, and STANNARD (67-68) presents surprising new results concerning late republican small change circulation in central Italy where imitations of prototypes from Spain, Ebusus and Massalia played an important role. Early imperial denarii were particularly popular prototypes for imitations in various regions, as is exemplified by MUNRO-HAY's important monograph on the coinage of southern Arabia (45), but also by DUNDUA (24) in his account of the coinage in Georgia (see also KROPOTKIN, 38, and SHEROZIA, 66). Focussing on the Roman West, BESOMBES (9) puts forward a highly detailed interpretation of Claudian *asses*, imitations of which he considers to be purely private forgeries, possibly too strict an interpretation (10). WIGG-WOLF (76) examines the functions of copies of *aes* coins, too, and convincingly puts the emphasis on economic factors.

BOZZINI *et al.* (13) discuss the technology of plated coins; DEBATTY (21) publishes a die-linked group of plated Neronian denarii. Two important studies deal with cast coins: AUBIN (6) gives a thorough overview and discussion of 3rd century denarii and radiates cast in the Western provinces, and PFISTERER (51-52) provides an excellent analysis of the so-called limesfalsa, cast imitations of *aes*-coins, as well as of iron-core copies (see also 53-54). Cast imitations are also discussed by R.-ALFÖLDI (1) and ARSLAN (3), while several finds of 3rd century clay moulds have been published recently (31, 43, 50). GITLER AND PONTING (28) analyze again a group of cast silver denarii from the Levant, while the important workshops from Châteaubleau, where different groups of 3rd century imitations were produced, are studied by PILON (55-61). VIDA (74) comments on imperial imitations in Pannonia, GĂZDAC AND ALFÖLDY-GĂZDAC (27) on Dacia. GRICOURT *et al.* (29) explore lead coins. Radiate copies of the late 3rd century have been treated by several authors in numerous hoard publications (7, 12, 23, 26, 37; see also Sylviane ESTIOT's contribution in this volume).

Minimi, imitations and cast copies as part of the late Roman small change circulation are discussed by ASOLATI (4-5), BIJOVSKY (11), BURRELL (14), BUSSI (15), NOESKE (46), and PILON (62). GUEST in his monograph of the Hoxne treasure (30) also discusses groups of imitated siliquae. Several finds of plated solidi have been noted (16, 73). Finally, LIN AND METLICH (39) publish an imitative solidus of Leo I, found in Luoyang (Henan, China).

Generally there has been considerable interest in all sorts of imitations of Roman coins in the last few years. The common trait of recent research is the will to interpret this material with respect to its original function, as contemporary forgeries, part of large scale economic measures, or as objects with non-monetary use.

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## ART AND ICONOGRAPHY

*Karsten Dahmen*

Dieses Thema, welches über die Grenzen der traditionellen gattungschronologischen Ordnung des Literaturüberblicks ausgreift, bedingt im Folgenden eine gezwungenermaßen subjektive Auswahl aus der im Berichtszeitraum erschienenen Literatur. Im Allgemeinen ist versucht worden, jene Arbeiten zu erfassen, die sich mit der Deutung und Diskussion entweder von Porträtdarstellungen (Herrscher- und Privatbildnissen) oder aber ikonographischen Aspekten eines Münzbildes beschäftigen. Auf die Nennung von Literatur, die lediglich Münzenbilder ohne weitere Diskussion vorstellt, sowie Stempelcorpora und Typenkataloge, welche besser den jeweiligen Fachüberblicken zuzuordnen sind, wurde verzichtet. Im Sinne einer interdisziplinären Perspektive sind insbesondere auch historische und archäologische Publikationen angeführt, die nach Meinung des Bearbeiters für eine weiterführende Diskussion des jeweiligen Münzbildes (hier auch insbesondere Arbeiten zum antiken Herrscherbild) dienlich sind oder aber in größeren Stil Gebrauch von numismatischen Zeugnissen machen. Nicht alle gelisteten Titel sind kommentiert.

Die Darstellung von antiken Herrschern und ihrer Attribute war Gegenstand eines von R. PERA (163) herausgegebenen Kongreßbandes sowie weiterer, insbesondere italienischer Arbeiten (17, 31, 59, 72, 91, 128, 143, 159, 161, 162, 174-176). Hinzu kommt ein vergleichbarer Sammelband von HEKSTER (19) zum Nahen Osten.

Mit den Portraits Alexander des Großen beschäftigten sich zahlreiche Autoren. Sehr lesenswert ist HOLT (106) zu den sog. Poros-Prägungen, dessen Deutung dieser Gepräge als Siegesprägungen Alexanders allerdings nicht überzeugen kann. ARNOLD-BIUCCHI (2) und DAHMEN (10) behandeln monographisch die Entwicklung seiner Bildnisse, in Aufsatzform andere (3, 6, 9, 29), wobei größtenteils Einhelligkeit über die Ablehnung (vgl. insbes. 5) des von BOPEARACHCHI und FLANDRIN (4) vorgestellten ‚Alexanderstaters‘ besteht. Zum Nachleben siehe ZIEGLER (57), LIAMPI (121) und TOURATSOGLOU (50). Zu den hellenistischen Dynastien bieten FLEISCHER (13), KROLL (29) und GORINI (17) übergreifende Einzelarbeiten, FRÖHLICH (14) eine zum reitenden Herrscher bei den Indo-Baktern, NADIG (36) dagegen eine vor allem historische Aufarbeitung Ptolemaios VIII., PARENTE (159) zu Arsinoe II., zur Zeit Kleopatras VII. umfassend WALKER und ASHTON (54). Bei den Seleukiden spricht sich HOOVER (21) gegen die Identifizierung als Alexander auf den ‚Nike bekränzt Tropaion-Prägungen‘ aus (vgl. auch MIELCZAREK (34)), während IOSSIF (25) eine auch zur Datierung dieses Münztyps wichtige Beobachtung hinsichtlich der Dekoration des Schildes mit einem makedonischen Stern auf der Rs. beiträgt. Die Bartracht Demetrios' II. wird von MITTAG (35) überzeugend als Zeusangleichung, nicht Übernahme parthischer Sitten gedeutet. Zum attalidischen Herrscherbild liegt mit QUEYREL (46) jetzt ein Corpus vor, dessen überschwengliche Identifikationsvorschläge durch den weitaus nüchternen Ansatz bei GANZ (16) angenehm kontrastiert werden.

Eine Fallstudie zu römischen Klientelherrschern bietet SALZMANN (47) für Kappadokien; einen Neufund zu Tiridates I. von Armenien KOVACS (28). Bildnisse römischer Kaiserinnen sind mit archäologischem Schwerpunkt übergreifend behandelt bei ALEXANDRIDIS (1) für die Kaiserzeit und SCHADE (48) für die Spätantike. Die Darstellungen von römischen Statthaltern werden von ERKELENZ (11-12) eingehend monographisch sowie speziell in numismatischer Sicht behandelt. Das Phänomen der Bildnisvernichtung ist umfassend thematisiert bei VARNER (53), wobei Ansprachen einiger Bildnisse umstritten bleiben, für Nero auch PASCKE (40). Sehr hilfreich ist die vor allem auf literarische, aber auch archäologische, wenngleich weniger numismatische Quellen gestützte Arbeit zur Darstellung der (meist) germanischen Könige der Spätantike und Völkerwanderungszeit durch VON RUMMEL (170). Bemerkenswert ist das von ZACCARIA und GIUMLIA-MAIR (56) vorgestellte Medallion mit Bildnis des Lucanus und Seneca-Zitat, welches naturwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen zufolge authentisch ist.

Abgesehen von dem oben erwähnten Kongressband R. PERA (163) liegen nur wenige übergreifende Arbeiten vor. Die Übernahmen von Bildentwürfen in Griechenland und Makedonien im 4. Jh. v. Chr. untersucht RITTER (167), Sol und Helios MATERN (139), CRIBB (8) den vorderasiatischen Raum, HÖLSCHER (102) stellt eine Übertragung ins Englische einer älteren deutschen Arbeit dar. Die Personifikation Antiochias unter Einschluß numismatischer Quellen behandelt MEYER (142). Das Repertoire der Rückseitendarstellungen der römischen Reichsprägungen ist hilfreich in Katalogform durch SCHMIDT-DICK (178) erfaßt, die Entwicklung der Provinzialprägung skizziert HEUCHERT (100). An der zu sehr auf eine festlandgriechische Perspektive beschränkten Ausdeutung leidet die Aussagekraft der Ergebnisse bei PAPAGEORGIOUDOU-BANI (158). Grundlegend für die Region Dekapolis ist nun LICHTENBERGER (124) in seiner Kombination der verschiedenen literarischen und archäologischen Quellengruppen und Interpretation der Münzbilder. Nutzen und Aussagekraft numismatischer Zeugnisse zur

Rekonstruktion von Statuen und Statuengruppen (Dirke und Aufforderung zum Tanz) sind anschaulich mittels zweier Beiträge VON MOSCHS (145-146) dargelegt. Die Athena-Marsyas-Gruppe behandelt JUNKER (111), Darstellungen des pergamenischen Asklepios KRANZ (116). Hingegen bezweifelt DUNCAN-JONES (87) schlichtweg die tiefere Bedeutung von Münzbildern für die Selbstdarstellung des Kaisers am Beispiel der Reichsprägung Trajans. Ein anhand der Anzahl erschienener Publikationen besonderes Interesse ist für folgende Bereiche erkennbar: Die Städteprägung in der Levante behandeln in Einzelbereichen BJOVSKY (63-65), BODZEK (66), BRICAULT (69), GARIBOLDI (93-94), GITLER und BJOVSKY (95), LICHOKA (122), LICHTENBERGER (123), NOESKE (149). Die Münzprägung flavischer Zeit unter Einschluß des 1. Jüdischen Aufstandes beleuchten aus unterschiedlicher Perspektive CAPPELLETTI (73), CIECIELAG (77), CODY (78), HENDIN (99), PÉREZ (164), TUCK (52) sowie in Form einer Materialsammlung DEPEYROT (85). Als Einzeluntersuchungen sind zudem hervorzuheben: Zum Bild des von einem Adler getragenen (lebenden) Kaisers LICHTENBERGER (126); zum Olivenzeig als einem Attribut im Wandel PERA (161); zum Programm der Ludi Saeculares-Münzen Domitians anschaulich GRUNOW SOBOCINSKI (97).

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## CELTIC COINAGE

*Ian Leins, Michael Nick and Sylvia Nieto-Pelletier*

### Introduction

Between 2002 and 2007 research in Celtic numismatics has increased dramatically. While the present survey is fairly comprehensive, it cannot claim to be complete. Limitations of space have meant that discussion has been curtailed and some publications have had to be omitted altogether. As such, the survey provides only an overview, and one which naturally focuses on subjects that coincide with the research interests of its authors. The main body of the discussion and bibliography are divided into regional chapters and it is therefore possible that some publications that relate to several areas are quoted only once.

### Methods, supra-regional studies and catalogues

SILLS (9) has published a weighty volume exploring staters of Philip II found in Gaul, their earliest Gaulish imitations and Gallo-Belgic, Parisian and related coinages. His work offers a typological analysis, list of findspots and distribution map for every type, as well as many photos and drawings. While it is fast becoming the standard reference for these coins, his chronological and functional interpretations, which are constructed mainly on the basis of the ancient written sources, should be questioned critically. According to Sills the primary function of gold coins was to make military payments.

Concerning the early gold coins of southern Germany NICK (6) provides an alternative interpretation, drawing on archaeological evidence to suggest that their function lay within the field of gift-exchange. Apart from the chronological and geographical analysis of certain coin types, the author offers a long list of finds from Germany, Switzerland, France and other countries. Another important aspect of Nick's book is the analysis of different regions to show the quality and intensity of coin circulation.

The title of PY's opus (7) implies that it refers mainly to coin finds from southern France. This is the case for volume 1, but volume 2 includes a detailed study of coin types from eastern and central Gaul, which provides new data affecting other regions.

HASELGROVE's (5) analysis of coin circulation builds on his chronological study of Belgic coin types (Survey 1996-2001, p. 230, no. 79). His approach not only takes account of chronology and distribution, but also of archaeological context, which is essential for understanding the different functions of these coins. An article by GRUEL AND HASELGROVE (3) outlines the current state of research and the change of paradigms in the last 20 years or so. It strongly emphasises the importance of archaeological context for further interpretations.

GRUEL (in 13) stresses the multiplicity of minting authorities and their changing connection to the territories. In another article (in 11) she categorises coin deposits into three classes, concluding that the primary reason for deposition seems to have been ritual, whilst also recognising that interpretations should not be limited to this. The study of GRUEL AND POPOVITCH (4) concerns only one site. But Bibracte is unique and serves as a supra-regional reference. Just as with the publication of the coins from Alesia (Survey 1996-2001, p. 231, no. 101), this work represents an important step, providing a long-overdue report on the coins (including new finds) from one of the most important sites in Gaul.

For over 100 years the Atlas by DE LA TOUR has served numismatics well and will continue to do so in future. But DELESTRÉE AND TACHE (1) have undertaken the project to re-edit this common reference book taking into account the huge number of new types. Three volumes have already been published. It is not merely a book of tables like the old Atlas, but includes comments on typology, chronology, chorology and so on.

The phenomenal publication output of DEPEYROT (2) includes a number of volumes in the *Moneta* series, tackling different regional coinages of Gaul. Each contains a typological catalogue and references to published examples from the collections of major museums, sales and auctions and finds with recorded provenances. Where these volumes overlap with DELESTRÉE AND TACHE (1), the latter provides the more useful reference. Iron Age coins in the Barbier-Mueller Museum have been published by SCHEERS (8).

## Conference proceedings

Two volumes of the series *Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike* were dedicated to iron-age coinage. Volume 19 comprises 14 papers presented at a colloquium at the Titelberg (Luxemburg) in 1998 with the topic Romanization and Celtic coinage (19). It concerns different aspects of the influence of the Romans on iron-age coinage; regional, stylistic and military aspects are considered, as is the question of the latest Celtic coins to circulate in different areas. Volume 20 presents 17 papers from a colloquium held in Durham in 2000 on coins and ritual practices (17). The authors try to trace the role of coins in ritual in Western Europe and Britain, mainly by means of archaeological contexts. Others analyse the meaning of coin images and also their destruction.

Another conference proceeding was dedicated to monetisation and the economic function of coins in the north-western Roman provinces (20). Of the 16 papers at least nine deal with Celtic coin use in different European areas and the impact of the later Roman monetary system. The volume *Celtic coinage: New discoveries, new discussion* (12) represents the proceedings of a conference held in 2001.

A volume based on a conference at Durham in 2002 (16) provides a fundamental re-assessment of approaches to later Iron Age in Britain and the near continent and includes several articles discussing coins. The proceedings of the 13th international numismatic congress held in Madrid (10) include six articles about Celtic coinage in western and central Europe as well as a large section on Iberia (10 articles). Among the papers offered during three meetings of the *AFEAF* there are several articles concerning Celtic coinage (11, 13, 18), whilst two volumes of the *RGA Ergänzungsbände* contain important studies on Celtic coins (14, 15).

## Ancient technology, metal-analysing and resources

AINSWORTH and MAY (21) record the discovery of an important new coin die from Hampshire, England. WILLIAMS *et al.* (in 47) provide a more detailed numismatic and scientific analysis of this object, which was used in the production of Gallo-Belgic B staters. The die, which has been acquired by the British Museum, was found several miles from the site where a forger's die was discovered in 1993. The latter is the subject of a paper by MAY (in 12). However, his claim that it is in fact a coin-weight, and not a die, has found little or no support. DELESTRÉE AND PILON (24) discuss an unused obverse die of the Janiform head series of gold quarter staters attributed to the Mediomatrici found near Beaune, France. DENNIS (26) analyses the die axis of coins in a hoard from Silsden in England and suggests that the later coin types reveal greater consistency of die alignment, perhaps indicative of the use of hinged dies. DE JERSEY (23) records two coins that reveal the use of hubbed dies and DEMBSKI (25) analyses two dies from Austria with unknown provenance, while another die from Ocnița provides the context for IAROSLAVSCHI'S (29) general discussion of Dacian dies. ZIEGAUS (34) reports on an exceptional deposit from the Nördlinger Ries in Bavaria (Germany) which contained several dies and other minting tools (see also 178). WOYTEK (177) discusses the use of multiple dies. HOLLARD and BLET-LEMARQUAND (28) and PILON (32) employ neutron activation to test dies for quinarii of the Kaletedou type and gold coins of east-central Gaul respectively. EMANUELE and MARCER (27) report on technical aspects of the Norican coinage.

JUNK and PERNICKA (30) employ an analysis of osmium isotope ratios in an attempt to determine the likely sources of gold used in the Iron Age coinages of southern Germany and western Anatolia. The analysis calls into question accepted theories on the sources of the gold used in European Iron Age coinage. NICK AND DIAZ TABERNERO (31) report on their experience with the method of neutron radiography which was applied to corroded lumps of coins to determine the coin types. BURKHARDT *et al.* (22) provide us with new XFA-analysis of coin finds from the upper Rhine valley. BARRANDON and NIETO-PELLETIER present several articles on coins analysed by neutron and proton activation (in 10, 117, 161, 162) as far as lead-isotope measurement (in 10, 163; see also chap. *Gaule*).

WALDHAUSER (33) suggests that silver mined in the deposits of Kutná Hora, as well as the recycling of Roman Republican denarii, provided the raw material used in the Celtic coinage of Bohemia.

## Britain

British Iron Age coins continue to be recorded in huge numbers by the Celtic Coin Index, the British Museum and the Portable Antiquities Scheme, with all eventually published online at [www.finds.org.uk/CCI](http://www.finds.org.uk/CCI). Some single finds appear in the 'Coin Register' of the *BNJ* (vols. 72, 74, 75, 76 and 77) and hoards are published in the

'Coin hoards' section of the *NC* (vols. 162, 165, 166 and 167). Also see the *Treasure Annual Report* and *Portable Antiquities Scheme Annual Report*. A summary of research up to 2001 has been produced by WILLIAMS (63).

Coins excavated at the open settlement of Chatteris are discussed by CHADBURN (35), while GUEST and WELLS (48) have catalogued all known Iron Age and Roman coins found in Wales. The highly significant ritual site in East Leicestershire is discussed by COTTAM (36) and LEINS (52), with the latter providing a detailed analysis of the fifteen or so coin deposits, their relationship with the archaeology and impact on the chronology of North Eastern coinage. DE JERSEY and WICKENDEN (44) report a rare hoard of Cunobelin's 'biga' staters, while DENNIS and FAULKNER (46) offer a commentary on a hoard of 39 staters, most of which were excavated still packed into a cow bone. DE JERSEY (43) sheds new light on the nineteenth century Lightcliffe hoard and EDWARDS and DENNIS (in 12) discuss a new find from Silsden. HOLMAN (49) considers the coins from nine major sites in east Kent.

Belgic/Gaulish imports are the subject of a paper by DE JERSEY (in 12). Excluding Gallo-Belgic coins, over 300 have been recorded in Britain (see 41 for one example). DELESTRÉE, GENDRE and BOISARD (45) tackle the reciprocal movement, providing a list of sites in northern France producing British coins. GRUEL AND HASELGROVE (in 47) discuss a find of British potin from central France.

DE JERSEY comments on individual inscribed coinages (39) and offers region-by-region surveys of these issues (42). O'BEE (53) and KRETZ (in 12, 51) have written articles on the North Eastern and Eastern series respectively. RUDD discusses various inscribed issues (55). SILLS examines early Philippus imitations found in Britain (56), concluding that they are likely to be the result of migrations, although any interpretations must be highly questionable given that there are just six recorded findspots. Other short articles by SILLS look at the AGR and ESVPRASTO coinages and Western inscribed series (57). WILLIAMS (65) has identified a reduction in the average weight of Cunobelin's staters from 5.48g ('biga' types) to 5.37 ('corn-ears'), or exactly one fiftieth, which suggests an *al marco* system. A reassessment of British potin by HASELGROVE (in 12) re-dates the inception of the 'Kentish Primary' series to the early second century BC.

TALBOT has published new Icenian staters (58) and a study of the 'early face/horse' coinage (in 12). RUDD (in 12) has identified discreet groups within the ('Atrebat') coinages of south-central Britain, ascribing them to the Belgae and Regini (see also VAN ARSDELL, in 12). DE JERSEY (in 17) explores the phenomenon of cut-marks (primarily on Durotrigan staters), which he explains as evidence of ritual 'killings'. A second paper on Durotrigan coinage (in 47) attempts to explain the absence of imported and local gold coins from this series.

In a significant paper on late Iron Age societies, HILL (in 16) suggests that early Gallo-Belgic coins were not introduced to facilitate exchange, but instead served in the negotiation of new types of social and political relationship. Two papers by CURTEIS (in 12, in 17) attempt to show that the vast majority of excavated coins in the South Midlands were deposited in structures of a known religious function. HASELGROVE (in 17) identifies similarities in the patterns of coin deposition. A short article by DE JERSEY (40) raises the intriguing possibility that small silver minim coinages were struck specifically for use at temple sites (see also WELLINGTON, 61). WELLINGTON (in 12) identifies a ritual function for silver and potin in southern Britain and north-western France, while HOLMAN (in 17) summarizes the possible evidence of ritual deposition from sites in Kent. HUTCHESON (in 16, 50) studies metalwork deposition patterns in East Anglia.

BELMON, J., *La monnaie* DVAN ARSDELL explores the symbolic meaning of coin designs (59), as does CREIGHTON (in 17). Elsewhere CREIGHTON (37) discusses the adoption of Augustan imagery on coins. WILLIAMS AND CREIGHTON (in 12) further develop the idea of trance imagery, suggested by CREIGHTON (2000), interpreting virtually all aspects of non-Classical coin designs as evidence of shamanistic practice. The use of imagery related to wine and the deliberate manipulation and translation of such Classical images is the subject of a paper by WILLIAMS (in 17), while WALKER's (60) discussion of a silver unit of Verica depicting a lion (VA 505) ignores the potentially interesting comparison with the Capricorn coinage of Augustus. HUNTER (in 17) explores martial imagery on coins.

WILLIAMS (62) discusses the evidence for literacy in pre-Roman Britain. Elsewhere he looks more generally at the role of coins in the study of identity in late pre-Roman Britain (64).

CREIGHTON (38) has continued the story begun in *Coins and Power* (2000), charting the transition from the rule of kings to the establishment of Roman rule in southern Britain. HASELGROVE has studied the impact of the conquest on coin production and circulation (in 12).



PUDILL AND EYRE (54) provide a curious overview of British Iron Age coinage. Their discussions of ‘ring-money’ and ‘currency-bars’ ignore the fact that neither are conventionally regarded as money, while the suggestion that prototypes for staters of Cunobelin and Verica can be found on the fifth century coins of Metapontum and sixth century issues of Selinus are completely implausible.

### **Northern France, Belgium and the Netherlands**

Research into the coinages of these regions continues at pace. New assemblages include those reported by ABOLLIVIER *et al.* from Ushant (66) and DELESTRÉE, BOISARD AND BOULENGER from Folleville and Chaussée-Tirancourt (75). A hoard from the Sarthe region is recorded by AUBIN, BARRANDON AND LAMBERT (in 18). LAMBOT (101) discusses the coins from Acy-Romance and Ribemont-sur-Ancre, with the latter site also considered by DELESTRÉE AND BRUNAU (in 20, 76). PILON AND BEURION (104) examine an assemblage from Val-de-Reuil. DELMAIRE, GRICOURT AND LECLERCQ (81) and DOYEN (82) summarize recent site finds and hoards from Belgic Gaul, while MÉRIEL (103) looks at coins from the oppida of north-eastern Gaul.

VAN DER VIN (112) has published the coins from the Kops Plateau in Nijmegen and ROYMANS AND HIDDINK (107) a find of “rainbow cups” from the Netherlands. KEMMERS (100) discusses the coins from Nijmegen-Hunerberg, while a hoard of Eburonian coins from Heers is the subject of a paper by SCHEERS AND CREEMERS (108). VAN HEESCH (113) surveys the coins found at Liberchies and VAN IMPE *et al.* (115) consider an important gold hoard with torques, Belgic coins and southern German rainbow cups.

DELESTRÉE (72) has published a number of new types and variants. More new types are discussed with BOISARD (73-74), MATIZ (77), DE SAINTE MARIE (78), TACHE (79) and WEROCHOWSKI (80).

A new potin belonging to the series “à la grosse tête” is recorded by BOISARD (69), who also comments (70) on a second example of a variant of the REMO bronze DT 593, identified by SCHIESSER (109). Other new types and variants are added by BODSON (68), CHAUCHOY (71), DUFRASNES (84), GENDRE (86), HOLLARD (95), HOLLARD and TACHE (98) and SIKNER (110). GENDRE AND HOLLARD (87) have published a number of interesting coins as well as a rare lead ‘test-piece’ stamped with an impression from a Treveran coin. GUIHARD (91) considers new types found at Digeon, a group of 69 coins from near Caen and a series from Normandy.

A book by DOYEN (83) includes a chapter on the coinage of Germanus Indutilli L, while GUIHARD AND LAJOYE (92) look at the inter-relationship of various coinages with the legend ECTA. HOOKER (99) offers a detail study of the coinage of the Coriosolites, whilst LECLERCQ has produced two works on the Morini (102). PION (105) discusses the gold coinage of the Remi and coin circulation in the territory of the Suessiones. In a broader study (in 19) he uses major excavated assemblages to reconstruct the circulating coinage of north-eastern Gaul in the final two centuries BC. He identifies six periods, each with its own distinctive numismatic fingerprint. DELESTRÉE provides a summary of the late coinage of north-west Gallia Belgica (in 20). BRUN, DECHEZLEPRETRE and GINOUX AND POUX (all in 13) all draw on numismatic evidence in their respective studies of the Suessiones, the lower Seine basin and the Parisii.

SILLS (111) has produced several short papers examining early Philippus imitations and later Gallo-Belgic types. On the basis of a new typology ROYMANS discusses the rainbow cups of the so called “Nordgruppe” (14, 106, see also chap. *Deutschland*). Elsewhere he comments on the “triskeles” staters of the Eburones (in 20), whilst VAN HEESCH (114) offers a short note on coins of the Tungri.

The archaeological contexts of finds of Armorican coinage are examined by GRUEL, MATTERNE AND VILLARD (in 18), whilst HASELGROVE does the same for the major series of Belgic Gaul (in 19). His analysis concludes that different series and different metals sometimes appear predominantly at certain types of site. In another paper he specifically looks at coins from religious sites in the same area (in 11). WELLINGTON (in 17) examines coin deposition at ritual sites in northern France and the Low Countries and VAN HEESCH (in 17) offers a similar survey of Belgium.

GRUEL (in 17) considers coin deposits at four sites. Interestingly 89% of the coins at Allonnes were of a single type, raising the possibility that they may have been produced for deposition. Similar conclusions can be drawn from an assemblage from Digeon discussed by DELESTRÉE (in 17), where a number of types appear to have been unique to the site. An interesting assemblage from a Romano-Celtic temple at Empel is described in a paper by ROYMANS AND AARTS (in 17) and provides a striking parallel with the East Leicestershire site in Britain (LEINS, 52).

GRUEL (90) examines the prototypes of Gaulish coins, concluding that they mainly appear in social contexts, while subsequent silver coins tend to come from economic contexts. SCHEERS also looks at early Gaulish gold (in 20).

SCHEERS (in 19) discusses the imitation of Roman Republican coins in Gaul from the conquest of Narbonensis to the Augustan period, suggesting that the impetus was a desire to show allegiance to Rome. CREIGHTON explains the same phenomenon by reference to his hypothesis that client kings from across the Roman world were held as political hostages in Rome (in 19). The use of surreal imagery is the theme of a paper by ALDHOUSE-GREEN (in 12), while CHIMIRRI-RUSSEL (in 10) detects the third dimension in Coriosolitan coin images by rotating them. FISCHER (in 12, 85) studies regional variation in the choice of subject matter and the use of vinous imagery.

GRICOURT, JACQUES AND PRILAUD (88) discuss zoomorphic coin designs, while the appearance of stags on coins and artifacts is considered by HOLLARD, DELESTRÉE AND GONET (97). HOLLARD (93) reports a new coin found near Laon and the use of Mars-like images, which he associates with the presumed deity "Lugus" (94, see also 96 with BERNARD). AUBIN AND HIERNARD (67) summarize a group of early Armorican quarter staters with stylistic links to Iberia (DT series 224), while FISCHER (in 19) has produced a paper discussing the use of Latin on Iron Age coins. She does not see the addition of Latin legends as a conscious expression of identities (compare WILLIAMS, 62). GRUEL also dedicates an article to coin imagery (89).

VAN HEESCH (in 19) provides an overview of the coinage of Belgic Gaul in post conquest period, arguing that there is no evidence of a concerted Roman policy towards local production. While it was quickly replaced by Roman issues in the military sphere, local bronze remained in other contexts, plugging a shortfall in Roman supply. This has also been discussed by DELESTRÉE (in 19) in the context of northern France, while HASELGROVE (in 20) examines the effect of the Roman conquest on the economies of northern Gaul and Britain. ROYMANS draws on recent increases in the corpus of coin finds to present a model for understanding social change in the Lower Rhine (in 16). VAN HEESCH (in 20) considers the relationship between the circulation of Celtic bronzes and Roman issues in northern Gaul.

## Gaule du Centre

Les émissions monétaires de cette région ont fait l'objet de plusieurs propositions de classements par DELESTRÉE et TACHE (1, vol. III) et DEPEYROT (2, vol. III-IV-V; voir aussi chap. *Catalogues*).

Pour les territoires carnute, biturige cube et turon, RQUIER et TROUBADY (174) confrontent les données numismatiques au mobilier céramique notamment. GRANGIEN ET HOLLARD (150) s'intéressent aux potins « à la tête diabolique ». GENDRE (146) et BERNARD ET HOLLARD (122) apportent de nouvelles données concernant les émissions attribuées aux Carnutes. HOLLARD ET RAT (155, 168) décrivent deux exemplaires, probablement bituriges, pouvant être des copies locales de monnaies émises en Gaule Belgique. Une série de potins peu connue, qui pourrait être attribuée à un pagus de la vallée du Cher, est examinée par GRANGIEN ET HOLLARD (151).

Plusieurs articles sur le monnayage arverne ont été publiés depuis 2002. Les travaux menés par NIETO-PELLETIER *et al.* ont permis d'étudier les variations de composition des monnaies de différents alliages. L'auteur propose une chronologie des émissions arvernes et pose les premiers jalons d'une circulation monétaire polarisée par le centre et le sud de la Gaule (dans 10, 161, 162, 163). FISCHER (145) propose une synthèse sur ce même monnayage. La mise au jour d'un enclos fossoyé sur le sanctuaire de Corent (Puy-de-Dôme) est l'occasion pour POUX *et al.* (167) de faire le point sur les découvertes monétaires effectuées entre 1992 et 2001. Un nouveau statère et une rondelle de plomb, découverts dans l'Hérault, sont attribués aux Arvernes par FEUGERE ET RICHARD (143). Un quart de statère arverne inédit est signalé par GOUET (148).

Les monnaies découvertes dans l'Allier ont fait l'objet d'un catalogue par CORROCHER ET FISCHER (133).

Au cours de ces six dernières années, les travaux portant sur le Centre-Est et l'Est de la Gaule ont été marqués par la publication du catalogue des monnaies découvertes sur l'oppidum de Bibracte (fouilles 1865-2000). GRUEL met ainsi en évidence une monétarisation profonde de l'économie dès le II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. et s'interroge sur la fabrication monétaire (4, dans 10). DOMINGUEZ ARRANZ *et al.* (140) apportent une contribution à l'étude de ces monnaies. L'examen de monnaies du Centre-Est permet à GOUET (147) de proposer de nouvelles hypothèses concernant la fabrication monétaire. DELESTRÉE ET BEDEL (135) et DELESTRÉE ET DE CRAEKER (136) s'intéressent à la série VIIPOTAL et PATAT (165) signale un potin Q DOCI particulier. Pour la première fois après Forrer

1925/1928 MERIEL (160) présente un nouvel inventaire des trouvailles monétaires d'Alsace. GRUEL (dans 19) consacre un article à l'alignement du denier gaulois sur l'étalon romain. JEUNOT étudie quatre dépôts découverts dans des grottes de Bourgogne orientale et de Franche-Comté (dans 11) et publie un aperçu statistique des monnaies trouvées à Mandeure (156).

Le catalogage des monnaies conservées au musée Dobrée (Loire-Atlantique) a permis à AUBIN ET LAMBERT (116) de souligner des parentés stylistiques entre des séries namnète et pictone. COLLIN (132) présente trois monnaies particulières conservées dans ce musée. HIERNARD (153) étudie un dépôt de huit statères découvert lors de la fouille de l'établissement rural de la Chapellière (Vendée). L'auteur rappelle que l'analyse de la circulation monétaire dans un « grand Poitou » lui a permis de définir les contours du territoire picton (154). RIFFAUD (173) décrit une variante de la « tête armoricaine » présente sur des statères d'or attribués aux Pictons. GRANGIEN ET HOLLARD (152) étudient trois types de monnaies d'argent issues d'un dépôt découvert en Charente.

La fouille du site des Rochereaux (Vienne) a permis la mise au jour d'un atelier monétaire daté du dernier tiers du II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. (176).

A partir de l'étude du numéraire présent dans les lieux de culte de l'Ouest de la Gaule, GRUEL (dans 20) envisage l'existence de séries monétaires spécifiques, émises par les autorités religieuses pour le sanctuaire.

### **Gaule du sud**

Les recherches menées sur les monnayages du sud de la Gaule ont donné lieu à deux ouvrages majeurs. PY (7) publie l'intégralité des monnaies préaugustéennes recueillies sur le site de Lattes (Hérault) et inclut les données du site au contexte méridional. Dans leurs publications sur les bronzes de Marseille BARRANDON ET PICARD (117, 166) mettent en évidence une bonne corrélation entre les variantes typologiques des différents groupes d'émissions et les compositions métalliques.

Le monnayage de Marseille a par ailleurs fait l'objet de nombreux articles, qui signalent notamment des types inédits (RICHARD ET CHEVILLON dans 10, 119, 123, 126, 130, 131, 175). RICHARD (170) étudie la diffusion des monnaies de Marseille et propose une chronologie des oboles découvertes dans le territoire attribué aux Volques Arécomiques. CHABOT (129) présente les monnaies de prospection provenant de Rognac (Bouches-du-Rhône).

Pour la Gaule du Sud-Est, DEPEYROT propose un classement des différents monnayages émis dans cette région (2, vol. I).

Plusieurs articles traitent du monnayage allobroge (128, 139, 149, 159). DELESTREE ET BUATHIER (137) envisagent que les disques monétaires découverts en Savoie aient servi pour la fabrication de coins monétaires.

ORSINI *et al.* (164) décrivent de nouvelles monnaies aux types du trésor de Volterra peut-être découvertes en Provence. BRENOT ET RICHARD (125) étudient le monnayage des oppida de Jastres (Ardèche).

Les monnaies « à la croix » ont fait l'objet d'une proposition de classement par DEPEYROT (2, vol. II), et WOYTEK (177) met en évidence leur frappe avec des coins multiples. La découverte d'un coin monétaire pour la frappe de monnaies de type « à la tête négroïde » (Villevieille, Gard), amène BERDEAUX-LE BRAZIDEC *et al.* (121) à revoir l'attribution des monnaies de cette série. LAROZAS (157) étudie les procédés de fabrication des monnaies « à la croix » et réfute la théorie d'une découpe des flans après la frappe. BENEZET *et al.* (118) présentent un dépôt de six monnaies « à la croix » d'un type peu connu.

DEPEYROT (138) rassemble dans un ouvrage plusieurs de ses travaux déjà publiés concernant plus particulièrement la région Midi-Pyrénées.

De récentes découvertes ont permis d'apporter de nouveaux éléments pour les monnayages de la moyenne vallée de l'Hérault (141), le Languedoc occidental (158) et le Roussillon (120). FEUGERE *et al.* (144) présentent quelques données sur les émissions attribuées aux Longostalètes, en partie contestées par RICHARD (171). RICHARD ET RANCOULE (172) signalent une monnaie en argent, découverte dans l'Aude, imitée du statère de Philippe II de Macédoine. BESOMBES *et al.* (124) présentent les monnaies issues du site de La Graufesenque (Aveyron). CRAWFORD *et al.* (134) étudient les monnaies d'or du musée de Narbonne (Aude) et FEUGERE *et al.* (142) publient le catalogue des monnaies du musée de Montagnac (Hérault).

A partir de récentes découvertes, CALLEGARIN (dans 10, 127) propose de revenir sur le monnayage attribué aux Tarusates et aux Tarbelli et sur la circulation monétaire dans le sud-ouest de la Gaule à la fin du second âge du Fer. RICHARD (169) reconsidère quant à lui la typologie et la chronologie des émissions attribuées aux Elusates.

## Deutschland, Schweiz

Im Mittel- und Niederrheingebiet sind im Berichtszeitraum die so genannten Regenbogenschüsselchen der Nordgruppe (Typ IX) oder des "Bochumer Typs" der beherrschende Themenkomplex, mit welchem sich mehrere Autoren intensiv beschäftigen: HEINRICHS, ROYMANS (siehe auch Kap. *Netherlands*), SCHULZE-FORSTER, WIGG. Da der Typ in unterschiedlichen Metallen und mit verschiedenen Beizeichen ausgebracht wurde, wird mittels einer Kartierung dieser Unterscheidungsmerkmale versucht, die Umlaufgebiete der Varianten einzugrenzen und historisch zu deuten. Eng mit diesen Münzen verbunden ist der Quinartyp mit dem "tanzenden Männlein", für den eine innere Chronologie aufgrund einer neuen Feintypologie erstellt wird (14, HEINRICHS, WIGG in 15, ROYMANS UND AARTS in 17, HEINRICHS, SCHULZE-FORSTER in 19, 106, 107, 186, 197).

Seit einigen Jahren kommen in Südwestdeutschland, insbesondere in Rheinland-Pfalz und Hessen, immer mehr neue Oboltypen zum Vorschein. Für einen dieser Typen, das Kleinsilber vom Typ Heidetränke, entwirft SCHULZE-FORSTER (198) eine Typologie. Weitere Typen stellt WIGG-WOLF (201) vor.

Mit der Vorlage des Münzmaterials vom Oberrhein durch BURKHARDT *et al.* (22, in 188) sowie STORK (200) wird eine Region ins Blickfeld gerückt, die in Deutschland zu jenen mit dem intensivsten spätlatènezeitlichen Münzumlauf zu rechnen ist. NICK (in 19) untersucht dessen Ende und skizziert regionale Unterschiede in der Zirkulation und Funktion von Münzen (6). Ein Schwerpunkt liegt daneben auf der Interpretation großer Goldhorte mit Regenbogenschüsselchen und der Versuch ihrer Einordnung in einen gesellschaftlichen Kontext (6, in 17, in 188); ein Thema, mit dem sich auch FITZPATRICK (in 17) auseinandersetzt.

Ein weiteres wichtiges Spektrum legt WIGG-WOLF (202, in 17, in 19) mit dem Martberg (Rheinland-Pfalz) vor. Auch zur Siedlung auf dem Dünsberg (Hessen) erscheinen zwei Beiträge von SCHULZE-FORSTER (in 19, 195). LOSCHIEDER (in 19, in 20) führt den römischen Einfluss auf die treverische Münzprägung der Zeit von 45-30 v. Chr. auf den vormaligen Einsatz treverischer Kavallerie im Bürgerkrieg zwischen Pompeius und Caesar zurück. Anhand des Materials aus der Siedlung Berching-Pollanten zeigt SCHÄFER (194) archäologische Methoden zur Erforschung der relativen Chronologie keltischer Münzen auf. BICK (178) stellt die Münz- und Münzstempelfunde aus dem Nördlinger Ries zusammen.

Einen wichtigen Beitrag zum Verständnis der so genannten Büschelquinare stellt die Vorlage des Schatzfundes von Teisendorf durch BRANDT (179) dar. Die Zukunft wird zeigen, wie die nicht einfach anzuwendende Typologie der Autorin von der Forschung angenommen wird. Verbreitung und Chronologie des Typs werden von NICK (6, 190) behandelt.

DEHN (180) stellt den Hort von Riegel am Kaiserstuhl vor, welcher 27 ostgallische Statere, z.T. bisher unbekannten Typs, umfasst (180). ZIEGAUS (in 19) bearbeitet einen Hort mit Steg-Rinnen-Quinaren des Nauheimer Typs aus dem Heidetränke-Oppidum in Hessen. Neue Erkenntnisse zum seit 1862 bekannten Hort von Nauheimer Quinaren aus Bad Nauheim (Hessen) veröffentlicht SCHULZE-FORSTER (196). Mit der Fundgeschichte der beiden Deponierungen aus Gaggers (Bayern) und Mardorf (Hessen) beschäftigen sich RENNER (193) und SIPPEL (199).

Einen Überblick über die wichtigste die Schweiz betreffende Literatur des Zeitraumes von 1972 bis 2005 gibt eine kommentierte Zusammenstellung von NICK (192). Mittlerweile erschien der dritte Band des "Nouvel Atlas" von DELESTRÉE UND TACHE (1), der auch die keltischen Münztypen aus dieser Region umfasst. Will man allerdings bisher unbekannte oder nur wenig bekannte Typen aus der Schweiz bestimmen, ist man vorerst auf den Neuen HMZ-Katalog von KUNZMANN UND RICHTER (189) angewiesen. Für die Goldmünzen gibt SILLS (9) einen Überblick.

Die Bearbeitung des seit langem bekannten Potinklumpens von Zürich lässt NICK (in 10, 191) zum Schluss kommen, dass es sich hierbei um ein rituell niedergelegtes Objekt handelt. Möglicherweise aus ähnlichen Gründen dem Fluss übergeben wurden die von ZÄCH (203) bearbeiteten Münzen aus der Thur (SG). Sicher religiös motiviert waren jedoch die Münzopfer auf dem Großen St. Bernhard, die von GEISER (in 17) mit weiteren Plätzen der Westschweiz verglichen werden. Auch die von HEDINGER UND HOCHULI (185) angesprochenen Münzfunde bei Baar ZG könnten eine rituelle Komponente besitzen.

DESCHLER-ERB (181) führt die Diskussion um die Abfolge der beiden wichtigen Spätlatènesiedlungen von Basel (Gasfabrik und Münsterhügel) aufgrund der Münzen weiter. JUD (187) stellt die Münzen der Grabung 1989/5 von Basel-Gasfabrik in ihren archäologischen Kontext. Einen weiteren Aspekt zur Frage nach der Umlaufdauer keltischer Münzen bieten die von FREY-KUPPER (182) bearbeiteten Funde aus der römischen Villa von Biberist (Kt. Solothurn). ZANIER (204) gibt einen Überblick über die Fundstellen aus dem Alpenrheintal. GEISER (183) publiziert die Neufunde aus den spätlatènezeitlichen Siedlungen von Sermuz, Bois de Châtel und Yverdon-les-Bains (alle Kt. Waadt) und GENECHESI (184) stellt die Funde von Togirix-Münzen aus der Schweiz zusammen.

## **Österreich, Slowenien, Kroatien und Norditalien**

Einige allgemeine Abrisse zum spätlatènezeitlichen Münzwesen in Österreich legt DEMBSKI (212) vor. Einzelstudien desselben Autors widmen sich den Funden aus Carnuntum (214) sowie jenen aus der latènezeitlichen Siedlung von Roseldorf (215), welche immer wieder neue Münztypen liefert, die JANDRASITS (222) in einer Übersicht zusammenstellt. Besondere Erwähnung verdient die regelmäßige und zeitnahe Vorlage der Funde aus Oberösterreich durch PROKISCH (230). Die antiken Fundmünzen der Steiermark publiziert SCHACHINGER (232).

Der von DEMBSKI (213) bearbeitete Hortfund von Obernberg am Inn besteht hauptsächlich aus Büschelquinen. Neue Partien zu bereits seit längerer Zeit bekannten Münzschätzen legen MARCER (227) und RUSKE (231) vor. Arbeiten von DEMBSKI widmen sich der Münzprägung der Boier in Niederösterreich (211) und den Gründen für das Weiterlaufen der norischen Kleinsilberprägung bis in römische Zeit (in 20). JANDRASITS (221) legt eine Reihe von Objekten in Vogel- und anderer Form vor, die er als Münzgewichte interpretiert. Da es sich dabei ausschließlich um Lesefunde ohne archäologischen Kontext handelt, steht der Beweis hierfür allerdings noch aus.

Ein Depotfund im Ljubljanica-Fluss (Slowenien) ist für KOS UND ŠEMROV (226) Anlass, die Chronologie der ostnorischen Münzprägung neu zu diskutieren. Allerdings ist die Interpretation des Ensembles als geschlossener Fund angesichts des Fundortes im Fluss nicht gesichert. Weitere Beiträge zu dieser Chronologie-Diskussion leisten KOS (224) mit der revidierten Lesung der venetischen Legende "V.O.K.K." und GORINI (220) mit der Veröffentlichung des Hortes von Enemonzo (Italien). Ebenfalls chronologischen Fragen geht KOS (225) hinsichtlich des Beginns der Münzprägung im Südostalpenraum nach. GORINI (218) untersucht Chronologie und Verbreitung des ostnorischen Tetradrachmentyps mit Frontalgesicht. Hinzuweisen ist weiterhin auf die Publikation eines kleinen Depotfundes aus Balina Glavica in Dalmatien durch KOS (223). BONAČIĆ MANDINIĆ (210) veröffentlicht antike Münzfunde von der Insel Brač und GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ (217) publiziert neben griechischen Münzen 15 Imitationen der Drachmen von Dyrhachium und Apollonia aus Osijek.

ARSLAN *et al.* (208) ist eine als PDF online abrufbare Zusammenstellung der keltischen Münzfunde in Italien sowie padanischer Münzen außerhalb Italiens zu verdanken. An dieser Stelle findet sich eine reichhaltige Liste auch neuerer Literatur zu keltischen Münzfunden in Italien. ARSLAN (205) und GORINI (219) untersuchen die Legenden der norditalischen Münzprägung. ARSLAN legt die keltischen Münzen aus den Grabungen in Casalecchio di Reno (206) und Bergamo (207) vor. OVERBECK (229) beschreibt zwei Regenbogenschüsselchen im Museum von Pavia, die wahrscheinlich in der Umgebung von Vercelli gefunden wurden. BOLIS UND ARSLAN (209) legen die römisch-republikanischen und keltischen Münzen der Sammlung der Universität Pavia vor. GAMBACURTA UND GORINI (216) publizieren die Funde des Heiligtums auf dem Monte Altare.

## **Slowakei, Tschechien, Ungarn**

Besonders hervorzuheben ist die Auswertung der mehrere Hundert Stücke umfassenden Münzreihe aus der neu entdeckten Siedlung von Némčice durch ČIŽMÁŘ UND KOLNÍKOVÁ (234, 240), die u.a. auch zum Verständnis der Münzprägung in Roseldorf (Österreich) beitragen kann. Ebenso werden durch die Arbeiten von KOLNÍKOVÁ *et al.* (237, 242, 243) über die Münzen aus latènezeitlichen Siedlungsplätzen der Slowakei gute Grundlagen für die überregionale Forschung geschaffen. Neben ikonographischen Aspekten (236) widmet sich die slowakische Forschung einzelnen Münztypen (239, 244) sowie der Vorlage von Depotfunden (233). Aber auch allgemeine Darstellungen (238) erscheinen im Berichtszeitraum. FIALA (235) legt eine Liste von Fundmünzen aus Grabungen auf der Burg Devín vor.

In der ungarischen Forschung sind die sog. Eravisker-Denare das beherrschende Thema (241, 247). Weiterhin wird eine Reihe älterer Depotfunde wieder neu in die Diskussion gebracht (245, 246).

## Dakien, Thrakien

Das umfassende Werk PÄRPĂUȚĂ's (258) zu den vorrömischen Münzen Dakiens bietet eine eingehende Analyse jedes einzelnen Typs sowie einen umfangreichen Fundstellenkatalog. MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA (256) diskutiert Beginn und Ende der dakischen Münzprägung und thematisiert die Fundlücke dakischer Münzen in Siedlungen des 4. bis 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Ebenfalls zur dakischen Münzprägung äußert sich PREDA (260). LOCKYEAR (253) fasst den Forschungsstand zum Import und zur Nachprägung republikanischer Denare in Dakien zusammen. TALMAȚCHI (266) gibt eine Liste aktueller Neufunde griechischer und geto-dakischer Münzen sowie anderer münzähnlicher Objekte aus der Dobrudscha und stellt sie an anderer Stelle in einen größeren Kontext. LEVINSCHI (251) weist auf die Fundleere in der moldavischen Waldsteppe nach 330 v. Chr. hin, die bis zum Einsetzen römischer Münzen zu Beginn des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. andauert.

Mit den Goldmünzen des Typs ΚΟΣΩΝ beschäftigen sich KOLNÍKOVÁ (250) sowie MUNTEANU (257) und LEVINSCHI (252) mit dem Typ Huși-Vovriești (für beide Typen siehe auch 258). PREDA UND PALINCAȘ (261) legen einen Hort aus Popești vor. PURECE (262) setzt sich mit Imitationen makedonischer Tetradrachmen auseinander. Den Hort von Goștila bearbeiten ARDEVAN UND ROTAR (248). MĂNDESCU (254) kommentiert die Münzen aus der Siedlung von Cetățeni. Die Vorlage dakischer Münzen aus Museumsbeständen ist POP (259), SAVU (263), ȘEPTILICI (264) und SUCIU (265) zu verdanken.

MIELCZAREK (255) berichtet über Funde geto-dakischer und thasischer Münzen aus Polen und DIMITROV (249) äußert sich zu Funden aus Bulgarien.

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## **MEDIEVAL AND MODERN WESTERN COINAGES**

## INTRODUCTION

*Peter Ilisch, Mark Blackburn and Frédéric Elfer*

This section, which in principle covers medieval and modern coinages from Europe, Africa, the Americas and Austral-Asia, contains twenty chapters by twenty-seven authors, and cites some 4,800 publications. This is an increase of fifteen percent on the number in the last *Survey*, but it is difficult to know whether the total number of publications has increased or coverage has been more detailed for some regions. Treatment has differed from chapter to chapter in the degree of selectivity applied, some authors adhering more closely to their assigned length than others. As in previous volumes, there have been some unfortunate omissions where suitable compilers could not be found or did not manage to complete their chapters in time. Nonetheless, the amount of new work cited in these bibliographies is very impressive, and it is a valuable reminder of how difficult it is to keep abreast of the recent literature in more than a few fields without specialist guidance such as that provided by the *Survey*.

The bibliographies reflect the vibrancy of research in many fields, but also the weakness in others, as certain series come into and out of fashion. Thus work on Byzantine and Eastern European coinages seems to be flourishing, while Early Medieval coinages have attracted less attention of late. The publications are by no means dominated by academic numismatists in universities and museums, for amateurs continue to make an important contribution in many fields. The use of metal-detectors is having a profound impact on numismatics, even where it is illegal, for it often still goes on and generates new material that eventually comes to the notice of numismatists. Thus, many articles or short notes here have been stimulated by new finds or the discovery of new varieties. In those countries with less restrictive laws and more effective arrangements for recording finds, such as the UK, the Netherlands and Denmark, benefits can be seen in more detailed regional studies of coin circulation.

The chapters in this section do not take much account of on-line resources, but these are growing and in some cases becoming significant research tools. Many sites have been developed by collectors on specific series or topics, and some institutions are developing databases of finds relevant to this section (e.g. Numis, Early Medieval Corpus/*Sylloge* of Coins of the British Isles, Portable Antiquities Scheme). Most major museums are recording or have plans to record their collections in on-line databases, but as yet relatively few have a significant number of entries for medieval and modern coins (e.g. Berlin, Cambridge, New York, Princeton, Uppsala). Several of the numismatic auction houses are well ahead of the museums in making records available on-line, usually by archiving their e-auction records. This area is bound to see significant growth in the coming years, making it much easier to gather information and images for research.

## BYZANZ

Michael Grünbart

Die Literatur zur byzantinischen Numismatik und ihren Randbereichen ist in dem *lustrum* von 2002-2007 kontinuierlich angewachsen. Die folgende in 14 Kategorien unterteilte Bibliographie<sup>5</sup> strebt zwar dem Ideal der Vollständigkeit nach, die Beschränkung des Platzes und die oft sehr verstreuten Publikationen und Erwähnungen von Münzfunden (besonders in Ausgrabungsberichten) erlauben aber kaum die Verwirklichung desselben. Tendenzen lassen sich jedenfalls erkennen. Die folgenden Anmerkungen sollen den bibliographischen Einteilungen eine zusätzliche Struktur geben, und es wird dem Problem entgegengewirkt, keine Verweisungen oder Doppeleinträge machen zu können.

Mittlerweile gibt es eine neue Auflage der Bibliographie der *Byzantinischen Zeitschrift* auf CD-Rom, die den Berichtszeitraum 1990-2004 umfasst. Damit lassen sich neben den Einträgen in der Fachabteilung Numismatik und Sigillographie auch weitere münzrelevante bibliographische Nachweise finden.

Die American Numismatic Society betreibt einen eigenen online-Katalog zur numismatischen Literatur (ANS Library Catalog, <http://data.numismatics.org/>), in der man auch zahlreiche Einträge zur byzantinischen Geldgeschichte finden kann.

Nützlich wird – was den byzantinischen Bereich betrifft – in Zukunft auch die *International Medieval Bibliography*, in der auch numismatische Literatur berücksichtigt wird.<sup>6</sup>

Einige Museumssammlungen oder Teile davon sind veröffentlicht worden: Bursa (33), Cartagena (3, 4), Cluj (13), Constanța (18), Erlangen-Nürnberg (7), Erzurum (354), Gela (9), Göttingen (21), Iași (6), Madrid (8), Ohrid (19), Padua (29), Toulouse (12), Udine (5), Vancouver (17). Weiters wurden Privatsammlungen erschlossen: Tsolozides (28), Köhler-Osbahr (15), Kanellopoulos (191), Kaufmann (16), Stewart (369). Nicht berücksichtigt wurden hier die in regelmäßigen Abständen erscheinenden Auktionskataloge diverser Versteigerungshäuser, welche sich oft durch hervorragende Reproduktionen auszeichnen (z.B. Hirsch, München; Münzzentrum Rheinland).

In dem Berichtszeitraum starb Philip Grierson (1910-2006), der die Entwicklung der byzantinischen und mittelalterlichen numismatischen Studien wesentlich geprägt hat (siehe die Nachrufe 25 und 27). Auch der Verfasser des Handbuches zur byzantinischen Metrologie Erich Schilbach verstarb am 7. Juni 2006 (seine letzten Arbeiten waren byzantinischen Maßen und Glasgewichten gewidmet [382-386]).

Münzen fehlen bei kaum einer Byzanzausstellung als repräsentative Objekte. Ausstellungen, die nur Münzen im Fokus haben, sind dagegen seltener (29, 379, 382). Im Kunsthistorischen Museum in Wien wurde der Versuch unternommen, zu den Gedichten des neugriechischen Dichters Konstantinos Kabaphes auch die entsprechenden mittelalterlichen Münzen zu stellen (32); GEORGANTELI und COOK verfassten einen kleinen Katalog mit Münzen, die zum Großteil aus dem Barber Institute in Birmingham stammen. Dieser kann auch als Einführung in die byzantinische Geldgeschichte nützliche Dienste leisten (28).

Generell hervorzuheben ist die von LAIOU herausgegebene dreibändige *Economic History of Byzantium*, in der numismatische Themen in mehreren Aspekten berücksichtigt wurden (80, 157, 218, 220, 248). 2007 erschien eine kompakte Einführung in die byzantinische Wirtschaft von LAIOU und MORRISON, die auf der genannten großen Wirtschaftsgeschichte fußt (396).

In den Einführungen zur Byzantinistik kommt Numismatik meistens zu kurz,<sup>7</sup> doch können GEORGANTELI (28), HARL (auf Türkisch) (118) oder PETRUSEVSKI (181) nützliche Orientierung bieten. Zudem erschien von RESTLE der Artikel „Münzen“ im *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, welcher vor allem kunsthistorische Aspekte hinsichtlich der byzantinischen Münzproduktion berücksichtigt (185).

Darüberhinaus gibt es eine Neuauflage von SEAR (20), sowie die Bestimmungshilfen von JOPPICH zu den Billon-Sykphen der Komnenen- und Angeloidynastien sowie bulgarischen Imitativprägungen (125-127).

<sup>5</sup> Sie folgt grob der von Cécile Morrisson in dieser Reihe publizierten Literaturzusammenstellung (2).

<sup>6</sup> Die Bibliographie erscheint gedruckt zweimal jährlich, wird aber auch als online-Datenbank angeboten ([www.brepolis.net/bmb](http://www.brepolis.net/bmb)).

<sup>7</sup> Z.B. P. Schreiner, Byzanz. 3. Aufl. München 2007, 234 (nur 2 Nummern).

Betrachtet man die im behandelten Zeitraum erschienen Publikationen so fällt auf, dass es zwei zeitliche Schwerpunkte gibt: Studien zur frühbyzantinischen und spätbyzantinischen Geldgeschichte haben einen deutlichen Schwerpunkt, während die mittelbyzantinische Zeit (8.-12. Jh.) kaum behandelt wurde. HAHN veröffentlichte eine Serie von Artikeln in *Money trend* zur frühbyzantinischen Geldgeschichte, welche teilweise eine Neubearbeitung und –beurteilung des Materials in MIB mit sich brachte (106-114). Die einzelnen Beiträge sind zusammengefasst in einer eigenständigen Publikation veröffentlicht und dem Autor zu dessen 60. Geburtstag gewidmet worden (116). Zur 2000 erschienenen englischen Fassung der *Moneta Imperii Byzantini* gibt es bereits Nachträge (149-150).

Zur spätbyzantinischen/palaiologenzeitlichen Numismatik sind neben vielen Detailuntersuchungen auch größere Werke erschienen LIANTAS Dissertation zur byzantinischen Geldgeschichte von 1204 bis 1453 wird hoffentlich gedruckt werden (136).

Der Großteil der Literatur behandelt neugefundene und zum ersten Mal vorgestellte Stücke (131: Herakleios, 146: Leontios, 158: Valentinianus III., 215: Johannes II. Komnenos, 50: Andronikos III. und Andronikos II.), doch findet man auch kulturgeschichtlich übergreifende Darstellungen wie

- zur Propagandafunktion von Münzen (178: allgemein; 167: zur Münzpropaganda in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten; 95: zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Andronikos III. und Andronikos II. 1321-1328 sowie 97 zwischen Johannes V. und Johannes Kantakuzenos 1341-1347)
- zu Münzen und Klosterwesen (128 und 156)
- zur Ikonographie (55, 67, 75, 134, 190, 213, 232)
- zu Gender-Aspekten (74 und 103)
- zu Preisen von Handschriften (177)
- 

Ein Autorenteam widmete sich der Behandlung von Münzschatzfunden des 5. bis 8. Jahrhunderts auf dem Balkan und in Kleinasien (161).

Hervorzuheben ist eine wissenschaftliche Tagung am *Ethniko Hidryma Ereunon* in Athen, wo es um Wirtschafts- und Geldgeschichte des späten Byzanz ging (161, dazu die Nummern 39, 41, 86, 87, 91, 98, 128, 144, 147, 163, 165, 168, 173, 174, 176, 177, 180, 206, 241, 242).

2004 feierte das Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte an der Universität Wien sein 40-jähriges Jubiläum, zu dem ein Festband erschienen ist (daraus 256 und 266).

Die Erforschung der byzantinischen Glasgewichte ist durch einige Studien bereichert worden, wenngleich eine zusammenfassende Darstellung noch aussteht (361, 376, 377, 379, 380, 382, 384, 386).

Auch aus dem Bereich der Sigillographie stammen relevante Publikationen, vor allem dann wenn es um die ikonographische Beeinflussung auf die Münzprägung geht (192, 195, 398).

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## THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES: VISIGOTHS, MEROVINGIANS AND CAROLINGIANS

*Mark Blackburn, Simon Coupland, Peter Ilisch, Ruth Pliego-Vázquez and Arent Pol*

This section provides a select bibliography for the coinages of the Visigoths, Merovingians and Carolingians. Anglo-Saxon coinage is covered in the 'England, Wales and Scotland: Medieval' section, and several other sections include relevant coins of the eighth and ninth centuries. Unfortunately, due to a confusion in commissioning an author the coinages of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards are not covered in this Survey. The section here on the Carolingians includes publications from the period 1996-2001 since they were omitted from the last Survey volume.

The broad range of Early Medieval coinages are well treated in KLUGE'S conspectus of medieval numismatics (1), with a concise bibliography and illustrations of several hundred outstanding specimens drawn from the Berlin cabinet; these and more coins can also be consulted on the Cabinet's excellent interactive website ([www.smb.museum/ikmk](http://www.smb.museum/ikmk)).

### The Visigoths

A catalogue of the Visigothic coins in the Madrid collection was published by CANTO, MARTÍN AND VICO (9) in connection with the last International Congress. BENAGES (7) made a detailed study of the coins of Tarragona, with a corpus of coins, while VICO, CORES AND CORES (34) have produced a lavishly illustrated type catalogue of Visigothic regal issues, c.575-714.

BARTLETT, CORES AND CORES (5-6) have studied the coinage of King Sisebut. HUFFSOFTH presented an alternative interpretation of the monograms on Visigothic copper coins and sees the name of Athanagild on some pseudo-imperial tremisses (21-22). Several articles have considered individual mints or minting (7, 11, 13-16, 18, 28-29, 35), while others have addressed specific aspects of the coinage or coin circulation (10, 12, 25, 27, 30, 32-33). New finds have not dominated the literature in the way that they have in other series, but there have been a number of publications (2, 8, 17, 19-20, 26). The historiography of Visigothic numismatics was considered by PLIEGO-VÁZQUEZ (31).

### The Merovingians

The most important contribution to the study of Merovingian coinage to appear for many years is the inventory of French coin finds of the fifth to eighth centuries by LAFAURIE AND PILET-LEMIERE (55). Far more than a mere catalogue, this incorporates decades of research and experience contributing to revised mint attributions in this immensely difficult series. Already, it has formed the basis for a study by METCALF (59) of monetary circulation in Merovingian Gaul during the later phases of the gold coinage. A complementary catalogue of coin finds from the British Isles to c.675 has been published by ABDY AND WILLIAMS (36). From the silver phase (post c.675), OP DEN VELDE AND KLAASSEN (62) have catalogued more than a thousand finds from Domburg and Westenschouwen, with a full discussion of the sites and analysis of the finds.

Few systematic studies on Merovingian coinage have appeared during the period under review. SUCHODOLSKI (69) discussed the use of money in the Merovingian era. DHENIN AND SCHIESSER (46) have identified and discussed a number of silver oboles in the Merovingian series. A detailed philological study of Merovingian moneyers' names by FELDER (48) was based on the collection in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, catalogued by Prou in 1896. CHAMBON (39) has looked at philological basis for identifying mint names through a study of several from the neighbourhood of the Auvergne. CRINON (42) has studied the prolific mint of Reims, with a corpus of known specimens. In a monograph-length paper, OP DEN VELDE and METCALF (63) analyse the sceattas of Series D and their circulation pattern to provide an insight into the economy of the Netherlands in the period c.695-715. Some shorter articles have considered particular mints (41, 52, 56, 67) or series (65). One paper discusses the problems in interpretation that arise when old and new finds are considered together, or when finds from different regions are compared - the depositional and post-depositional processes being different through time and in place (37). Most of the remaining publications are notes prompted by the discovery of new types or putting on record new finds (36, 38, 40, 43-45, 47, 49-51, 53, 57-58, 60-61, 70).

## The Carolingians

Since 1996 there has been a substantial number of publications on Carolingian coinage, but, as with the Merovingian period, the majority of them are short articles publishing new finds or newly discovered varieties. However, some systematic research has taken place. COUPLAND has surveyed the coinages of Charlemagne (80) and Lothar I (77) and looked at the economic fortunes of Quentovic and Dorestad through the medium of their coinages (79). These and others of COUPLAND'S papers have been reprinted in a handy volume by Variorum (83). GARIPZANOV has considered the way in which the coinage conveys the authority of Carolingian rulers, in particular through the medium of its inscriptions and monograms (101-102, 105), a theme also picked up by KLUGE (112). CRINON (85) has studied the coins of the mint of Tours; DHENIN (94) has reattributed some coins of Chartres to Arpajon (Essonne); and ILISCH (118) has produced a catalogue of those imitative gold Abbasid dinars which he considers to be of Carolingian origin and therefore *manuces*.

Numismatics has been taken into account in the general surveys of economic history by MCCORMICK (115) and VERHULST (135). Monetary circulation in Italy during the Carolingian period has been the subject of several contributions by DAY (92), SACCOCCI (130-130), ROVELLI (127, 129) and others. Interest in Viking connections with Carolingian coinage has picked up considerably in recent years. ARMSTRONG (73) looked for Viking influence on the pattern of hoarding in France in the ninth century. MOESGAARD sought evidence of them in Brittany (119), and in Normandy through the sequence of coin production in Rouen (122). COUPLAND likewise considered their presence in Normandy (82), as well as reviewing the hoards from Frisia for indications of its status as a border zone with Scandinavia (81). Carolingian coins in Scandinavia have been discussed by METCALF (117), GARIPZANOV (103-104), and others (71, 118, 121, 136, 142).

HAERTLE'S large two-volume corpus on ninth-century Carolingian coin hoards (138), at last provides an authoritative listing in succession to that of Völckers in 1965 which stopped in 800. The Belgian hoards are also included in HAECK'S inventory of finds from that region (137). A number of individual hoards have been published or reassessed, and these are listed in a separate section (139-149). A good number of single-finds have also been published in separate notes (150-182), although because of the laws in France and professional attitudes towards metal-detector users, the number of such finds is tiny compared with those being recorded in England and the Netherlands.

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## SCANDINAVIA

Frédéric Elfver, Svein H. Gullbekk, Jens Christian Moesgaard and Tuukka Talvio

### Denmark (by Jens Christian Moesgaard)

In former times Denmark covered the three southern Swedish provinces of Scania, Halland and Blekinge (until 1645/58) (1, 3, 6, 12, 20, 26) and southern Schleswig (until 1864, now Germany) (4, 14, 16, 24, 28, 51). These areas are included in this survey. On the other hand, Danish overseas coinages and the issues of the Danish kings in Norway are not covered here.

The bibliography below presents only a selection of the numismatic works on Danish coins from the post-ancient periods. The aim is to show the width and variation of the work as well as the predominant current research trends. The omission of any particular article should not be taken as a judgement on its quality – it is due to the limited space available.

As for the coins of the 7th-8th centuries, several new finds have been catalogued, especially the important finds of sceattas at Ribe by FEVEILE (4, 8, 37), who has reinterpreted the finds from Dankirke as a cultic deposit (7). The use of coins in the Viking Age has been treated in depth by HEIJNE in her doctoral dissertation (11), and WIECHMANN presents the single finds from Haithabu (51). HEIJNE, MALMER, MOESGAARD and several other authors have dealt with the Viking Age, many of them from an archaeological point of view (2, 12-14, 21, 23-24, 26-28, 32, 34-36, 51, 54). In particular the mapping of single finds within a site seems to be a trend (14, 21, 23, 51, 54). Ships on coins have been used as a source of knowledge for sails and ropes (24).

Also the Middle Ages have attracted the attention of archaeologists (e.g. 29, 41, 48, 49). It should be noted that no fewer than two dies have been discovered during excavations, one of them from a forger's mint (48, 49). ELFVER, JENSEN, MALMER and others have described various aspects of the organisation of the medieval coinage, such as *renovatio monetarum*, mints and silver alloy (6, 17-20, 22, 26, 50). MALMER and ELFVER have worked on the iconography (5, 27). KAABER's long awaited survey of coinage of the 13th-14th centuries is finally published (25), but it had already been challenged by the work of Grinder-Hansen (see survey 1996-2001) and SØMOD who presents a provocative interpretation of the late 13th-century coinage (47). The important issue of the length of time coins circulated in the 14th century has been reconsidered on archaeological grounds (29). Studies of circulation have been carried out by B. POULSEN, T. G. POULSEN and MOESGAARD, mainly based on finds but also on written sources (30-31, 33, 36, 44-46). A group of skilled amateur numismatists, including AAGAARD, PEDERSEN and HARCK, continue their work on die-studies and establishing renewed and refined typologies for coins of the 17th-18th centuries (e.g. 9-10, 42-43, 52-53). Research into the 18th and 19th centuries has been renewed by MÄRCHER based on the rich written sources (38-40).

Metal detecting is legal in Denmark. Finders must hand in their finds to the National Museum. The result has been a huge increase of the number of finds since the 1970s which has led to new insights, such as the acknowledgement of widespread use of coins in the country-side during the Middle Ages (30-31, 33). Until 2001, annual lists of the finds were published in *Arkæologiske udgravninger i Danmark/Archaeological Excavations in Denmark* (the annual report on archaeology published by The Heritage Agency of Denmark) (15). It is highly regrettable that this series was discontinued in 2002, and no alternative solution has been found. For the moment, work on publishing finds is mainly focused on recording and interpreting individual finds (e.g. 8, 29, 34, 36-37, 48-49). Happily our German and Swedish colleagues have published retrospective find lists for various regions (1, 3, 11, 51), thus making some of this important material available for research.

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## Norway (by Svein H. Gullbekk)

In the period under review there has been a distinct emphasis on the Viking Age and Middle Ages in Norwegian numismatics. Two doctoral thesis have been published on the use of money in medieval Norway by GULLBEKK (8) and coinage and towns with emphasis on Trondheim by RISVAAG (30). This is unusual considering that the last doctoral thesis covering this period was Kolbjørn Skaare, *Coins and Coinage in Viking Age Norway* (1976). Meanwhile, the debate between LUNDEN (27) and GULLBEKK (11-12) on the question of the importance and role of money in medieval Norway has continued. A master's thesis on the question of money in Bergen in the 15th century by HAGEVIK (16) must be considered an important contribution. SORTLAND (40-41) has undertaken detailed studies of the numismatic finds from one church, Mære, which have improved our understanding of coin finds in medieval churches.

Several studies of different aspects on the use of coins and money in the Viking Age have been published by KILGER (23-24) and SCREEN (33) that also consider methodological aspects of how we interpret numismatic evidence within archaeology. As part of a special publication (*META 3* (2005), ed. MYRBERG) on different aspects and functions of money and coinage, INGVALDSEN (19) and KILGER (25) have presented thoughts on coins as symbols from antiquity to modern societies. GULLBEKK (15) and RISVAAG (31) have debated the role of numismatics in modern academic study in general and within the fields of archaeology and history in particular.

The great 9th-century hoard of gold and silver-gilt objects from Hoen, one of the most important Viking-Age hoards from Scandinavia, has been reassessed by a group of international scholars, and the resulting volume of studies contains numismatic contributions from BLACKBURN (2) and SKAARE (38). CARPENTER (3) has published a critical survey of the late-11th-century Norwegian penny found in an Indian settlement in Maine on the east coast of the United States. A number of finds of Norwegian 11th-century coins abroad have been studied by MOESGAARD (28-29), VAN DER VEEN (44) and WILLIAMS and NIALL (45) that suggest that these coins were used more widely than previously thought. Stray finds of Kufic dirhams have been presented by KHAZAEI (20). The first volume of reports from the excavation of the Kaupang-site, the first urban settlement in Norway, was published (39). The numismatic evidence awaits treatment in vol. II, but BLACKBURN (1) has published a preliminary report on the coin finds.

SIMENSEN continues to publish articles on medieval Norwegian numismatics where he considers questions such as the use of brass as part of the alloy in 11th century coinage (35), the connection between church building and coinage in Nidaros (34), the Hansa and Norwegian economy (36), and church finds as phenomena (37).

Contributions within modern numismatics include several by the Danish numismatist AAGAARD (47-49) based on detailed die-studies of coin series issued during the reigns of Frederik III and Christian V. JOHANSEN (20-21) provides detailed studies of gold discoveries near Arendal in the south of Norway in the 1640s. EITRHEIM

(5) presents an interesting and updated history of money in Norway in the period of the Napoleonic wars. New types and variants of 17th-century coinage have been published by THESEN (42-43).

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## Sweden (by Frédéric Elfver)

This numismatic survey of numismatic research in Sweden covers the period 2002-2007 and the author is indebted to several colleagues in Sweden for supplying lists of their publications. This type of bibliography is of course based on the compilers' own subjective choice.

It may be useful to remember that, of the journals, the *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad (NNUM)* and *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift (SNT)* are published regularly from four to eight issues a year. *The Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift (NNÅ)* is published biannually. The Swedish Numismatic Society sporadically publishes *Numismatiska Meddelanden (NM)* and from 2005 the Society also publishes *Monografier*, i.e. monographs on selected subjects.

The national numismatic collection, i.e. the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm, holds vast collections and is a centre of learning together with the Numismatic Institute at the University of Stockholm. The holder of the chair is Professor K. JONSSON (35-55) and the chair is supported by the Gunnar Ekström foundation for numismatic research. In 2003 the Numismatic Institute launched a new numismatic periodical on the Internet: *Myntstudier*. The collections at Uppsala University and Lund University are important centers as well, and from Uppsala two important catalogues were published in 2006 (1, 64). The coin finds from 1993-1998 are properly recorded and published in *NNÅ* (18). Two volumes, Halland and Bohuslän, from the project *Landskapsinventeringen*, i.e. catalogue of finds of particular provinces, have been published (2, 59). Several other articles deal with coin finds from different periods and areas (e.g. 4, 6-7, 11, 13-17, 56).

In 2007 the first volume of the project *Den svenska mynthistorien* was published (3). The project is led by the Royal Coin Cabinet with support from the Swedish Numismatic Society. The project will cover Swedish monetary history, including the main coin types, from c.1000 to the present day.

One doctoral dissertation has been published during the period of this bibliography. VON HEIJNE (21) has published a doctoral thesis on the Viking-Age and early medieval coin hoards from Denmark and areas in present day Sweden: Scania, Blekinge and Halland. The dissertation also discusses coin circulation in a wider perspective and therefore it is included in this section of the survey. In 2006 FRANZÉN (12) presented a study of the economic history of the period 1254-1370. A discussion about numismatics as an academic discipline has been initiated by MYRBERG (74-75).

Among Swedish numismatists honoured by having a bibliography published, we find Professor emerita B. Malmer (23), who celebrated her 80th birthday in 2005. In 2004 the former director of the Royal Coin Cabinet, L. O. Lagerqvist celebrated his 75th birthday (91). In 2007 Dr U. Westermark celebrated her 80th birthday (94) and the same year the numismatic orientalist G. Rispling celebrated his 65th birthday. In 2004, Dr B. Tingström (62), a specialist on plate money, passed away at the age of 91.

Several private numismatists have contributed to the production of important articles and books (24-31, 33, 71-73, 77, 78-80, 83-84). MENZINSKY's *opera* on the coinage of King Karl IX stands out with three volumes. The Numismatic Club of Uppsala has published two monographs on collector-related subjects (87-88). In 2004 a numismatic bibliography, covering the period up to 1903, was compiled by HESSE (31), a well-known collector of numismatic books for almost four decades. The bibliography is an important contribution and a useful aid for both professionals and amateurs. In addition to the bibliography of Hesse, an important survey of early auction catalogues from Hamburg with Swedish coins and medals was published by V. and G. HATZ (20).

The study of the history of numismatics (and history of exhibitions) has produced several interesting studies, though only a few are mentioned in this survey. The most important study is the book about the famous numismatist Bror Emil Hildebrand (1806-1884) edited by WISÉHN (10, 93). WISÉHN has also published a brief survey of the exhibitions at the Royal Coin Cabinet during the period of 1997-2007 (95). The famous collector and donor, Sven Svensson (1855-1928), was honoured with a memorial book in 2005 (86).

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## Finland (by Tuukka Talvio)

Not much has been published in Finland, and most of it has been written by the author of this presentation. In addition to a small popular book in Finnish on the monetary history of Finland before the introduction of the euro (6), and an updated version of *The Coins of and Banknotes of Finland*, TALVIO has published a monograph on *Coins and Coin Finds in Finland AD 800–1200* (7, 8).

The works mentioned above deal mostly with Finnish monetary history before 1200 and after 1800. The period between these dates coincides with Swedish rule in Finland and consequently belongs largely to Swedish numismatics. The medieval period in Finland is, however, still unsatisfactorily known. Before his retirement in 2000, SARVAS published several articles dealing with the 15th century, and his work with the medieval finds and the minting in Turku (Åbo) has been continued by TALVIO (12-16), whose articles include a preliminary report on the 2004 Ulvila hoard. Consisting of 1,473 coins hidden shortly after 1390, it is the largest medieval coin find from Finland (13).

The Finnish Numismatic Society has published a newsletter since 1970s. In 1991 it became a journal and in 1992 it was renamed *Numismaattinen Aikakauslehti – Finsk Numismatisk Tidskrift* ('Finnish Numismatic Journal'). There are short English summaries of some of the articles, but practically everything is published in Finnish. The publication is important as a news bulletin but few of the articles have more than local interest. Finland also has another numismatic journal, *Numismaatikko*, published wholly in Finnish, by the Finnish Association of Numismatic Societies. It deals mostly with modern coins, badges and decorations, and the activities of coin clubs. The history of the Association, founded in 1970, has been presented in a book edited by LINKOSALMI and YLINEN (4).

Traditional forums for more scholarly publications have been *Suomen Museo* and *Finskt Museum*, the two year books published (in Finnish and Swedish, respectively) by the Finnish Antiquarian Society. During the period in question, they have, however, included only one paper of numismatic interest, presenting the 1857 visit of B. E. Hildebrand in Helsinki, Tallinn and St Petersburg (10).

Among the articles published in festschrifts can be mentioned JÄRVINEN's and TALVIO's presentations of the history of the Finnish national collection (2, 11) and the latter's account of the Danish coins of Søren Norrby in Finnish finds from the 1520s (16). TALVIO has also written on the more recent history of the Helsinki Coin Cabinet (9).

On the occasion of its 90th anniversary the Finnish Numismatic Society published a collection of articles named *Rahojen parissa* ('Among coins'), including, among others, articles by LINDBERG on Finnish foundry tokens (3), SÄILÄ on the forgeries of Finnish coins and banknotes in the 19th–20th centuries (5) and WISÉHN on Finnish numismatic material in the Swedish Royal Coin Cabinet (17), as well as the reminiscences of BRUUN on his career as a banknote designer (1).

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## ENGLAND, WALES AND SCOTLAND: MEDIEVAL

Martin Allen

### England and Wales

Since 2002 there have been major advances in published research on every period from the fifth century to the sixteenth. The large numbers of publications on Anglo-Saxon and Viking subjects testify to the importance of numismatics in these fields, but later periods have not been neglected. Published conference proceedings and festschrifts have achieved prominence as an outlet for numismatic research, challenging the traditional dominance of periodicals such as *BNJ*, *NC* and *NCirc*.<sup>1</sup> The festschrift for Marion Archibald on *Coinage and History in the North Sea World, c. AD 500-1200* (COOK and WILLIAMS 80) and the conference proceedings on *Silver Economy in the Viking Age* (GRAHAM-CAMPBELL and WILLIAMS 111) and *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650-850* (PESTELL and ULMSCHNEIDER 168) are particularly notable, but many other books of this kind have included one or two papers on monetary history. The publication of museum collections in the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* series has continued with volumes on Stockholm (COLMAN 77), Uppsala (LINDBERGER 132) and St Petersburg (MUCHA 158).

### Finds

Single finds, predominantly found by the use of metal detectors, are making a major contribution to numismatic research discussed by BLACKBURN (58). The Fitzwilliam Museum's Corpus of Early Medieval Coins (EMC) has taken a leading role in the recording of finds up to 1180, which has been described by BLACKBURN (55), but the Portable Antiquities Scheme now has a much wider scope and great potential for future research, with national coverage of finds of coins and artefacts of all kinds. The annual Coin Register of *BNJ* provides a forum for the systematic publication of single finds, and the Coin Hoards section of *NC* publishes summaries of hoards, largely based upon information originally published in the *Treasure Annual Report*. There have been many other hoard publications, but the backlog of English hoards awaiting full publication continues to grow.

ABDY and WILLIAMS (1) have compiled a comprehensive inventory of hoards and single finds from the British Isles in the period c. 410-675. Finds of Anglo-Saxon sceattas are not included in this inventory, but they have formed the basis of numerous publications on the English coinage from the 670s to the mid-eighth century. The many contributions to this subject by METCALF include a survey of English finds of sceattas (155), analysing the combined effects of regional patterns of circulation and the movement of currency between regions and kingdoms. NAYLOR (162) has examined the regional pattern of finds in Yorkshire from the seventh century to 870. BLACKBURN (60) has analysed finds of the seventh century to 1180 from various 'productive' sites, and London and Lincoln, identifying and explaining chronological differences, and VINCE (201) has put finds from Lincoln into the context of the urban development of the city after its ninth-century refoundation. METCALF (151) has used single find data from c. 973 to the 1080s in an investigation of monetary circulation in the Danelaw. A major publication of the large numbers of finds from the beach at Meols in Cheshire includes a survey of about 900 coins and tokens by BEAN (42), and ALLEN and DOOLAN (25) have published 285 finds from the debris of coastal erosion at Dunwich. ALLEN (17) has investigated the factors that might affect the interpretation of single finds of English silver coins of 1279-1544, and a report on finds from a medieval pilgrimage and fair site at West Acre in Norfolk (ALLEN 8) has shown the differences between the issue dates of the silver coins of 1279-1544 and their possible periods of loss. Many other publications discussed later in this survey are heavily dependent upon single find data.

### Anglo-Saxon

In 2003 the centenary volume of *BNJ* contained an invaluable series of surveys of publications on particular periods and subjects, including a review of work on Anglo-Saxon numismatics by LYON (132). Most of the publications in the present survey were published after Lyon completed his review of the subject, and they include many works of considerable importance. The sceattas of the seventh and eighth centuries have been a particularly active field of research, supported by a rapidly growing body of evidence from metal-detector finds. Anglo-Scandinavian coinage and the economy of the Danelaw have also received considerable attention. Work on the

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<sup>1</sup> This survey includes articles from the 2001 volume of *BNJ*, which appeared too late for inclusion in the *Survey of Numismatic Research (1996-2001)*.

English penny coinages of the eighth century to the 970s has included publications on Offa of Mercia, the kingdom of Northumbria, Æthelred I and Alfred of Wessex, and the pre-reform coinage of Edgar. Mint and moneyer studies will always have an important place in research on the Anglo-Saxon coinage after the reform of Edgar, but publications on this period have also examined the law codes, iconography, the use of coins as jewellery, and exports of coinage to Scandinavia.

### **Fifth to mid-eighth centuries**

WILLIAMS has published a seminal analysis of the use of gold coinage in Anglo-Saxon England in the sixth and seventh centuries (203), and a discussion of the Northumbrian gold coinage, suggesting that its issue may have begun during the reign of Oswald (633-41) (WILLIAMS 206). The gold coinage of Eadbald of Kent is the subject of a paper by BLACKBURN (62) which also discusses a 'Daisy and Annulet-Cross' shilling of unusual design from the third quarter of the seventh century. MAYHEW (142) has contributed a note on a pale gold shilling of Vanimundus found in Kent.

A series of articles by METCALF examining various aspects of the sceat coinage of the 670s to the mid-eighth century includes an analysis of finds of Series Pa, A and C, arguing that these coinages came from a Kentish mint, possibly situated in a trading *wic* in the Canterbury area, and that London is the most likely place of origin of Series B (146). A further contribution on the subject of primary sceattas explores the generally widespread distribution of Series A, B, C and F, which is contrasted with the concentration of finds of some later series in the vicinity of *wics* (METCALF 150). In a study of Series W, METCALF (148) argues that this series was the first coinage of the kingdom of Wessex, and that its issue may have begun after the payment of a *wergild* by King Wihtred of Kent under an agreement of 694. METCALF has also published a corpus of the first coinage of the kingdom of Northumbria, issued by Aldfrith (145), and a discussion of Northumbrian coins of the archbishops of York, noting the relatively high proportion of finds of these coins from ecclesiastical sites (147). Other articles by METCALF provide a detailed study of Series R1 and R2 (153) and an analysis of finds of Danish coins of Series X (type 31) in England (154). NAYLOR (163) has argued that Series J (types 36, 37 and 85) was the coinage of the kingdom of Lindsey under Mercian domination in the first quarter of the eighth century. ARCHIBALD has discussed the coinage of Beonna and Æthelberht of East Anglia (28), and a French find which has been interpreted as a base silver sceat from the early years of the reign of Offa of Mercia, although it is also possible that it is a Merovingian denier (36). LAING and PONTING (126) have published a sceat possibly related to Series Q, with a detailed metallurgical analysis, ABRAMSON (3) has recorded the second known sceat of the 'Wolf Head/Running Fledgling' type, and MACKAY (139) has discussed five coins combining features of Series N and Series W. The proliferation of finds of sceattas and the increasing complexity of their classification has made the publication of a fully illustrated identification guide by ABRAMSON (2) particularly welcome.

There has been a significant growth in published research on the iconography of the gold and silver coinages of the sixth to mid-eighth centuries. The publication of the doctoral dissertation of GANNON (99) has provided a wide-ranging survey of the iconography of the coins, placing their designs in the context of other artefacts of the period and manuscript illustrations. Religious symbolism is a dominant theme in this analysis, explored further in a discussion of crosses and other less obviously religious imagery (GANNON 97), and STEWARTBY and METCALF (194) have discussed the bust of Christ on a new coin related to Series Q. GANNON (98, 102) has analysed the portraits of Series K, interpreted as representations of the five senses, and the iconography of other sceattas contemporary with the reign of Æthelbald of East Anglia (716-57). GANNON (96, 101) has also investigated animal imagery on sceattas and the penny coinage of Offa and Æthelberht of East Anglia, and the imitation of designs from other coins evident on many sceattas and gold shillings (100).

### **From the later eighth century to the reform of Edgar**

CHICK (71) has reviewed the coinage of Offa of Mercia, with particular attention to the evidence provided by single finds. CLUNIES ROSS (76) has investigated the eighteenth-century provenance of an Offa penny of the moneyer Botred in Stockholm, and MARSDEN (140) has published a penny of Offa's queen Cynethryth from West Norfolk. NAISMITH (161) has analysed royal titulature on the coinage of Offa and Mercian charters of the eighth century. The exceptionally important find of a gold mancus of Coenwulf of Mercia has been the subject of a preliminary publication by WILLIAMS (210).

PIRIE published a useful introduction to the coinage of Northumbria (170) and a discussion of its historical context (171). An enigmatic Northumbrian sceat which may be from an obverse die of the second reign of Æthelred

I used with a reverse die derived from an obverse of Ælfwald I has been discussed by PIRIE (172) and WILLIAMS (205). PIRIE (169) published a hoard of Northumbrian stycas from Bamburgh, and ROBINSON (173) has investigated a southern English find of a styca from Wiltshire. SMITH (179) has discussed the use of copper alloys in Northumbrian stycas.

The coinage of Wessex in the ninth century has been the subject of three publications. SUCHODOLSKI (196) has published a penny of Æthelwulf, which is the earliest known Anglo-Saxon coin found in Poland. The coinage of Æthelred I has been the subject of a corpus compiled by LYONS and MACKAY (138). BLACKBURN (48) has discussed the coinage reforms of Alfred and their historical context.

An article by SCREEN (175) has provided an analysis of the formulation and dissemination of the law codes relating to coinage and commerce, which will be of great value to future work on the Anglo-Saxon coinage before and after the reform of Edgar. A review of the pre-reform coinage of Edgar by JONSSON (121) has identified 'monetary regions', relating them to the areas of Edgar's ealdormanries. LESSEN (131) has argued that some Circumscription Cross coins of Edgar that appeared on the market in the 1990s may have come from an unrecorded hoard found in the vicinity of Winchester. HOLMES (119) and LYON and HOLMES (135) have published a Circumscription Cross penny of Edgar by a new moneyer for the type at York. SMART (178) has surveyed the moneyers' names of Scandinavian origin found on the English coinage before the reform of Edgar.

### **Anglo-Scandinavian England and the Viking world**

The Anglo-Scandinavian coinages of England from the late ninth century to the mid-tenth century have been an exceptionally active field of research in recent years. BLACKBURN has published a magisterial series of surveys of the subject covering the English Danelaw (52, 53), Ireland, Wales, the Isle of Man and Scotland (54). BLACKBURN and PAGAN (64) have analysed two hoards of the St Edmund Coinage of the Southern Danelaw (the Maningtree hoard and the 'Baldwin' parcel). BLACKBURN has reviewed the Viking coinage of York (50) and examined its Christian iconography (51). GOOCH (105) has discussed the Swordless St Peter Coinage of York, looking at its metrology and suggesting that some of the coins of the type in the British Museum may be from the Walmgate, York hoard. LYON and HOLMES (136) have published a fragmentary *Triquetra/Standard* penny of Reginald II Guthfrithsson by a previously unrecorded moneyer, Durant.

Many publications have been considered the bullion and monetary economy of the Viking world. *Silver Economy in the Viking Age* includes contributions on this subject by GRAHAM-CAMPBELL (110), METCALF (152) and WILLIAMS (207). GRAHAM-CAMPBELL has given further consideration to the uses of silver in Viking Age Britain and Ireland (107) and to the dual economy of the Danelaw (108). BLACKBURN (56) has reviewed the finds from the site of the Viking Army's camp at Torksey in 872-3, which include coins, a lead trial piece for imitative solidi, ingots, hack-silver and hack-gold, and bullion weights. ARCHIBALD has published a Viking lead weight with impressions from dies imitating the Two-Line type of Alfred (33), and a review of British hoard evidence for test marks and bending of coins, which is a characteristic of the use of coinage in areas of Scandinavian settlement (31). NAISMITH (160) has surveyed English finds of Islamic coins minted before c. 1100, placing them in the context of trade with Scandinavia and Russia and the economy of Scandinavian and non-Scandinavian areas of England. ARCHIBALD (35) has published a corpus of base-metal disc brooches found in England with designs derived from Islamic dirhams and dinars. BLACKBURN (57) has produced a survey of English finds of gold coins, ingots, hack-gold and artefacts from the seventh century to the mid-thirteenth century, with a corpus of Anglo-Saxon gold coins from the reign of Offa to that of Edward the Confessor.

### **Late Anglo-Saxon**

BORNHOLDT COLLINS and SCREEN (66) have published coins of seven new moneyers in Æthelred II's Benediction Hand type, and GOOCH (106) has recorded the seventeenth known coin of the Agnus Dei type. A paper on the Viking raids of the reign of Æthelred II by KEYNES (124) has included a discussion of the possible connections between the events of 1009 and the Agnus Dei type, with a corpus of known specimens. An important article by METCALF and NORTHOVER (156) examines the evidence for the occasional issue of debased coins from the Last Small Cross type of Æthelred II to Edward the Confessor's Expanding Cross type in the early 1050s. HULETT (120) has noted a new moneyer for the Cambridge mint in Edward the Confessor's PACX type, and LESSEN (130) has drawn attention to some coins of Edward the Confessor and Harold II that may have come from an otherwise unrecorded Yorkshire hoard. ALLEN (23) has compiled a corpus of English hoards from the reform of Edgar to 1158 as part of an analysis of the evidence for the size of the English currency in that period.

CARROLL and PARSONS (69) have begun the publication of a three-volume survey of the place-names of Anglo-Saxon mints, which will become an essential work of reference. CLARKE and SYMONS (74) have published a study of the coins of the Aylesbury mint, ALLAN (4) has reviewed the coins of Lydford, CLARKE has published two notes on the Anglo-Saxon and Norman mint of Winchcombe (72, 73), and EAGLEN (88) has provided a supplement to his corpus of the Huntingdon mint. EAGLEN (86) has also published an important monograph on the Bury St Edmunds mint from the reign of Edward the Confessor to 1279. Eaglen's monograph and two publications on the Anglo-Saxon and Norman moneyers of Worcester by SYMONS (197, 198) include the evidence of documents as well as coins. An illegible reverse die of the tenth to twelfth centuries from excavations in Thetford may have belonged to one of the town's moneyers (BLACKBURN and DAVIES 63).

The study of late Anglo-Saxon coinage will always be heavily dependent upon the resources of Scandinavian museums, which contain most of the English coins of the period in public collections. The publication of the coins of Edward the Confessor and Harold II in Stockholm by COLMAN (77) and of all of the English coins in Uppsala by LINDBERGER (132) have made significant contributions to our knowledge of Scandinavian collections. METCALF (149) and MOESGAARD (157) have analysed the evidence for the export of Anglo-Saxon coins to Scandinavia in the 990s and later, and TALVIO (199) has compared museum collections of English coins in Finland, Estonia and St Petersburg.

ARCHIBALD (32) has analysed German influence on the royal portraits of English coins from Æthelstan to Henry II, which is particularly evident under Edward the Confessor and Henry I. WILLIAMS (204, 209) has published twenty-one Anglo-Saxon and Norman coin-brooches from the Expanding Cross type of Edward the Confessor to William I's Two Stars type, which are all mounted to show the reverse of the coin and not the king's portrait on the obverse. Seventeen English finds of nummular brooches reviewed by LEAHY (128) have a much wider time-span, from the ninth century to the eleventh.

## Norman Conquest to Stephen

The period of this survey has been one of great progress in published research on the English coinage after 1066, so that the reviews of the subject published by ARCHIBALD (30), WOODHEAD (218) and STEWARTBY (189) in 2003 are already considerably out-of-date.

The only publication solely related to the coinage of William I or II has been a report on two small hoards ending in William I type 5 (GANNON and WILLIAMS 103), but the monograph on the Bury St Edmunds mint by EAGLEN (86) continues in this period, and there have been published studies of the Cambridge mint in 1066-1158 (ALLEN 6) and of the mints of the bishop of Durham and the archbishop of York from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Henry VIII (ALLEN 5, 9). A wide-ranging discussion of metrology by LYON (134) includes an analysis of the weights of William I or II Paxs pennies in relation to the formulation of payments in Domesday Book, suggesting that the coins may have been struck at a standard of 254½d. to the Tower pound. BLACKBURN and JONSSON have published a supplement to the earlier *Sylloge* of Norman coins in Stockholm (COLMAN 77), and MUCHA (158) has published all of the British coins of 1066-1485 in the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

Many publications have been devoted to particular coins of Henry I or Stephen. WALKER (202) has removed Alfred from the list of moneyers at Canterbury in Henry I type 15, and tentatively identified Alviric as a Canterbury moneyer in the type. BLACKBURN (61) has published a Henry I type 6 cut halfpenny of Cambridge, a mule of Henry I types 2 and 7, a lead striking of Henry I type 11, and a new 'Thistle' type in the York Ornamental series of the reign of Stephen. BLACKBURN has also produced a preliminary publication on the first known coin of William of Aumale, earl of York (59). FAINTICH (93) has published another new variant for the York coinage of the reign of Stephen, and he has also recorded two irregular coins of Stephen type 1 with left-facing busts, a type 1 penny in the name of Henry of Anjou tentatively attributed to Malmesbury, and cut halfpennies of Mack types 197 and 206 (FAINTICH 92). One of the most important discoveries from the reign of Stephen in recent years has been the previously unsuspected coinage of Robert earl of Gloucester and his son William in the 1140s, which has been the subject of a comprehensive study by ARCHIBALD (34). ALLEN (11) has produced a corpus and die study of Stephen type 7, and ALLEN and WEBB WARE (26) have subsequently recorded a new mint and a new moneyer for the type. EGAN (91) has published nineteen lead tokens from excavations at London's Guildhall which seem from the archaeological evidence to have been made no later than about 1140.

## Henry II to Long Cross

ALLEN (16) has published a comprehensive survey of the administration of the English coinage in the reign of Henry II. EAGLEN (87) has offered an analysis of the opening and closure of mints at the introduction of Henry II's Tealby coinage in 1158, and CRAFTER (82) has examined the historical evidence for the loss of minting rights by St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury at an early stage of the Tealby coinage. CRAFTER has also published a die study of the Tealby coins of the Ipswich mint (81) and a new moneyer in Tealby class A (83). STACK (181) has examined the documentary evidence for the terms of Henry II's Assize of Oxford, which regulated the exchanging of the new Short Cross coinage in the recoinage of 1180-2. ALLEN (24) has argued on the basis of hoard metrology that the weight of the English penny was altered in 1180, and that the new standard may have been 246d. per Tower pound.

ALLEN (10) has published a corpus of English hoards deposited between 1158 and 1544 which has already been rendered incomplete by new discoveries and reassessments of old finds. CRAFTER (84) has recorded a parcel of twelve Tealby pennies from the 'near Middlesbrough' hoard of 1932, which is now known to have been found at Thorpe Thewles, and ALLEN (14) has reconstructed some of the contents of the 1850 Framlingham Castle hoard of Tealby and Short Cross coins. TRAVAINI and ALLEN (200) have investigated an early nineteenth-century discovery of Short Cross pennies near Pontremoli in Tuscany, and STEEN JENSEN (183) has considered the two Short Cross hoards from Ribe as evidence of the presence of English merchants in thirteenth-century Denmark. GULLBEKK and MAYHEW (113) have produced a well-illustrated exhibition catalogue on the Brussels hoard, which is by far the largest single source of Long Cross pennies of Henry III. Archaeological excavations in Colchester have uncovered a lead hoard container from the immediate vicinity of the 1969 hoard of Long Cross pennies, empty apart from one coin of the type (BROOKS, CRUMMY and ARCHIBALD 68).

ALLEN (22) has analysed the documentary evidence for the salaries of mint and exchange officials in the Long Cross recoinage of 1247-50, which can be used to calculate the outputs of mints in the recoinage and the periods of opening of their exchanges. STEEN JENSEN (182) has investigated the remarkable career of Nicholas of St Albans, who was a mint master of Valdemar II of Denmark as well as being the principal London and Canterbury moneyer from the late 1230s to the 1250s. STEWARTBY (191) has suggested that the Canterbury moneyer Robert Vi may have been a vintner named in a writ of 1237, and SHOTT (177) has added Roger to the list of Canterbury moneyers in the Long Cross coinage.

## Edwardian coinage to the Debasement of 1544

ALLEN (15) has published a corpus and die study of the groats of Edward I, arguing that their production was limited to the Edwardian recoinage of 1279-81, and the documentary evidence for the initial weight standard of farthings in the recoinage has been discussed by LYON (132). ALLEN (19) has calculated revised figures for the halfpenny and farthing outputs of the London mint in 1280-1351, as part of a review of the evidence for average die outputs at English mints between 1249 and 1483. A well-designed identification guide to the Edwardian pennies of 1279-1343 by WITHERS and WITHERS (216) includes a revised classification of the coinage of Berwick, and STEWARTBY (184) has published a Berwick farthing which may be from the debased issue of 1335-43. The extremely useful series of identification guides to halfpennies and farthings from WITHERS and WITHERS now includes volumes on the coins of 1335-99 (213), 1399-1461 (214) and 1461-1509 (215).

The introduction of a gold coinage in 1344 and the appearance of groats and halfgroats in 1351 were changes of fundamental importance for the English currency. EAGLETON and KELLEHER (90) have published a petition and indenture which throw new light upon the competition for the contract to make the first gold coinage of 1344. A hoard from Cambridge published by ALLEN (7, 13) has shown the transition in the 1350s from the use of silver pennies to store large sums of cash to the hoarding of gold. ALLEN (20) has reviewed the evidence for the proportions of the denominations in mint outputs of silver coins from 1351 to 1485, showing that they were often dominated by groats, although there were repeated efforts to boost issues of smaller denominations. An early fifteenth-century find from Skipton Bridge has a mixture of groats, halfgroats and pennies (BARCLAY 37), but two small late medieval finds from Driffeld and Market Rasen consist of groats only (BARCLAY 38).

STEWARTBY (190) has published the outputs recorded in the London mint accounts of 1399-1402 in much greater detail than had been available previously. FREEMAN has discussed a list of personnel at the London mint compiled in 1433 (95) and the participation of eleven of the mint's staff in the parliamentary election for Middlesex

in 1472 (94). ALLEN (18) has discussed the role of Italians in English mint and exchange administration from 1279 to the fifteenth century.

Detailed work on the classification of the coinage has always been one of the great strengths of later medieval English numismatics. STEWARTBY (192) has published a Calais noble and London halfgroat of Richard II, and STEWARTBY and WEBB WARE (195) have discussed the appearance of escallop stops on the obverses of Richard II nobles. LESSEN (129) has recorded a Calais groat of Henry VI from a Pinecone-Masclie obverse die incorrectly marked with a line for the inner circle of the reverse, and STEWARTBY (188) has analysed the sequence of varieties in London and Calais halfgroats of Henry VI from Leaf-Masclie to Trefoil. A survey of the halfpennies and farthings of Henry VI by WITHERS and WITHERS (212) has proposed a new classification of the coins and a revised naming system for the issues of Henry VI's coinage. STEWARTBY (187) has discussed the classification of a London penny of Edward IV's first reign light coinage, and he has published two halfpennies of Richard III from obverse dies in the name of Edward IV or V (STEWARTBY 185). WITHERS (211) has provided amendments to the *Sylloge* publication of the coins of Henry VII in the Ashmolean Museum, and GRAYBURN (112) has discussed the Escallop mark on the coinage of Henry VII.

COOK (79) has reviewed the literature on the coinage of the Tudor monarchs from Henry VII to Elizabeth. New documentary evidence published by CAVILL (70) has revealed that over two million debased halfgroats were struck for use on Henry VII's expedition to France in 1492, and then demonetised in 1493. O'HAIR (167) has discussed the Portcullis farthings of Henry VIII. A review of the use of foreign gold coins in Tudor England by KELLEHER (122) surveys the evidence of proclamations, hoards and single finds, suggesting that such coins were particularly prevalent in the vicinity of ports, and noting that some coins mentioned in proclamations have not yet appeared as finds. NEWMAN (164) has published a hoard of lead-alloy Boy Bishop tokens and blank discs found near Sibton Abbey, Suffolk, which might have been connected with the dissolution of the abbey in 1536.

### **Coinage and the English economy after the Norman Conquest**

Many publications have been concerned with the size and composition of the currency as factors in economic and social history. *Medieval Money Matters* (WOOD 217) contains several contributions to this debate. BOLTON (65) examines the factors that influenced the development a money economy in medieval England, including the rapid increase in the size of the currency. A discussion of the uses of money in medieval Britain by BRITNELL (67) considers the evidence of single finds, and the denominational structure of the currency as well as its size. ALLEN (12) offers an analysis of the size and composition of the currency as a factor in the commercialization of England before the Black Death. NIGHTINGALE (165) argues that English commerce and the availability of credit could be adversely affected by a shortage of silver in retail trade and falling mint outputs. Finally, MAYHEW (141) presents models of the English economy in 1086, 1300, 1470 and 1526, giving further consideration to size of the currency and its denominations.

An extremely informative book by KENT (123) uses a skilful blend of documentary and single-find evidence to survey the composition of the English currency throughout its history and the effects of shortages of small change and epidemics of bad money. ALLEN (23) has assessed the evidence for the size of the English currency between the reform of Edgar and 1158, and proposed a new estimate of the currency in 1158 on the basis of a die study of Stephen type 7 (ALLEN 11). LATIMER (127) has modelled the size of the English currency between 1180 and 1247, and ALLEN (21) has used die estimates and profits recorded in mint accounts to calculate new estimates of mint output and the size of the currency in this period. CLAUGHTON (75) has argued that silver from northern Pennine mines had a major impact upon English mint outputs in the twelfth century. The monograph on the Durham mint by ALLEN (9) discusses mint output and the factors that may have caused fluctuations in output, including the productivity of local mines and trends in foreign trade. MAYHEW (143) has related declining mint outputs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and rising prices of silver to the general decline in supplies of mined silver from continental Europe. He has also explored the connections between the changing denominational structure of the English currency and the growth in wage payments (MAYHEW 144). MUNRO (159) has examined the factors that may have caused changes in wages after the Black Death, emphasising the importance of the size of the currency. A collection of the published papers of NIGHTINGALE (166) includes many contributions on various aspects of credit, mint organization and the metrology of the coinage



## Wales

BESLY (44) has published a survey of coinage in Wales from the Anglo-Saxon period to the mid-thirteenth century, supported by lists of hoards and single finds. Two further publications by BESLY (43, 47) have added to the corpus of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins found in Wales. BESLY has also published articles on the previously obscure nineteenth-century hoard of Henry I pennies from Milford Haven (46) and a hoard of Edwardian sterlings from a beach near Llanddona on the Isle of Anglesey (45).

## Scotland

BATESON (39) has published a survey of publications on Scottish numismatics since 1903, and BATESON and HOLMES have continued the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland's quinquennial summaries of Scottish coin finds (40, 41). BLACKBURN (49) has published a survey of finds of the seventh to mid-tenth centuries from Scotland, Norway, the Faroes and Iceland. An analysis of Scottish finds from the mid-ninth century to the late eleventh century by WILLIAMS (208) has suggested that the use of coinage was on a much wider scale than previously suspected, although coins were not the preferred medium for the storage of wealth in hoards. An important article by HOLMES (115) combines the evidence of single finds, hoards and documentary sources to review the use of coinage in Scotland from the twelfth century to 1603. STEWARTBY (186) has recorded a possible parcel from the 1834 Baddingsill hoard of William the Lion Crescent sterlings and Short Cross pennies, and HOLMES (116) has published a small Dumfriesshire hoard consisting of Short Cross pennies and a Scottish sterling of Alexander II, with a list of other Short Cross hoards from Scotland. HOLMES has also published a small hoard of four Henry III Long Cross pennies from Kilvaxter, Skye, and forty Edwardian sterlings from Greenhill, Stirlingshire (117). A remarkable hoard of thirty-three jettons and a fragment of a Teutonic Order schilling from Synie Palace, with a probable *terminus ante quem* of 1475, has thrown doubt upon the accepted chronology of some of the jettons (HOLMES 114).

A revised catalogue of *Coins of Scotland, Ireland and the Islands (Jersey, Guernsey, Man & Lundy)* from SPINK (180) has provided a useful summary of the current classifications of Scottish medieval coinage. There has been no major work on classification during the period of this Survey, but HOLMES (118) has published new halfpennies of Alexander III, Robert II and Robert III from the David Rogers collection. KIRTON (125) had recorded the third known example of the class III penny of Robert I. ANDERSON (27) has discussed Spanish imitations of the Crux Pellit coinage of James III, and ROMA (174) has provided a brief summary of finds of Crux Pellit coins in the Basque Country as part of a survey of finds of British medieval coins from Spanish excavations. STEWARTBY (193) has published two counterfeit gold crowns of James IV.

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## ENGLAND, WALES AND SCOTLAND: MODERN

*Robert Thompson*

MANVILLE (65) took the last survey to the year 2001; he also contributed a most useful annotated bibliography of printed books on Great Britain and Ireland from 1600 to 2004.<sup>9</sup> Not everyone will agree with his inclusion of offprints from periodicals analysed in his earlier volumes, but they have their uses. For the centenary of the British Numismatic Society, surveys of the previous century's research were made by BESLY (7) on the coinage of the Stuarts, HEWITT (41) on later coins and paper money, THOMPSON (106) on tokens etc. to 1700, and DYKES (25) on tokens of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Smaller bibliographical contributions came from ODDIE (80) with an index to the defunct *Coin Monthly*, and YOUNG (133) with the long-needed index to the British Museum *Catalogue of the Montague Guest collection of badges, tokens and passes*, but now in the Department of Coins and Medals. On individual publications, PAGAN (83) recounted the publication history of the *Table of English gold...*, and of *Silver coins* by M. Folkes, and LESSEN (59) detailed the various formats of T. Snelling's *Seventy-two plates*. THOMPSON (107) described the numismatic contribution of R. Holme's extraordinary heraldic encyclopaedia of 1688, and pointed out failings in G. C. Williamson's token catalogue. KAGAN (55) elegantly surveyed the history of numismatics in Britain to 1642; while BERRY and KIM (5) summarised the key works that had emerged from Oxford by 1699, in manuscript and in print.

### Counterfeits and forgeries

ODDIE (81) identified false countermarks on Edward VI shillings, and described a mould formed from a seventeenth-century Hertfordshire token which he attributed to a forger; yet lead impressions in a Hertfordshire hoard could instead suggest a local shortage of tokens. TOSNEY (116) found that in trials at the Old Bailey, 1674-1749, of those charged with false coining 46% were women. HODGE (43) corrected to 1792 the undertype of countermarked token Manville X45, and published a Muir countermark copying Manville 59 on a dollar from Brazil. WADDELL (118) described a plated forgery of a silver token of 1811.

### Finds and hoards

Amongst Thames-side finds in Southwark EGAN (31) catalogued weights, coins, lead tokens (including a St Nicholas type normally associated with East Anglia), jettons, and a lead 'sealing' impressed from an obverse identifiable as Norweb token 6686. PAGAN and THOMPSON (84) catalogued coins, jettons, and tokens (four out of the nine metropolitan) from Henry VIII's Nonsuch Palace, to which BIDDLE added a comparison of numismatic dates with archaeological phases. COOK (15) recorded six new hoards from England; WARHURST *et al.* (126) four hoards from Cheshire which seem to be associated with one John Walker (d. 1675). From associated silverware BARCLAY (3) formed a fuller picture of one North Yorkshire hoard, and published two others of which one consisted of clipped coins and clippings. BESLY (6) published a Civil War hoard from Shropshire.

### Biography

BURNETT (10) assessed the importance of John Evelyn (1620-1706) and Obadiah Walker (1616-1699), POTTINGER (87) recalled the career of Barzillai Lowsley (1840-1905), CHALLIS (11) that of Henry Symonds (1859-1933), and WILSON (128) searched successfully for the elusive E. B. Smith (1868-1942) who wrote under the pseudonym 'Ernest Bramah'. THOMPSON (108) confirmed that the 1658 token-issuer James Foe (1630-1706) was father to Daniel Defoe (1660?-1731) who, either through lack of awareness or to protect his father, seems never to have mentioned such tokens in his voluminous writings. He also identified a surprising number of token-issuers in the new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; and, stimulated by the example of Henry Furnese (c.1630-1672), surveyed the causes which had brought them to be mentioned.

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<sup>9</sup> This chapter continues from the Medieval one, and does not comment on items included there, in particular BATESON (39), COOK (77), KENT (122), and SPINK (112). In the absence again of any chapter on Ireland, an appendix surveys the more important publications since 1990.



## Sixteenth-century coins and tokens

ROSEN and JORDAN (94) published a new variety of a posthumous penny of Henry VIII, WITHERS and WITHERS (130) surveyed smaller denominations 1509-1660, while BROWN, COMBER and WILKINSON (9) catalogued the Tower mint silver of Elizabeth I. DU QUESNE BIRD (23) discussed English communion tokens.

## Seventeenth-century coins and paper money

WOODHEAD (131) catalogued the English gold coins 1603-1978 in the Schneider collection, with a substantial introduction on monetary history and hoards; he also discussed a James I unite with the edge apparently grained. STEWARTBY (103) studied altered mintmarks on dies of James I rose ryals. HOLT (51) noticed a new bust type for James I shillings. EVERSON (34) published papers from a 1623 lawsuit over royal farthing tokens sent to Bath, revealing much about their distribution and costs, and then produced a clear history and reclassification of them. HULETT (52) published a new variety of Charles I shilling by Briot, and a new shilling of the Bristol mint. MORRIS (75) reassessed as genuine a halfcrown of the Chester mint. HULETT (53) discovered a missing variety of the York mint from the rebuilt rotary press. HOLMES (49) concluded that a Commonwealth unite dated 1646 was genuinely a die error for 1649. LESSEN (60) attributed cast copies of Cromwell sixpences with a republican symbol to Thomas Hollis (1720-1774), and drew together the sources on Thomas Simon's Petition crown. DUFF (21) distinguished two bust varieties on the Charles II halfpenny. Both HEWITT (42) and EUSTACE (32) surveyed the iconography of Britannia. DUGGLEBY (22) nicely catalogued the Treasury and Bank of England notes from 1694. VALENZE (117) investigated social aspects of money from c.1640 to 1770.

## Seventeenth-century tokens

MANVILLE and DICKINSON (66) drew on the former's bibliographical work to list additions to the latter's catalogue. THOMPSON and DICKINSON (109) published the most important volume yet of tokens in the Norweb Collection, those issued in the City of London strictly defined, with a plethora of types which indicate the 'anarchy' created by the failure of the Caroline government to supply small change. Documentation of the issuers has revealed a number of City aldermen and Common Councilmen, if no Lord Mayor, though Daniel Rawlinson's son attained the chair, and another Lord Mayor's cousin is proved in the introduction to be a token-issuer who introduced tea, and founded Garraway's coffee-house where the London Stock Exchange was born; they also showed that a monogram incorporates, not a C, but a T in the Secretary hand. THOMPSON (110) discovered that the long-sought token from the baker's shop where the Fire of London broke out had been published under an old name for Pudding Lane, and he documented the issuer of a piece dated 1629 as a gentleman from Gloucestershire. He elucidated the devices of a case of knives, the flaming hub of a cart-wheel as a badge of Woodstock, a rose below a 'bur' (=chestnut) for Burrowes, and a Golden Fleece sufficiently to prove that such a mercantile device does derive from the Knights of the Golden Fleece, though its transmission from Burgundy to Leeds has not been adequately explained. ODDIE (82) analysed and mapped the merchant marks appearing on tokens, also on coins and weights.

SCOTNEY (95) burst on the scene with Spectacle-makers' tokens, failing to acknowledge previous work, confusing his references, copying Norweb illustrations, and even the text of Williamson's catalogue under his own name. Yet once one recognises that anything he publishes must be checked, his investigations can be useful. For example, the issuer of a token reading GODNEY, and assigned to Godney in Somerset, was documented in Gedney in Lincolnshire (96); and he has convincingly attributed Dickinson's Cornwall 3B to Barripper (=beau repaire), Williamson's Lancashire 105 to Preston in Rutland, and has named the issuer at Griff in Warwickshire (97). Reattributions since the publication of Norweb specimens, despite the authors' care, have been made by KNIGHT (58) from Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, to Wickham, Hampshire, and by KERRIDGE (56) of a token reading STEVINIG from Stevenage to Steyning, Sussex. Desiderata must be finds or documentation for every token-issuer.

On production aspects, STEWART (102) published a surviving die for the Southampton Corporation farthing, with documentation of the 1669-70 orders. WAGER (122) wondered how tokens would have been ordered for villages from the London makers. THOMPSON (111) discovered that the tokens reportedly sent by the scientist Robert Hooke from London to the Isle of Wight were royal farthings issued in 1672, so both ordering and distribution of the private tokens remain obscure.

Local studies have included RAINS (92) on Leicester; THOMPSON (112) on William Ivy and his disreputable brother in Wincanton, Somerset; WINSBOROUGH (129) on a silvered and gilded Bristol Farthing of 1660, and on two Taunton farthings of 1667 struck on octagonal flans. EVERSON (35) comprehensively described and documented the issuers of Kingston upon Thames; although THOMPSON (113) identified a fourth obverse die for Thomas Edmondes, while wondering whether as chamberlain he might have been promoting new corporate arms. PERCIVAL (86) confirmed that John Yates belongs to Aldbrough, East Riding of Yorkshire; and produced a well-illustrated and documented study of the token-issuers of Hull.

### **Eighteenth- to twentieth-century coins and coin weights**

BIGGS (8) pointed to brass coin-weights as evidence of what the Worshipful Company of Founders of London were making, listing members involved; and looked at makers in Birmingham and elsewhere. GARDNER (37) discovered a new variety of the 1708 Queen Anne shilling. MANVILLE and GASPAS (67) saw in the 1787 shilling a transition in minting technique. DYER (24) looked at how the Bank of England's suspension of payment in gold in 1797 had a lasting effect on the circulating medium; and with GASPAS used the case of James Turnbull to show the speed of a manually-operated screw press in 1798. PEARCE (85) explained how W. J. Taylor concocted the 1807 proof halfpenny obverse. CLANCY (14) corrected the appointment of William Wellesley Pole as Master of the Mint to 1814, and the description of his 1823 'resignation'. Two denominations produced in the re-coinage were catalogued by MARSH (70). CLANCY (13) explained an 1819 pair of composite dies as being intended for round ingots proposed by David Ricardo, but found difficult to produce. MAGNAY (64) examined the metallic content of the 1840s bi-metallic model coins. HOLLAND (48) examined a pair of obverse-linked pennies dated 1860-1, and variation in penny reverses from re-cut punches. MARSH (71) published new error dates on Victorian sovereigns. NALA (78) identified forgeries of £2 and £1 coins. WALL (125) nicely analysed the design elements of coinage in the 'long' twentieth century.

### **Countermarked and Bank of England dollars**

Another effect of suspension was countermarked dollar tokens, on which MANVILLE (68) supplemented his major *Tokens of the Industrial Revolution*, and supplied additions and corrections. DICKINSON (20) published observations on the book, and an update on Bank of England dollar varieties. HODGE (44) looked at holdings in Madrid.

### **Eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century tokens**

MERNICK (73) recognised a series of white-metal tokens relating to the London Fruiterers' Company, and through documenting individuals and partnerships proposed that their use was in unloading cargoes at Three Cranes Wharf or nearby. FINLAY (36) studied mining tokens of Cumberland for a splendid monograph. SYMONS (105) documented a pass for the Birmingham (New Street) Theatre, and YOUNG (134) those for theatres in Bath, also the tickets used in New Park, Richmond upon Thames. KLEIN (57) showed that vintners' tokens in Ludlow were countermarked during the eighteenth, not the nineteenth century.

In a continuing debate on whether the 'big problem of small change' was solved through Matthew Boulton's steam press, SELGIN (99) argued from the tokens that successful small change depended on quality and consistency of die engraving, and the systematic withdrawal of worn coin; he also documented Charles Wyatt (c.1751-1819), who managed the Parys Mine mint in Birmingham. MATHIAS (72) gave a context in economic history to eighteenth-century tokens, as did DYKES (26). The latter (27) also looked at the makers Samuel Garbett, John Stubbs Jorden, and 'Peter' [*recte* Paul] Skidmore, and (28) at individual issues for the Dunkirk factory in Somerset, the Sherborne Bank in Dorset, and a satirical token placed in Middlesex. MARGOLIS (69) documented Matthew Boulton's shipment of tokens for the Monneron Brothers in Paris which were stolen from a canal boat in Gainsborough. WAGER (123) ingeniously sought to identify Henry Morgan, the named issuer of some silver tokens, but also named by contemporaries as a counterfeiter.

### **Later tokens**

MITCHINER (74) concluded his series of large illustrated volumes on jettons, medalets and tokens with one on the British Isles from c.1830, being particularly interested in manufacturing aspects. Likewise, WADDELL (119) researched the products and factory site of Ackroyd & Best Ltd., Morley, the machine tokens made in Northampton for the Monarch Automatic Co., and he listed later tokens from Northamptonshire. Pieces made of

cardboard were catalogued by EVANS (33). Those of lead were introduced by POWELL (91), who edits the online newsletter *Leaden Tokens Telegraph*.

On 'unofficial farthings' WAGER (124) wondered how they were used. WADDELL (120) listed those of Northamptonshire, and POTTINGER (88) documented those of Oxfordshire and Berkshire. The last of these gave ANDISON (1) important dating evidence on dies bearing the head of Victoria. On the wartime British Restaurant tokens MYERS (77) published a hoard of those ordered by Barrow in Furness County Borough. The Coffee-house checks of Berkshire were documented by POTTINGER (89). Co-operative checks and tokens were comprehensively catalogued by RAINS, who also noticed some errors (93). On hop tokens HENDERSON (40) recorded known hop growers in Kent and Sussex, and farms where tokens were used in the picking of hops, with family connections between them; though to the wide range of local sources tapped more could have been added from national sources, e.g. on Sir Anchitel Ashburnham, 8th Baronet (1828-1899). Imitation guineas were listed with collaborators by NEILSON (79), who also catalogued Model Sovereign counters. Market tallies of Nottingham were nicely documented by CHAMBERLAIN (12). Military tokens of the British Commonwealth were catalogued by YARWOOD (132). An 1832 token for a utopian community at Randwick in Gloucestershire was published by EDGE (30).

WHITMORE (127) rounded up years of research with a valuable though disparate volume which supplemented the main catalogue of eighteenth-century tokens, and his own of 'unofficial farthings', which indexed Hawkins's *Dictionary of Makers*, and published the public-house (pub) tokens of Birmingham, Herefordshire, Staffordshire, and Worcestershire, with an analysis of makers' stock dies, and an index of British token-issuing pubs. An understanding of this producer-led industry was provided through publication of the thesis by COURTNEY (16). An explanation of varying token denominations came with the discovery by CUNNINGHAM (18) that it cost extra to drink out of glass, a subject on which LYALL (61) also contributed. THOMPSON (114) arranged the pub tokens of Hackney, Shoreditch and Stoke Newington by maker, although there were no revelations about the industry. The documenting of pub tokens by area continued with HUTCHINSON (54) on Lincolnshire, and TODD on Warwickshire with CUNNINGHAM (19), also (115) Herefordshire, Shropshire with the assistance of GEORGE, and Staffordshire with the assistance of EDEN. POTTINGER (90) researched Berkshire and Oxfordshire pub tokens, and WADDELL (121) published a porcelain piece commemorating Eichstätt (Bavaria), where his father was a prisoner of war.

## Scotland

HOLMES (50) began to catalogue the Scottish coins in the National Museums of Scotland with a volume covering 1526-1603; earlier he had drawn attention to the important collection bequeathed by Major D. Lindsay Carnegie, celebrated the acquisition of one of two specimens of the marriage ryal of Mary and Darnley, and investigated Coats's pattern crown of 1716. SPENCER (100) pointed to the source for Mary's portrait on the 1561-2 testoons and half testoons. Lord and Lady STEWARTBY (104) persuasively associated Mary's palm-tree ryal with the lifting of the siege of Malta. HALL and HOLMES (38) discussed a probable Scottish hoard of the late sixteenth century. BATESON (4) described seventeenth-century copper hoards from St Combs, Aberdeenshire, and Athelstaneford, East Lothian; and a hoard from Castlecary, Stirlingshire, with an examination of other Civil War hoards from Scotland and the Scottish currency of the period. MURRAY (76) published the documents on the Scottish re-coinage of 1707-9 and its aftermath.

DYKES (29) examined the token coinage of William Fullarton. On countermarked dollars HODGE (45) analysed a 1792 Day Book from the Adelphi Cotton Works, and MACMILLAN (63) added a note on its interpretation. HODGE (43) went on to correct the undertype of a Rothsay countermarked dollar in Copenhagen from Chihuahua to Mexico City, to examine the countermarks for the Levern Mill, Renfrewshire, and to publish a Dalzell Farm countermark on a French 5 francs.

## Wales

SCOTNEY (98) documented seventeenth-century token issuers of Wrexham, although his transcriptions are inaccurate. HAWKER (39) explained the *PMS* monogram on an Anglesey token as a commission by Dr Samuel Solomon of Liverpool. HODGE (47) queried whether there were countermarked dollars in Wales. COX and COX (17) re-listed the pub tokens of the principality, with many additional specimens and new biographical data.

## Channel Islands, British Empire and Commonwealth

ARCHIBALD (2) published the coins from Castle Cornet on Guernsey, and identified amongst them local tokens issued by Colas Guillemotte and others. STEVENS (101) reviewed a century's research on Imperial and Colonial coinages. LYALL (62) reattributed Spanish silver coins with heart-shaped cut-outs from the Caribbean to Gibraltar.

### Appendix: Ireland (1990-2007) with the assistance of MANVILLE, H. E. and GALLAGHER, C.

COLGAN (137) provided an attractive overview, which was not, however, abreast of the latest research. BLACKBURN (135) made die-studies of two Hiberno-Norse issues, HESLIP and NORTHOVER (143) published metallurgical analyses of the series, and O'HARA (152) added a new variant. NORTH (150) examined and reclassified Edwardian pence for Ireland. FINN (141) discovered a third coin of Henry VI. The surviving Statute rolls from 1483 to 1547, an important source on the Irish coinage and foreign coin in Ireland, were published by the National Archives of IRELAND (144) in a transcript of the Middle French with English translation. BRADY, GALLAGHER and BRADY (136) enquired into the Lambert Simnel coinage. McLOUGHLIN (146) discussed the effects of the Elizabethan debasement. TREADWELL (154) recounted the Duke of Buckingham's influence on Anglo-Irish relations, including the background to the abortive establishment of a mint in 1627. FINN (140) rediscovered one of the forged Inchiquin pieces carefully recorded by Aquilla Smith. SHARP (153) suggested that the St Patrick coins commemorate Charles I, while DANFORTH (138) convincingly attributed their production to Pierre Blondeau in 1667-9 at the behest of the Lord Lieutenant, although MANVILLE (148) showed that he made an unwarranted assumption about the gold and silver strikings. MARTIN (149) produced an impressive die study of Wood's halfpence and farthings. HESLIP (141) studied the eighteenth-century tokens from Ulster, and advised MALCOMSON (147) over the agencies for copper and gold coinages held by Nathaniel Clements (1705-1777), who profited from both. MORRIS (150) recounted the rivalry of two mining companies on opposite banks of the Vale of Avoca, Co. Wicklow, and DICKSON (139) summarised the mining aspects of a history of one of the families involved. The final report of the Euro Changeover Board of IRELAND (145) details the steps taken to replace Irish coins and notes with euros, and the associated promotional material.

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#### **Appendix: Ireland (1990-2007)**

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## THE LOW COUNTRIES: BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS AND LUXEMBURG

*Arent Pol*

This is the first time that the Benelux-countries have been dealt with in one section in the *Survey*. As was done in the previous separate contributions, a more or less chronological order has been adopted, treating all three areas undivided geographically. The list of titles is in purely alphabetical order of authors' names. The different traditions regarding the treatment of the name prefixes is followed here as well: the Belgians have been classified under "de" or "van" regardless of whether this is joined to or separate from the main family name, while for the Dutch they are listed under the main element.

Numismatic publications are increasing in the Low Countries as elsewhere – because more collectors and scholars are getting involved – but here there is only enough space to present the most relevant contributions. Fortunately, for Belgium a full bibliography has been published annually in the *RBN* by VAN HEESCH (till 2003) and by DEWIT (since 2004). This includes, for example, many short contributions by DENGIS which have been excluded from the *Survey*, where only one article and one book of his are listed (52-53). For the Netherlands, the place to start any bibliographical numismatic query is the new library catalogue of the Geldmuseum, which is available on the internet.

For contributions on Merovingian and Carolingian coins and finds from the Low Countries, see the chapter on Early Middle Ages elsewhere in this volume.

### General

As well as a general introduction to money by a non-numismatic historian (108), there are smaller contributions on the handling of money in Liège (70) and on the presence or absence of foreign coins in local circulation in the Netherlands (12). An important general study is BRZIC's dissertation on the ducat, which adopts an economic approach with some anthropology and takes full account of the international significance of this important trade coin in the 17th and 18th centuries (44).

Less numismatic in character, but no less significant is the discussion of aspects of medieval monetary history represented in books and articles by HENSTRA, MUNRO and others (1, 46, 86-88, 125-128, 159-160). LUCASSEN extends his essay on the payment of wages over a longer period down to the present day (119). Among the contributions dealing with the monetary history of the modern period, the most prominent is GILLARD on the Amsterdam Exchange Bank (69), but there are others of note (51, 131, 149), whilst for the past two centuries there are several surveys or detailed studies (113, 122, 124, 193). Some publications deal with financial history, the study of taxes and state expenditure, in the medieval (92) and modern period (60, 82, 117, 184). Another related but different topic is the concept of 'money of account' (87, 114).

The organization of coin production is dealt with by SMOLDEREN and others (22, 37, 48, 76, 152, 157-158), whilst mint personnel (23, 28, 30), technical aspects (13, 15, 38) and tools (120) have also been considered.

### Middle Ages

The most impressive publication in the medieval section is that of DENGIS on the coinage of Liège, which also covers the modern period (52). Among other notable contributions are those by BOFFA on early pennies of Brabant, a coin ordinance and the introduction of larger silver coin (39-41), and by other authors on the baudekin and its imitations (50), the French groats struck in Flanders and Brabant (66) and the Flemish monetary situation around 1300 (80). GROLLE's work on some petty coinages of the 13th and 14th centuries in the Netherlands (72) offers a useful survey and brings together a lot of old and newly discovered material, but should be used with care because of the sometimes speculative interpretations. STUURMAN wrote a substantial contribution on the 'gubernatorial' coinage in Friesland at the turn of the 15th to the 16th century (161, 164). Some of the authors just mentioned, and others, contributed further on a variety of topics (14, 49, 53, 54, 55, 57, 63, 64, 65, 73, 77, 84, 85, 88, 90, 94, 95, 115, 129, 150, 163, 176, 182, 190, 191). Finally, BENDERS has been a prolific writer – alone or in co-operation with others – on the coinage of medieval Guelders and related subjects (17-32).

## **Modern and contemporary period, including the colonies and paper money**

In the preceding period several important contributions relating to the Southern part of the Benelux were produced where the North was lagging behind, but in this section the situation is reversed. With respect to the South only DENGIS must be mentioned again, his Liège catalogue running up to the French Revolution (52). For the North, the first volume of a new general catalogue by PURMER & VAN DER WIEL appeared (148). GROPP's dissertation on the early 16th-century minting of the cities of Deventer and Nijmegen, is now translated (74). The emergency coinages of Leiden 1574 (145) and Groningen 1672 (189) were reconsidered. Reviewed also were the difficult circumstances under which the Groningen provincial authorities had coins struck at a moment in history when they gradually lost control of their territory at the end of the 16th century (165). Further contributions for this period were published on a variety of topics, also mostly relating to the North (107, 130, 137, 138, 139, 147) where especially VAN DER WIS has been productive on Groningen (84-85, 188-192).

Very little has been written on Dutch colonial numismatics, both for the modern and contemporary period. Apart from BOEGHEIM's detailed study of the Netherlands Indies stuiver (34), only one other contribution can be mentioned (169). However, several historians have come up with studies in which colonial monetary aspects play a more or less significant role, like GAASTRA on the remittances of private capital (61), HOANG on the Vietnamese silk trade (91), SHIMADA on Japanese copper (156) and finally JACOBS on the trade of the Dutch East-India Company in general (100). A report on the Adelaar shipwreck is of quite another type of research (121).

Apart from the encyclopedia for the Belgian franc (181), contemporary numismatics saw no major contributions (9, 11, 13, 43, 59, 68, 83, 106) – only an article on the mints of Utrecht and Genua under Napoleon deserves special mention (47). The introduction of the euro invoked a large number of studies mentioned in the preceding *Survey*; now on this subject only one contribution can be reported (155), as is the case with the gradually diminishing importance of chartal money in our times (124).

Paper money traditionally attracts far less attention and most of the relevant articles are by VAN DER KAM (103-106) and by ARKESTEIJN (3-5). Several others contributed to the subject as well, eight of them combined in a volume dealing with a variety of topics (62, 123).

## **Circulation: coin finds (medieval and modern), forgeries, foreign imitations and coin export**

No space was available here for the majority of the reports of coin finds, but those from Belgian soil can all be traced in the annual bibliography in *RBN* cited above. The coin finds registered in the Netherlands (hoards and single finds) can be found via the internet in the database 'Numis' maintained by the Utrecht Geldmuseum – for hoards there is a bibliographical reference in the primary record of each hoard (142). Only a small selection of coin find studies is listed here, medieval (18, 67, 78, 79, 116, 162, 173, 183, 185) and modern (98, 102, 134, 144, 151, 174, 180), a late 18th-century hoard being hidden in an article entitled 'tombes mérovingiennes' etc. A survey of hoard containers has been made (153). Special attention is drawn here to some contributions that review the problems – possibilities and impossibilities – that go with coin finds and hoards as a source for numismatic research (8, 146, 179, 185).

Closely linked to studies based on material found in the soil are articles that deal with the use of coin as currency from another perspective. Contributing to our understanding of this theme are for example official regulations concerning the money circulation (10, 132-133), notes and comments by monetary experts or private persons (154, 172), materials gleaned from the sphere of bookkeeping (6), archival descriptions of sums of cash encountered centuries ago (99, 111, 171), one being an inventory of the many gold coins found with a Scottish beggar in Belgium in 1716 (45), and entries from various archival sources (58, 109, 135).

Forgeries is a topic that always has the attention of authorities as well as numismatists. In recent years studies have appeared concerning the medieval period (175, 178), modern and contemporary coins (7, 35-36, 71, 75, 175, 177-178), including those of the colonies (166), and false paper money (4).

Apart from coin circulation in the three modern countries considered here, there is also the aspect of coins from the Low Countries that found their way elsewhere. Individual coins were sometimes diverted in a non-systematic way and in relatively small numbers – for example, the material brought to Siena and Rome by pilgrims (170) – but the larger part of this 'alienated' material had been exported on purpose through the channel of international trade. In the medieval period the circulation in England and Scotland of coins from the Low Countries

is documented (110). In DYRHAUG's survey of European medieval trade coins, a number of types from the Low Countries are included (56). In the early modern period the phenomenon becomes more substantial. Examples from a relatively short distance are hoards found in Germany (81, 96), plus the countermarking of Dutch coins in certain cities of the Holy Roman Empire (33). Further away the transport to countries around the Baltic Sea is reported (101), whilst other contributions deal with Dutch coins circulating in different parts of the Ottoman empire (112, 136), for example a large hoard of lion dollars found in Palestine studied by POL (167).

Imitations of Dutch coins from the early modern period, that were produced in Italy, were also mostly destined for the Levant (16, 141; the phenomenon is reported in 167 as well). Finally, a hoard of Dutch and other gold ducats found in India shows that the flow did not end in the Near East (118) and the latter situation is confirmed by several reports of the use of Dutch ducats in Northern India for jewellery and hoarding purposes (89, cf. 44). Attempts at forging Dutch gold ducats in 18th-century Prussia should also be noted (7).

## Varia

Coin weights for individual coins and weights for a certain quantity of coin are treated in a few articles (93, 186, and 92, 168 respectively). In addition some contributions on hoard containers (153), linguistics (187), heraldry and coins (2), calculating sums of money in the 16th century (97), a non-existent mint (143) and lead tokens that were used as a substitute for small change in the late medieval period (140) have to be mentioned.

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## FRANCE (X<sup>E</sup>-XIX<sup>E</sup> SIECLE)

Marc Bompaire

### Généralités, histoire monétaire

Les ouvrages généraux sont peu nombreux. A côté du panorama européen proposé par B. Kluge, il faut mentionner la publication d'un catalogue du Cabinet des médailles (BIAGGI 10) mais qui est consacré aux monnaies italiennes et ne concerne la France que pour les ateliers de la maison de Savoie en France ou pour les émissions des princes français en Italie et de quelques colloques ou expositions consacrés aux ateliers monétaires, Nantes, Arles (4), (7), (8). Les études d'histoire monétaire comportent quelques enquêtes relatives au faux monnayage (Voir Bibliographie § I. G., 57-69) dont des études de cas et quelques enquêtes un peu plus générales pour les périodes médiévale (BOMPAIRE 57, COATIVY 58) ou moderne (JAMBU 68, MENARD 69), à la monnaie de compte (LARDIN 76, JAMBU 87), à la production monétaire (BOMPAIRE 30). Les études de circulation monétaire sont surtout fondées sur le témoignage des monnaies et les études plus générales balancent entre une interprétation politique des systèmes monétaires dans le monde Plantagenêt (COOK 74, MOESGAARD 77) et une interprétation plus économique dans le midi (BOMPAIRE 278-279) et plusieurs enquêtes ont porté sur la circulation monétaire (ou la thésaurisation) dans les campagnes (BOMPAIRE 70, JAMBU, 86, 360, MORICEAU 359). Un léger regain d'intérêt apparaît pour les questions iconographiques (Voir Bibliographie § I. E., ) —trop délaissées jusqu'alors— avec la thèse d'Ecole des chartes de CAVALIE, *Les monnayages ecclésiastiques den France du Xe au XVe siècle. Etude iconographique* (Paris, Ecole nationale des Chartes 2004). L'intérêt reste soutenu à l'échelle européenne comme française sur la production minière et ses liens avec la production monétaire, (Voir Bibliographie § I. C., 17 à 27, avec le livre de BAILLY-MAITRE (18) et les suites de la thèse de TEREYGEOL, *Les mines d'argent carolingiennes de Melle* (Paris-I, 2001). Les questions de fabrication monétaire n'ont guère été abordées en dehors de la gravure des coins (Voir Bibliographie § I. F., 51-56). Il faut signaler cependant dans (*Argent caché...*,1) une contribution de TEREYGEOL et d' ARLES qui achève un doctorat sur la question.

### Trésors et trouvailles

La bibliographie qui suit est distribuée en quatre parties inégales Par ordre d'importance on peut distinguer les trésors et trouvailles, puis les monnayages provinciaux, médiéval, moderne et contemporain. Avec 127 notices (dont 7 pour le Xe s.), les trouvailles monétaires constituent le lot le plus important : On peut recenser un répertoire, le catalogue des trésors de la région Poitou-Charentes (*Argent caché...* 1) dont le riche contenu n'a pas été dépouillé ici ; quelques publications spécifiques, *TM* (BnF), *Trésors* (de la maison CGB) ont en revanche été dépouillées. Il faut avant tout saluer l'ouvrage de BERCE (328) au large spectre et signaler des études à partir d'archives sur la thésaurisation (MORICEAU 86, JAMBU 359-360) ou les découvertes anciennes de trésors (MOESGAARD LE MAHO 349). MOESGAARD (78) s'appuie sur des exemples français pour présenter une méthodologie de l'utilisation des trouvailles monétaires.

Le nombre des notices relatives aux monnaies de fouilles est un peu gonflé par un essai de dépouillement des indications numismatiques contenues dans les chroniques de fouilles de la revue *Archéologie médiévale* où, comme dans les *Bilans archéologiques* publiés par les Seviles régionaux de l'Archéologie, la place faite aux monnaies reste peu satisfaisante : elles ne sont pas cataloguées, parfois mentionnées mais le plus souvent leur présence n'est pas signalée, même pour des sites sur lesquels elles étaient abondantes. Ceci étant dit pour attirer l'attention sur le caractère incomplet du recensement ici présenté et sur le travail qui reste à accomplir pour que les chercheurs puissent pleinement disposer de cette source d'information.

### Les monnayages provinciaux

110 notices en numismatique provinciale forment ensuite le principal apport en nombre, mais aussi en importance, si l'on considère le nombre des ouvrages publiés, à commencer par le premier tome de celui de DUPLESSY (219), mais on doit aussi relever les ouvrages de J.-P. DIVO (323) sur les Dombes, CHAREYRON (261) sur le Dauphiné, MALBRUNOT (259) sur Bonifacio, DIRY (302) sur Vendôme, la brochure de BEDEL (260) sur le Dauphiné ou les livres de D. FLON (288) sur la Lorraine et COATIVY (248) sur la Bretagne qui correspondent à la publication de leurs thèses. En effet, c'est aussi dans ce domaine que l'on peut relever un nombre croissant de travaux universitaires (thèse de BOMPAIRE (279) sur le Languedoc, thèse d'Ecole des Chartes de CAVALIE sur *Les monnayages ecclésiastiques en France du Xe au XVe siècle. Etude iconographique* (Paris, 2004), mémoires de

master de CORNU (222-223) sur le Maine, de CARDON (296) sur la Normandie..., de TEBOULBI sur Alphonse de Poitiers autant que sur saint Louis). Les deux articles de BELMON (225-226) offrent de même une synthèse sur l'atelier de Rodez.

Ces recherches s'appuient sur des groupes de chercheurs et des revues locales particulièrement dynamiques en Bretagne (la région qui conserve la palme du plus grand nombre de notices), en Provence ou en Limousin qui mettent en valeur des monnaies frappées également sous l'autorité royale à l'époque médiévale ou moderne. On observe ainsi des études centrées sur les ateliers de Limoges, Troyes, Guise ou Cambrai reflétant l'activité de spécialistes parfois un peu isolés. D'autres ateliers (Nantes ou Arles) ont fait l'objet de journées d'études et par un concours de circonstances, l'atelier d'Orléans a bénéficié des recherches de DUPLESSY (307), DUMAS (306) ou. CLAIRAND (337).

### **Le monnayage royal d'époque médiévale**

Pour les monnaies royales on dénombre environ 120 notices (dont 30 pour le Xe siècle) mais sans qu'il y ait d'ouvrage majeur à signaler sur le plan numismatique ni en ce qui concerne la publication de documents écrits (CLAIRAND 125, VELLET 157) ni la publication d'analyses (BLET-LEMARQUAND BOMPAIRE 120, BLET-LEMARQUAND SALAÜN 240). L'apport documentaire le plus original concerne l'utilisation des listes de monnaies dans les traités mathématiques ou les livres de changeurs (TRAVAINI 39, BOMPAIRE 37-38). En dehors du cas orléanais les premiers capétiens ont été un peu délaissés (BOMPAIRE FOUCRAY SAINT-JEAN VITUS 123). L'époque de saint Louis et Philippe le Bel a bénéficié de davantage d'enquêtes notamment de BOMPAIRE (122) avec la publication de documents (BOMPAIRE HOUPLIER 30, 51) et monnaies inédites (BOMPAIRE DANICOURT 121, DEWULF DHENIN 129) ; les petites monnaies de l'époque de Philippe VI ont aussi fait l'objet de plusieurs découvertes et enquêtes (CORMIER 127-128, FRELIN 131, HOUPLIER 146). Le monnayage de Charles VI reste l'objet d'une attention soutenue pouvant aboutir à la reconstitution des émissions des divers ateliers depuis l'apparition des différents d'atelier en 1389 et jusqu'à l'époque moderne.

### **Epoque moderne et contemporaine**

Le dépouillement qui a laissé de côté les émissions monégasques et les publications relatives aux jetons et médailles recense environ 70 notices pour l'époque moderne et 14 pour l'époque contemporaine (après 1789). Il faut signaler quelques publications importantes comme les deux colloques consacrés à l'atelier de Nantes (7-8) ou la parution du 3e et dernier volume de l'Encyclopédie de DROULERS (158) qui revient sur les monnayages de cuivre qui ont fait également l'objet d'ouvrages de CREPIN (159). La période de la Ligue révèle encore son lot de nouveautés.

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# DEUTSCHLAND

*Bernd Kluge*

Die Berichterstattung erfolgt in der für die Surveys 1990-1995 und 1996-2001 praktizierten Weise. Die Bibliographie ist breiter angelegt, als für eine ausschließlich am Wissenschaftsgedanken festgemachte Berichterstattung notwendig wäre. Sie berücksichtigt auch das im Seitenumfang geringe und das stärker auf das Sammlerpublikum ausgerichtete Schrifttum, sofern nicht sattem bekannte Sachverhalte ohne neue Zutaten aufgewärmt oder abwegige Behauptungen aufgestellt sind. Münzfunde sind wiederum sehr umfangreich, nach Möglichkeit vollständig erfasst; das Münz- und Geldwesen der Moderne ab 1871 bleibt wiederum ausgeklammert. Um den Überblick zu erleichtern, sind Monographien und selbständige Schriften jeweils unter einer eigenen Nummer, Aufsätze eines Verfassers dagegen gesammelt verzeichnet. Die nachfolgenden Bemerkungen akzentuieren die Tendenzen der Forschung und literarischen Produktion, wobei nur auf die wichtigsten Einzeltitel, in der Regel die Monographien, besonders hingewiesen werden kann. Viele sind im Gietl-Verlag, Regensburg, erschienen, der sich bei der Literatur für den Münzsammler inzwischen praktisch eine Monopolstellung gesichert hat.

## Allgemeines Schrifttum

Das 1999 erschienene Übersichtsbüchlein von TRAPP (7) ist durch FRIED bibliographisch aktualisiert worden. SPRENGER (8) hat seine Geldgeschichte von 1991 in erweiterter Neuauflage vorgelegt. Die deutsche Dominanz im Bereich der numismatischen Wörterbücher ist mit zwei Neuerscheinungen durch KAHNT (2) und KLÜTZ (4) bestätigt worden. Das Buch von KAHNT lässt im Titel nicht erkennen, dass es sich eigentlich (nur) um eine Neubearbeitung des transpress-Lexikons von FENGLER / GIEROW / UNGER handelt. KLÜTZ liefert einen etymologischen Lexikonansatz. Anschaulich und kenntnisreich beschreibt MEDING (5) die Entwicklung der Münztechnik seit dem Mittelalter, EMMERIG (1) liefert dazu ein frühneuzeitliches münztechnisches Glossar, das allerdings auf einige süddeutsch-österreichische Quellen beschränkt ist. Zur Frage von Geldwert, Löhnen und Preisen bieten zwei kleinere bzw. regional beschränkte Publikationen interessante Anhaltspunkte (169). Einen Band mit umfangreichen Beiträgen zum Thema Währungsunionen anlässlich der Euro-Einführung hat CUNZ (13) ediert. In der Festschrift für Niklot KLÜSSENDORF (14) hat sich nahezu das gesamte amtliche numismatische Deutschland ein Stelldichein gegeben.

Die Wiedereröffnung des Berliner Münzkabinetts nach langjähriger Sanierung des Bode-Museums 2004/2006 hat große publizistische Aufmerksamkeit erfahren (30, 32). Die neue Ausstellung des Kabinetts ist die gegenwärtig modernste und umfangreichste in Deutschland (31). Die dort gezeigten ca. 4.000 Objekte und weitere Bestände des Kabinetts sind seit 2007 auch im Internet zugänglich ([www.smb.museum/ikmk](http://www.smb.museum/ikmk)).

Zur Bedeutung der Sammler Numismatik (der Begriff ist kein Qualitätskriterium, sondern kennzeichnet lediglich Herkunft und Adressaten) genügt es festzustellen, dass sämtliche beachtenswerten Zeitschriften in der Regel als Jahrbücher durch numismatische Gesellschaften und Vereine herausgegeben werden. Dabei vertritt das *JNG* (9) der Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft den höchsten Anspruch. Zu publizistischen Zentren der brandenburgisch-preußischen und der thüringisch-sächsischen Numismatik haben sich die Jahrbücher der zu DDR-Zeiten gegründeten numismatischen Arbeitskreise Brandenburg-Preußen (*BBPN*) und Thüringen (*JTGMM*) entwickelt, die im Berichtszeitraum konstant jedes Jahr erschienen sind (10). Die Bremer Münzfreunde haben nur einen, aber ebenfalls beachtlichen Band vorgelegt (10), die Hamburger Münzfreunde ihr 100-jähriges Gründungsjubiläum mit einer gehaltvollen Festschrift geadelt (17).

## Mittelalter

Die von GRUBMÜLLER/STOCK (37) herausgegebenen Beiträge eines Wolfenbütteler Kolloquiums 2001 beleuchten das Geld im Mittelalter aus den unterschiedlichsten Perspektiven. Die Gesamtdarstellung zur Numismatik des Mittelalters durch KLUGE (40) ersetzt für Deutschland vorläufig eine noch ausstehende neuere Gesamtdarstellung. Die mit umfangreichen Kommentaren versehenen Auktionskataloge der Sammlung DE WIT (44), deren zweiter Band die deutschen Münzen enthält, sind als Denkmal einer bemerkenswerten Mittelaltersammlungen und Bildhandbuch von bleibendem Wert. Die beiden aus einem von der Volkswagen-Stiftung finanzierten archäometallurgischen Projekt hervorgegangenen Bände mit dem merkwürdigen Titel *Dirham und Rappenpfennig* (38) bieten im ersten Band unkommentierte Tabellen mit Metallanalysen von Dirhams, europäischen Denaren aus wikingerzeitlichen Funden und süddeutschen Münzserien, im zweiten Band zwei

Einzelstudien zu Silberbergbau und Münzprägung im deutschen Südwesten (36, 97). Diesem Thema ist auch eine Monographie von BREYVOGEL gewidmet (36). Die Dissertation von REVERCHON (43) zum Metzger Pfennig ist geldgeschichtlich ein Gewinn, numismatisch aber nicht ganz auf der Höhe der Zeit. Für Quedlinburg hat MEHL (42) ein detailliertes, Mittelalter und Neuzeit umfassendes Münzcorpus erarbeitet, dessen Substanz durch eine straffere Darstellung nicht geschmälert worden wäre.

Mit dem Katalog der deutschen Münzen in der Universität Uppsala von BERGHAUS/MÄKELER (46) und der Dissertation von STEINBACH (59) zur Münzprägung der Klöster sind die umfangreichsten Beiträge zur ottonisch-salischen Zeit genannt. Der Bestand in Uppsala enthält ganz überwiegend das gängige Material, in der Arbeit von STEINBACH liegt der Gewinn vor allem in der Untersuchung der schriftlichen Quellen. HAHN (47) hat die Neubearbeitung seiner *Moneta Radasponensis* von 1976 auf stempelkritischer Grundlage in einer Aufsatzfolge weitergeführt und ist jetzt bis zum Jahr 1009 gekommen. Kleinere Monographien sind von ILISCH (49) und KLUGE (53) vorgelegt worden. Regional übergreifende Zusammenhänge haben Aufsätze von JONSSON (51), MÄKELER (56), PETRY (57) und WIECHMANN (63) in den Blick genommen.

Aus dem Schrifttum zur Stauferzeit ragt die nun endlich gedruckte Dissertation von Norbert KAMP (85) aus dem Jahre 1957 heraus, nach wie vor der grundlegendste Beitrag zur Münzpolitik der Staufer. Mit dem Katalog der erzbischöflich-mainzischen Brakteaten im Münzkabinett des Stadtarchivs Mainz hat DOBRAS (70) einen Baustein zum nach wie vor fehlenden Mainzer Münzcorpus geleistet, das auch durch eine Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit umfassende Überblicksdarstellung von PICK (168) nicht ersetzt wird. Die weiteren Beiträge zu Brakteaten betreffen meist kleinere Materialvorlagen und spezielle Beobachtungen. Zum Thema der Münzverrufungen ist postum und an unvermuteter Stelle die letzte Arbeit von Wolfgang HESS (80) veröffentlicht worden.

Umfangreicher ist das Spätmittelalter vertreten. Der bedeutendste Beitrag ist die Habilitationsschrift von EMMERIG (72) zum Münzwesen Bayerns im Zeitraum 1390-1470. Schriftliche und numismatische Quellen sind gleichermaßen in beeindruckender Weise ausgewertet. Für Schwaben kommt die Untersuchung zum Breisgauer, Tübinger und Wormser Pfennig durch MATZKE (97) nahe an eine Monographie heran. Zum Goldgulden des Rheinischen Münzvereins hat SCHNEIDER (104) in einem Ausstellungskatalog eine anschauliche Zusammenfassung geliefert. Die Münzpolitik des Rheinischen Münzvereins, für den es immer noch keine eigene Geschichte gibt, hat WEISENSTEIN (109) dargestellt. Über Deutschland hinaus reichen die bei aller Kürze durch ihre opulenten Anmerkungen nahezu erschöpfenden Arbeiten von KLEIN (87) zu den Imitationen des Florentiner Goldguldens. Die Hansestädte und der Wendische Münzverein haben in den Beiträgen von STEFKE (106) und dem von KUNZEL (157) mustergültig bearbeiteten Corpus für Rostock, dessen Hauptteil der Neuzeit gilt, ihre wichtigsten Neuerscheinungen. Die Geschichte Freibergs als der bedeutendsten Münzstätte Sachsens im Spätmittelalter zeichnet eine durch FRIEBE/GRAU (74) herausgegebene Monographie nach. Die kleine Grafschaft Hoya in Niedersachsen hat durch GIESEN (76) ein Münzcorpus erhalten.

## Neuzeit

Die postume Münz- und Geldgeschichte von RITTMANN (112) entspricht praktisch einer Neuauflage der Fassung von 1976 („Auf Heller und Pfennig“), die wiederum eine populäre Kurzfassung seiner „Deutschen Geldgeschichte 1484-1918“ von 1975 darstellt. Der Kipperzeit des 17. Jh. und den Bestrebungen zur Währungsvereinheitlichung im 19. Jh. gelten zwei Bücher von ROSSEAUX (113) bzw. OTTO (111), die allerdings nicht aus numismatischer Sicht geschrieben sind.

Aus dem regionalen Schrifttum muss der Band über die Münzen des Fränkischen Reichskreises (171) innerhalb des am Institut für Numismatik der Universität Wien bearbeiteten Repertoriums zur neuzeitlichen Münzprägung Europas an erster Stelle genannt werden. Man kann den österreichischen Kollegen für diese nach Deutschland geleistete „Amtshilfe“ nur großen Respekt bezeugen, auch wenn die schon früher beklagte Unmöglichkeit beim Zitieren der Münzen und das unhandliche Format die Freude etwas trüben. Unter den Münzcorpora sind die umfassenden Werke für Quedlinburg von MEHL (42) und Rostock von KUNZEL (157) bereits genannt. Ebenso gründlich sind Münzgeschichte und Münzcorpus für das Bistum Hildesheim durch MEHL (164), das Bistum Paderborn durch SCHWEDE (184), die Abtei Corvey durch ILISCH/SCHWEDE (141), das Herzogtum Sachsen-Coburg durch KOZINOWSKI/OTTO/RUSS (153), die Grafschaft Leuchtenberg und Hals durch FRIEDL (129) behandelt.

Von HAHN/HAHN-ZELLEKE (135) ist für Bayern in der Neuzeit jetzt ein übersichtlicher und zuverlässiger Typenkatalog vorgelegt worden. Dem Geld Bayerns 1806-1918 war eine Ausstellung der Staatlichen

Münzsammlung München gewidmet (148). Für die noch nicht zusammenfassend bearbeitete und wegen der verschiedenen Verzweigungen schwer zu überblickenden Münzprägung der Pfalz gibt WEISENSTEIN (188) in einem Auktionskatalog eine dankenswerte Übersicht. Für Kursachsen wird das numismatische Desiderat eines zitierfähigen Gesamtkatalogs weiter schrittweise durch Sammlerkataloge gefüllt (KEILITZ 144, KEILITZ/KAHNT 145). Es ist zu hoffen, dass damit der ausstehenden wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung dieses für die deutsche Münzprägung so wichtigen Territoriums nicht der Wind aus den Segeln genommen wird. Ebenfalls in Form eines Sammlerkatalogs sind die Münzen des Herzogtums Sachsen-Weimar durch KOPPE (151) zusammengefasst. Für Brandenburg-Preußen ist der Katalog der Münzen Friedrichs des Großen von OLDING (166) in ergänzter Auflage erschienen. Eine Münzgeschichte Berlins in journalistischer Form erzählt CASPAR (120). Die neuzeitliche Münzgeschichte Vorpommerns bis 1715 ist von KRÜGER (155) in seiner jetzt gedruckten Dissertation aus den archivalischen Quellen dargestellt worden.

Dem Geld im Hunsrück und im Taunus, dem Münzwesen im Herzogtum Nassau sowie dem Kleingeld in den Rheinlanden galten Monographien des unermüdlichen Konrad SCHNEIDER (174-177). Die Münzprägung des Deutschen Ordens in der Neuzeit hat PROKISCH (170) neu katalogisiert.

Die umfangreiche Aufsatzliteratur im Einzelnen zu kommentieren, lässt die Umfangsbegrenzung dieses Beitrags nicht zu.

## Münzfunde

Besonders spektakuläre Schatzfunde sind im Berichtszeitraum nicht aufgetreten. Ein umfangreicher, liebevoll gestalteter Ausstellungskatalog ist den Schatzfunden der sächsischen Oberlausitz gewidmet (199). In einer Monographie ist der große Hohlpfennigfund von Mühlhausen 1990 durch ARNOLD (203) akribisch ausgebreitet worden. Der große Gold- und Silberschatz von Lübeck 1984 ist zwar immer noch nicht angemessen publiziert, aber im Rahmen einer Ausstellung mit Begleitpublikation erschlossen worden (136). In der Kategorie der archäologischen Funde, d. h. der im Zuge systematischer archäologischer Grabungen geborgenen Münzen, hat die Auswertung der Fundmünzen aus Kempten durch DERSCHKA (236) einen neuen Maßstab gesetzt. Die vermutlichen Anfänge der Münzprägung in Mecklenburg sind durch Ausgrabungen auf einer slawischen Burganlage (Dobin) zutage getreten und in einem slawischen Gräberfeld (Penkun) wurden die frühen pommerschen Münzen in bemerkenswerter Anzahl gefunden. Beide Befunde sind durch WIECHMANN (249) bzw. POLLEX (246) sorgsam ausgewertet. Nach einer wahren Bearbeitungs-Odyssee ist nun endlich auch der 1973 bei den Ausgrabungen des Seehandelsplatzes Ralswiek auf Rügen geborgene arabische Münzschatz aus der Mitte des 9. Jh. publiziert (210).

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# SCHWEIZ UND FÜRSTENTUM LIECHTENSTEIN

Benedikt Zäch

Der Literaturbericht umfasst das Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz sowie das Fürstentum Liechtenstein. Der beschränkte Platz zwang zu einer strikten Auswahl, der vor allem kleinere Beiträge und auch Publikationen zu Münzfunden zum Opfer fielen. Dafür sei auf die unten angeführten Bibliographien verwiesen.

## Bibliographie, Allgemeines

Das numismatische Schrifttum wurde bis 2005 jährlich in der Bibliographie zur Schweizer Kunst (9) erfasst, die der Numismatik seit 1979 ein eigenes Kapitel widmete. Die Bibliographie ist mit Band 26, 2002/2003 (Zürich, 2005) im Rahmen einer Reorganisation eingestellt worden; auch die Datenbank mit über 15'000 seit 1995 erfassten Titeln wurde inzwischen abgeschaltet.

Als Ersatz dient seit 2005 die in den Schweizer Münzblättern ab 1996 als Auswahl veröffentlichte Zusammenstellung von Publikationen von ZÄCH (108), die auch online zugänglich ist ([www.numisuisse.org](http://www.numisuisse.org)). Das seit 1993 ebenfalls jährlich erscheinende Bulletin IFS (13) erfasst weiterhin mit grosser Vollständigkeit die Literatur zu Münzfunden und neue Münzfunde.

Die beiden wichtigsten Zeitschriften werden von der Schweizerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft herausgegeben; obwohl international ausgerichtet, widmen sie sich stark schweizerischen Themen: die *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau/Revue Suisse de Numismatique* (jährlich) (vgl. 3, 11, 29, 32, 40, 47, 48, 60, 62, 79, 84, 102, 107) und die *Schweizer Münzblätter/Gazette Numismatique Suisse* (vierteljährlich) (vgl. 5, 6, 14, 21, 27, 36, 38, 46, 48, 55, 57, 59, 61, 65, 70, 82, 83, 90, 94, 100, 101, 104, 108). Bei den Sammlerzeitschriften mit Fachartikeln bringt die Numis-Post & HMZ regelmässig kleinere Beiträge zu schweizerischen Themen (vgl. 1, 31, 69, 71–75, 111, 113). Daneben nimmt die Hauszeitschrift des Musée monétaire cantonal in Lausanne Beiträge zur Westschweiz auf (vgl. 7, 52, 80, 86, 88).

Die Erforschung der mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Münz- und Geldgeschichte der Schweiz wurde in der Berichtsperiode geprägt durch bedeutende Fundvorlagen und zahlreiche Untersuchungen zum Geldumlauf in der Schweiz, neue Bestimmungswerke und Sammlerkataloge sowie eine ganze Reihe von Beiträgen zur Sammlungs- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte.

## Museen und Sammlungen, Wissenschaftsgeschichte

Die numismatische Ausstellungstätigkeit belebte sich merklich. Neben dem Münzkabinett Winterthur, das unter anderem 2006/2007 einen Überblick über die wichtigen Münzfunde des Früh- und Hochmittelalters gab (111), traten weitere Münzsammlungen mit Ausstellungen hervor. Das Musée monétaire cantonal in Lausanne veröffentlichte einen Katalog zur neuen Dauerausstellung (16) und für das Moneymuseum schrieb KAMPMANN (58) eine Begleitpublikation zu einer Ausstellung im Museum Bäregasse in Zürich.

MUHLEMANN (80) legte in mehreren Beiträgen die (eher kleinen Bestände an) Bündler Münzen in der Lausanner Sammlung mit ausführlicher Kommentierung vor. GOTTSCHALL (54) vermittelte einen ersten Überblick über die Münzsammlung des Fricktaler Museums in Rheinfelden und DOSWALD (33) über die Münzsammlung in der Burg Zug. Die Münzsammlung im Museum Allerheiligen in Schaffhausen wird seit gut 15 Jahren mit Hilfe der Sturzenegger-Stiftung stark ausgebaut wird; eine der Erwerbungen stellt WYPRÄCHTIGER (100) vor.

Im Rahmen des 125-Jahr-Jubiläums der Schweizerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft (SNG) 2004 wurden nicht weniger als zehn kleine Artikel zu weiteren kleineren oder weniger bekannten Sammlungen publiziert und «Hauptstücke» aus diesen Sammlungen präsentiert (1).

Dasselbe Jubiläum war der Anlass für ein Kolloquium zur Geschichte der Numismatik in der Schweiz, von dem drei Vorträge veröffentlicht wurden: VON KAENEL (57) erinnerte an die methodische Weichenstellung des Griechischen Münzerks von Theodor Mommsen und Friedrich Imhoof-Blumer, und CAMPAGNOLO (14) an die «Genfer Jahre» der SNG, während HURTER und DIVO (55) einen Abriss der Geschichte des Münzhandels in der Schweiz boten, dessen letzten vierzig Jahre beide als Zeitzeugen erlebten.

Numismatik wird durch einzelne Personen geprägt und deshalb ist – auch in der Schweiz – das Gedenken an Verstorbene immer auch ein kleines Stück Geschichtsschreibung (48). An der Erinnerung einzelner Personen hängt auch gerade die in der Regel auf orale Überlieferung besonders angewiesene Geschichte des Münzhandels (31).

Das gilt auch für die frühe Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Numismatik in der Schweiz im 16. Jahrhundert: ZÄCH beschäftigte sich anhand des Polyhistor und Politikers Aegidius Tschudi (103) und des St. Galler Reformators und Humanisten Vadian/Joachim von Watt (110) mit zwei unterschiedlichen Zugangsweisen zur Numismatik in einer Pionierphase des Fachs zur Zeit von Guillaume Budé und Hubert Goltzius. LORY (69) erinnerte an Gottlieb Emanuel von Haller (1735–1786), der den ersten umfassenden Katalog schweizerischer Münzen verfasste.

Ebenfalls ein Jubiläum war für den Circolo Numismatico Ticinese die Gelegenheit, einen Nachdruck von Arbeiten zur Tessiner Numismatik (17) zu veranstalten, der mit ein paar Originalarbeiten angereichert wurde. Auf das 100-Jahr-Jubiläum der Eidgenössischen Münzstätte in Bern veröffentlichten BILFINGER und KOCH (10) einen Kunstführer zum Gebäude, das 1856 als Münzstätte gebaut und künstlerisch ausgestaltet worden war.

## Münz- und Geldgeschichte

Auf verschiedenen Gebieten erschienen neue Bestimmungswerke. Für Sammler ist der Neue HMZ-Katalog von KUNZMANN und RICHTER (66) gedacht; er wird aber weit über Sammlerkreise hinaus verwendet werden – trotz fehlender Nachweise und obwohl er weder Literaturzitate enthält noch Begründungen für Zuweisungen gibt –, weil es der einzige Katalog ist, der alle Epochen der Schweizer Münzgeschichte (und vor allem das Mittelalter) abdeckt. Zugleich erinnert das Werk daran, wie drängend die Erarbeitung neuer umfassender Kataloge vor allem für das Mittelalter und die frühe Neuzeit ist.

Obschon keine grösseren Arbeiten zur Münz- und Geldgeschichte erschienen, so ist doch auf das rasch (ein Band pro Jahr) erscheinende «Historische Lexikon der Schweiz» zu verweisen, das zahlreiche vorzügliche Artikel zur Münz- und Geldgeschichte enthält (längere Artikel: 63, 85) und damit ein vorzüglicher Vermittler numismatischen Grundwissens an breite historische interessierte Kreise ist. Die jeweils ein Jahrhundert Berner Geschichte behandelnden, monumentalen Bände der Monographienreihe «Berner Zeiten» enthält in jedem Band auch Beiträge zur Münzgeschichte (50, 51) und hebt sich damit wohltuend von neueren Kantons geschichten ab, die in der Regel die Geldgeschichte ausblenden.

Auf der anderen Seite gibt es historische Arbeiten, die von der Numismatik gern übersehen werden, weil ihre münzgeschichtliche Relevanz nicht auf Anhieb erkennbar ist. Hier seien nur drei Beispiele dafür angeführt (67), zwei Untersuchungen zur Schaffhauser Finanz- und Ämtergeschichte von LANDOLT und SCHULTHEISS und ein Werk zum frühen Republikanismus in der Schweiz von MAISSEN.

Eine neues Handbuch zur frühmittelalterlichen Archäologie der Schweiz enthält zwei Beiträge von WINDLER (99) zur Münzgeschichte und zu den Münzen als Fundobjekte.

Als Resultat eines grösseren Forschungsprojekts mit umfangreichen Analysereihen von mittelalterlichen und islamischen Münzen aus Bergbauregionen veröffentlichte MATZKE nicht nur die Analyseresultate (77), sondern auch einen Versuch (78), die Münzprägung des mittelalterlichen Breisgaus und des Oberrheingebiets neu zu ordnen, einerseits auf Grund der Analysen, andererseits vor allem mit Hilfe von Fundvorkommen; damit ist eine neue Basis für die weiterführende Diskussion gelegt. Aus demselben Projekt ging eine Arbeit von Breyvogel (12) hervor, die neben dem eigentlichen Thema reiches Material für die mittelalterliche Münzgeschichte des Oberrheingebiets bereitstellt.

In kleineren Beiträgen widmeten sich RIGHETTI (88) einem neuen frühmittelalterlichen Trienstyp von Avenches, AMBÜHL dem Nominalsystem der Sittener Münzprägung am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit (6) und versuchte eine neue Datierung der immobilisierten Denare des 11./12.–14. Jahrhunderts von St-Maurice (7), RAEMY TOURNELLE (86) behandelte zwei Episoden der bischöflich-lausannischen Münzprägung des 12./13. Jahrhunderts, ZÄCH dem Beginn der Münzprägung der Stadt St. Gallen (101), WYPRÄCHTIGER (100) einen Schaffhauser Batzen von 1525, DOSWALD die ersten und die letzten Münzmeister von Zug (34), KLEIN (59) einen süddeutschen Fund von Churer Halbbatzen des 17. Jahrhunderts, die auf süddeutschen Besitz des Churer Bischofs verweisen und LORY (70) die Berner Prägertätigkeit der Jahre 1753–1756. DE LA RIVE (89) schliesslich legte als Typoskript einen neuen Katalog der Prägungen des Gotteshausbundes mit einem Abriss zur Münzgeschichte vor.

Erfreulich häufig beschäftigten sich Publikationen mit der neuesten Münzgeschichte seit 1798 (43, 61, 71, 75). Besonders interessant ist der Einblick von KOCH (62) in die – bisher vergeblichen – Anläufe zu einem 10-Franken-Stück in Münzform. Die Schweizerische Nationalbank hat allerdings ihr 100-Jahr-Jubiläum in dieser Beziehung

ungenutzt verstreichen lassen. Die zum Jubiläum 2007 vorgelegte Monographie (98) lässt den historischen Blick auf die Geldgeschichte weitgehend vermissen.

### **Archäologische Numismatik: Münzfunde und Geldumlauf**

Nach wie vor ist die archäologische Numismatik, die sich mit Münzfunden und dem Geldumlauf befasst, derjenige Teil der Forschung mit der umfangreichsten Literatur und auch der grössten Dynamik. Drei Dinge waren im Berichtszeitraum besonders markant:

- Die dichte Vernetzung des Inventars der Fundmünzen der Schweiz (IFS) in der ganzen Schweiz (vgl. 24) machte sich durch zahlreiche Veröffentlichungen von Mitarbeitenden des IFS – das 2002 sein 10jähriges Bestehen feierte (83) – bemerkbar (ACKERMANN, DIAZ TABERNERO, FEDEL, NICK, PETER, SCHACHER).
- Die internationalen Tagungen der Schweizerischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Fundmünzen (SAF) hatten nicht nur eine grosse Ausstrahlung in der internationalen Forschung, sondern auch Rückwirkungen auf die Forschung in der Schweiz.
- Viele der Arbeiten gingen selbstverständlich auf die Interpretation der Funde ein; die Behandlung von Aspekten des Geldumlaufs gehört heute geradezu zum Standard von Fundmünzenarbeiten in der Schweiz.

Es ist unter diesen Voraussetzungen kein Zufall, dass die SAF anlässlich ihres 20jährigen Jubiläums die erste internationale Tagung über europäische Fundmünzenprojekte initiierte und 2005 gemeinsam mit der Numismatischen der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland organisierte. Zur Tagung erschien ein Band mit Materialien zu den europäischen Fundmünzen-Unternehmen (2), an dem wiederum das IFS wesentlich beteiligt war.

Die beiden internationalen Tagungen der SAF zum Thema «Circulation monétaire régionale et supra-régionale» (19) und zu «Faux – contrefaçons – imitations» (8) behandelten die beiden Themenbereiche quer durch die Epochen und mit einem weiten geographischen Blickwinkel in der Absicht, Vergleiche unter ähnlichen Phänomenen zu ermöglichen und die Forschung über die üblichen Epochengrenzen hinweg zu befruchten; in einer Synthese zur ersten Tagung versuchte ZÄCH (19, pp. 279–292) mögliche Erkenntnisgewinne zu skizzieren.

Beide Tagungsbände enthielten auch Beiträge zu schweizerischen Themen: einen Überblick zum hochmittelalterlichen Geldumlauf von KLEIN (19, pp. 201–224) und zum Geldumlauf in Graubünden von DIAZ TABERNERO (19, pp. 225–240), einen umfangreichen Abriss der Falschmünzer-«Industrie» in monetären Krisenzeiten von FROIDEVAUX und CLAIRAND (8, pp. 175–233) und Überlegungen zur Nominalstruktur des Münzumlaufs im Spätmittelalter von ZÄCH (19, pp. 241–256). Gerade der letzte Beitrag macht deutlich, wie Fragestellungen, die ursprünglich aus der archäologischen Numismatik stammen, in die Münzgeschichte hineinreichen.

Ein grösserer Schatzfund des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts von Neunkirch (SH) – der früheste Batzenfund im süddeutschen Gebiet – wurde von DIAZ TABERNERO und SCHMUTZ (28) monographisch in der Reihe des IFS vorgelegt, ein weiterer Schatzfund des 19. Jahrhunderts aus Sursee (LU) in derselben Reihe von DIAZ TABERNERO (23). Kleinere Schatzfunde bzw. Börsen wurden von MATZKE und DIAZ TABERNERO (12. Jh., 79), ELSIG und EL SHERBINY (12. Jh., 35), ELSIG (13. Jh., 37), PETER und ZÄCH (14. Jh., 84), DIAZ TABERNERO (14. Jh., 27), ACKERMANN und MARTI (um 1500, 3), FEDEL (17. Jh., 40) und ELSIG (17. Jh. und 18. Jh., 36, 38) publiziert. FEDEL veröffentlichte einen Vorbericht zum wichtigen Schatzfund von Pruntrut (vor 1425, 41), der ebenfalls monographisch vorgelegt werden soll.

Dass die (Neu)-Bearbeitung alter Funde und Fundnachrichten sehr ergiebig sein kann, zeigte BLASCHEGG (11) mit der Neubearbeitung des bereits 1869 entdeckten Schatzfund von Wolsen (ZH) aus dem frühen 14. Jahrhundert, einem Schlüsselfund für die Typologie der schweizerischen einseitigen Pfennige des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts. ILISCH (56) beschäftigte sich neu mit dem karolingisch-islamischen Schatzfund von Steckborn (TG, gefunden 1830), der zu den wichtigen Dirhamfunden in Mitteleuropa gehört. SCHMUTZ (94) und SCHACHER (90) rekonstruierten bisher unbekannte Funde aus vorhandenen Nachrichten und Fundresten, während GEISER, EL SHERBINY und RAEMY TOURNELLE (52) sich beim wichtigen alten Schatzfund von Joressens (gefunden 1832) leider nur auf einen Teil der Überlieferung beschränkten. Schliesslich kann ein neuer Blick auf alte Funde zu neuen typologischen Einsichten bei Münzserien führen, wie ALIPPI und MÜHLEMANN (5) vorführten.

Verschiedene bedeutende Grabungskomplexe wurden mit ausführlichen Auswertungen vorgelegt. In erster Linie sind die Monographien zu den Grabungen in der Reformierten Kirche von Steffisburg (BE) von SCHMUTZ und KOENIG (93) sowie im Kloster St. Johann in Müstair von DIAZ TABERNERO und HESSE (25) zu nennen. In beiden Fällen enthielten die Publikationen ausführliche Bemerkungen zum Geldumlauf ermöglichte die sorgfältige

Grabungsdokumentation auch begründete Hypothesen zum Funktionszusammenhang der Münzfunde (Kirchenopfer bzw. Marktplatz). DERSCHKA (18) veröffentlichte die umfangreichen Münzfunde vom Kirchenhügel in Bendern (Fürstentum Liechtenstein) mit einer ausführlichen Auswertung.

Daneben wurden zahlreiche neue Münzfunde aus Siedlungsgrabungen publiziert, aus dem Frühmittelalter durch DIAZ TABERNERO (21), Kirchenfunde durch CAMPAGNOLO (15), DIAZ TABERNERO (29), ELSIG (36), GEIGER (47), GEISER (53), SCHÄRLI (91) und ZÄCH (105). Weitere Siedlungsfunde wurden von DIAZ TABERNERO (26), FEDEL (42), FREY-KUPPER (44, 45), LURASCHI (74), MÜHLEMANN (81) und ZÄCH (109) veröffentlicht.

Wie schon erwähnt, beschäftigten sich zahlreiche Arbeiten anhand der Münzfunde mit dem Geldumlauf. ZÄCH und DIAZ TABERNERO gingen, ausgehend von zwei neuen bzw. neu bekannt gewordenen Funden des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts im Alpenrheintal aus Chur (GR) und Lauterach (Vorarlberg, 102), auf den Geldumlauf des 9./10. Jahrhunderts in der Ostschweiz ein (107). KLEIN und SCHMUTZ (60) nahmen eine Zusammenstellung von Goldmünzen-Funden im Kanton Bern zum Ausgangspunkt für eine Untersuchung des Geldumlaufs im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. MATZKE (76) untersuchte die Umlauf- und Versorgungsregionen des Basler und des Breisgauer Pfennigs in Bezug auf die gegenseitigen Einflüsse und GEIGER (49) zog das Beispiel des Tessin heran, um eine «Peripherie als Transitzone» des Geldumlaufs zu charakterisieren.

SCHMUTZ (92) skizzierte die Währungsgebiete und Währungsgrenzen im Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz, die sich dadurch auszeichnen, dass europäische «Grenzen» des Geldumlaufs und der Machart der Münzen durch die Schweiz verliefen. DIAZ TABERNERO gab einen Abriss des Geldumlaufs in der Innerschweiz (20) und präsentierte für die Kantone Luzern (22) und Uri (30) den jeweiligen Forschungsstand. SCHMUTZ (95) richtete den Blick auf die spätmittelalterlichen monetären Beziehungen zwischen Tirol und der Schweiz.

Nur am Rande sei hier schliesslich auf die Anwendung naturwissenschaftlicher Methoden bei der Fundmünzenbearbeitung hingewiesen. Neben Analysemethoden zur Bestimmung der Metallzusammensetzung (77) sind dies auch Verfahren wie die Neutronenradiographie (82), die im Vorfeld von restauratorischen Entscheidungen z.B. bei Münzensembles mit organischen Resten eingesetzt werden können.

## **Münzbetrieb, Silberbergbau**

SCHMUTZ (96) stellte die Münzstätten-darstellung auf dem Berner «Steigerbecher» neu vor und ZÄCH (112) umriss Forschungsstand und Literatur zu Prägedarstellungen in der Schweiz. EMMERIG (39) würdigte in einem Überblick zum Münzstättenbetrieb die Schaffhauser Wappenscheibe des Werner Zentgraf als wichtige Bildquelle für das Innenleben einer Münzstätte um 1565. BREYVOGEL (12) legte eine umfangreiche Arbeit zum Silberbergbau und der Münzprägung des Mittelalters im Oberrheingebiet vor, die erstmals die Schriftquellen bis um 1500 systematisch auswertet, aber auf die Münzen selbst nicht eingeht.

## **Geld im Gebrauch**

Der Gebrauch von Münzgeld führt bald zum Thema der Fälschungen. Die Tagungsakten des Kolloquiums der SAF zum den «Faux – contrefaçons – imitations» (8) enthielt auch verschiedene Beiträge zu Schweizer Themen: neben dem bereits erwähnten Beitrag zur Falschmünzerei in Münzkrisen (8, pp. 175–233) veröffentlichten CLAIRAND und FROIDEVAUX (8, pp. 235–254) den Lebensabriss eines Falschmünzers des 18. Jahrhunderts und DUBUIS (8, pp. 255–266) stellte eine Falschmünzeraffäre des 17. Jahrhunderts vor. FROIDEVAUX (46) beschäftigte sich zudem mit der möglichen Herstellung von falschen Walliser Batzen in der Münzstätte von Neuchâtel im Jahr 1761 und LURASCHI (73) stellte eine zeitgenössische Fälschung einer Prägung von Bellinzona aus der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts vor. ZÜLLE (113) lieferte Fakten zu Nachprägungen liechtensteinischer Gold und Silbermünzen.

LORY (68) behandelte anhand eines Rechentischs und Rechenbretts im Schloss Thun das Zählen und Rechnen auf Tischen und LURASCHI (72) wies anhand zweier Mailänder Münztarife des 19. Jahrhunderts auf Probleme bei der Regelung des Umlaufs von Schweizer Münzen in der Lombardei hin.

## **Papiergeld, Marken und Gewichte, Ikonographie**

KUNZMANN und RICHTER (87) veröffentlichten ein monumentales Bestimmungswerk für die schweizerischen Banknoten, das noch lange Zeit als Referenzwerk dienen wird. KUNZMANN publizierte zudem einen Katalog des Konsumgelds der Schweiz (64). Daneben erschienen vereinzelte Beiträge zu Papiergeld, von denen nur ein Ausstellungsbeitrag von SCHMUTZ (97) hervorgehoben sei.

Die Produktion von Marken ist vor allem durch Funde belegt, wie FREY-KUPPER erneut an Berner Beispielen aufzeigen konnte (45). Seltene Funde von Münzgewichten wurden unter anderem von ACKERMANN (4) vorgelegt und kommentiert. Nur selten wird die Ikonographie der Münzen im Mittelalter und der Neuzeit behandelt; ZÄCH (106) warf ein Streiflicht auf die Münzbilder von Schweizer Münzen unter dem Aspekt ihrer Funktion als Mittel der Repräsentation und Identitätsstiftung.

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# ÖSTERREICH

Hubert Emmerig

Die Veröffentlichungen zur Münz- und Geldgeschichte Österreichs in Mittelalter und Neuzeit seit dem Bericht im letzten Survey (ALRAM/DENK 1) sind zunächst so zu charakterisieren, dass einerseits nur wenige grundlegende und systematische Neubearbeitungen einzelner Teilgebiete zu verzeichnen sind, andererseits aber die wesentlichsten Fortschritte des aktuellen Wissensstandes im Rahmen von Fundpublikationen erzielt werden konnten.

Der Schwerpunkt dieses Beitrags liegt auf der Publikationsliste. Der Textteil soll nur wenige Neuerscheinungen von herausragender Bedeutung hervorheben. Die Publikationen werden hier in einer thematischen Gliederung präsentiert.

Beim Mittelalter ist zunächst der umfangreiche Sammelband über die Anfänge der Friesacher Münzprägung (ALRAM/HÄRTEL/SCHREINER 23) von grundlegender Bedeutung. Der Beitrag über die Münzprägung selbst, eine Wiener Dissertation von WINTER (41), wird ergänzt durch eine Untersuchung über die Schriftquellen zu diesem Thema (BAUMGARTNER 25) und durch Metallanalysen (LINKE/SCHREINER 30). Wichtig ist auch die Arbeit von GRUNDNER (28, 29), die auf der Basis der spätmittelalterlichen schriftlichen Überlieferung die verwaltungsmäßige Organisation der Münzstätte Wien untersucht. RIZZOLLI legte nun seinen lange erwarteten zweiten Band der Tiroler Münzgeschichte vor (39), der das Corpus der Meraner Münzprägung bis zur Verlegung der Münzstätte nach Hall 1477 nun abschließt. Die Salzburger Münzgeschichte und -prägung des 15. Jahrhunderts hat EMMERIG (27) im Rahmen der bayerischen Münzgeschichte neu bearbeitet.

Auf dem Gebiet der mittelalterlichen Münzfunde hat die Publikation des Fundes von Fuchsenhof größte Bedeutung, der in den 1270er Jahren endet und neben Münzen auch diverse weitere Gegenstände aus Edelmetall enthielt (PROKISCH/KÜHTREIBER 49). Seine Vorlage, die eindrucksvollste Publikation eines österreichischen Mittelalterfundes, die es bisher gibt, leistet über die Interpretation des Fundes hinaus einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Ordnung des österreichischen Münzmaterials der 2. Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts.

Für die Neuzeit ist auf eine niederländische Dissertation hinzuweisen, die den Dukaten und insbesondere sein Auftreten in Österreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert untersucht (BRZIC 55). Beim Papiergeld besticht der Prachtband von FILIP (62) besonders durch seine opulente Illustration. Zur Finanzgeschichte, im weiteren Sinne auch für die Numismatik relevant, sind mehrere wichtige Neuerscheinungen zu vermelden (EDELMAYER/LANZINNER/RAUSCHER 57; PÜHRINGER 74; RAUSCHER 75; VOREL 79). Für die Epoche von Maria Theresia ist auf die Monographie von SEMPLE (87) über den Maria-Theresia-Taler hinzuweisen, die insbesondere auch seinem Nachleben breiten Raum einräumt. Für die Moderne enthält der Sammelband von LIEBSCHER/SEIPEL (99) wichtige Beiträge zum Münz- und Geldwesen des 20. Jahrhunderts; seine Herausgabe ist wie die vieler weiterer Publikationen durch die Einführung des Euro im Berichtszeitraum motiviert. Die Ausbreitung und Durchmischung des Euro-Geldes in Österreich untersuchte ein – leider wohl zeitlich zu kurz angelegtes – Wiener Projekt (DENK/POLZER/MOSER 90). Eine ganze Reihe wichtiger Beiträge leisten die diversen Publikationen neuzeitlicher Funde, die den gesamten Zeitraum vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert betreffen.

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## ITALIA: X-XX SECOLO

*Lucia Travaini*

La numismatica italiana degli ultimi anni ha prodotto molta ricerca con opere di sintesi specialmente per l'età medievale. TRAVAINI (420) ha proposto una sintesi sullo sviluppo della monetazione italiana dal V al XV secolo, in una sorta di manuale di numismatica medievale complessivo che raccoglie temi e problemi ampi, ma anche con approfondimenti e dettagli su un certo numero di emissioni, ripostigli, fonti scritte, con ampia bibliografia ed apparati, e molte illustrazioni. Il libro di CASTRIZIO (126), nonostante il titolo, presenta invece una sintesi sulla monetazione nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia, specialmente nella regione dello Stretto di Messina, mentre SACCOCCI (350) ha riproposto e raccolto ampliandoli i suoi studi sulla monetazione nell'Italia nord-orientale, con particolare attenzione a quella veneziana nei rapporti con le altre zecche del nord-est. Sintesi valide a livello sia generale che locale. Una breve sintesi sulle monete italiane medievali con particolare accento sull'aspetto artistico è ARSLAN-TRAVAINI (24). La presentazione del rinnovato Museo Bottacin nella nuova sede ha offerto occasione per un breve profilo delle collezioni e della monetazione dall'antichità all'età moderna (116).

Una sezione sull'Italia medievale si trova nel grande manuale di numismatica europea di KLUGE (240), con selezione di monete illustrate dall'altomedioevo al Rinascimento ma senza commenti. Diversi nomi di monete e di zecche italiane sono presenti nel dizionario curato da AMANDRY (7). Per l'età moderna l'unica sintesi è quella di ASOLATI (27).

Vi sono stati studi su alcune zecche in particolare che hanno saputo valorizzare il ruolo di tali impianti, sul lungo periodo (Piacenza, 162, Lucca, 93) o su un periodo molto breve (Maccagno, 206). Documentatissima è la zecca di Merano studiata da RIZZOLLI (321). La zecca di Cortona è stata oggetto di una monografia che ha ricordato i frequenti falsi che ne inquinano la storia (443).

Anche dove non trattate monograficamente, le zecche sono state al centro di molti lavori: TRAVAINI ha indagato le zecche del Rinascimento (423) e della Sicilia normanna e sveva (416); segni di zecca sono stati messi in evidenza in diverse occasioni, come per i quattrini pisani esaminati da SACCOCCI (361).

L'attività di zecchieri italiani in Europa non è trascurabile: italiani nelle zecche di Castiglia sono documentati fin dal XII secolo (ROMA, 322), e diffusamente in Inghilterra (ALLEN, 6), con un forte ruolo dei fiorentini evidenziati da DAY (166, 168); anche in Polonia ve ne sono tracce (292).

SACCOCCI ha cercato di evidenziare con attenzione quali fossero i salari nel medioevo prima della moneta grossa, in uno studio molto stimolante con l'ausilio di fonti scritte (346). Ritrovamenti monetali medievali e moderni sono segnalati più avanti regionalmente: a volte si tratta di rendiconti di grande analisi e dettaglio che procedono in parallelo con lo sviluppo delle ricerche archeologiche; a volte si tratta di brevi segnalazioni nell'ambito di rendiconti di scavo. Di grande rilevanza il repertorio di ritrovamenti di ARSLAN (18) – che tocca solo in parte il periodo qui trattato- e che viene continuamente aggiornato ([www.numismatik.org](http://www.numismatik.org) e [www.ermannoarслан.eu](http://www.ermannoarслан.eu)). Ritrovamenti sono anche segnalati da ARSLAN in una sezione apposita nella nuova rivista *Temporis Signa* edita a Spoleto dal CISAM.

Vi è stato un notevole approfondimento dello studio dei ritrovamenti monetali in contesti rituali, con un dibattito sulla loro interpretazione che ha coinvolto specialmente SACCOCCI e TRAVAINI, con interpretazioni in parte divergenti; per le tombe medievali si segnala in generale TRAVAINI (403) mentre per le monete in tombe di santi vi sono diversi studi, che mettono in rilievo l'importanza delle date delle ricognizioni conosciute come termini cronologici per il materiale contenuto, che si presenta in tal modo come ripostiglio chiuso in periodo certo: per tale ragione questi complessi, di cui qui non si possono fornire dettagli, sono rilevanti per lo studio di monete di zecche diverse (266, 403, 418, 187, 265, 335, 363, 444). Altri contesti rituali sono le fondazioni di edifici nelle quali si gettavano monete: anche in questo caso si è avuto un dibattito interpretativo con posizioni diverse ed analisi sul lungo periodo dato il perdurare della tradizione con contributi di SACCOCCI (352) per i denari lucchesi sotto il pavimento di San Damiano, e di TRAVAINI per le interpretazioni cinquecentesche del tesoro del Laterano (426); un gruzzolo di fondazione di inizi Novecento è in (297). L'uso di monete come icone devozionali, selezionate per la loro iconografia, può aver determinato particolari selezioni nella formazione di ripostigli (così nel caso delle

*santalene* nei ripostigli di Ortona, Roma e Pisa: v. TRAVAINI 420) e la devozione verso monete-reliquie nell'Italia medievale e moderna (426).

Lo studio di ripostigli ha visto la pubblicazione di materiali nell'ambito delle serie milanesi dei Ripostigli monetali in Italia-documentazione dei complessi (40, 121, 134, 254, 255, 433); vi si aggiunge un ripostiglio bergamasco di ducati veneziani e romani (76), ed altri segnalati regionalmente. Nella discussione sui ripostigli si segnalano per considerazioni generali i contributi di ROVELLI (330) e di BALDASSARRI E FAVILLA (73), nonostante non vi si parli direttamente di materiale numismatico del periodo qui in oggetto.

Lo studio e la raccolta di fonti scritte per lo studio delle monete medievali è particolarmente utile: TRAVAINI (398) ha pubblicato le liste di monete da trattati di aritmetica e pratiche di mercatura del periodo 1280-1450, specificamente rilevanti per tutte le monetazioni tardomedievali italiane e non solo; altra lista di monete da una 'pratica' di mercatura è in LENZI (246); i depositi monetali registrati nel *Libro del pellegrino* a Siena sono altre fonti notevoli per documentare il movimento di monete locali e straniere in Italia ad opera di pellegrini, evidenziando le regole della circolazione monetaria internazionale (300, 395). L'afflusso di monete straniere in Italia deve essere considerato in relazione alle fonti e ai ritrovamenti e lo stesso vale per le monete italiane all'estero: alcune fonti per queste ultime tra 1437 e 1552 sono raccolte nel volume di NUSSEN E VAN LAERE (277). I temi relativi al rapporto tra monete locali e straniere è stato inoltre studiato da TRAVAINI (393) e SACCOCCI (342).

Strumento di consultazione del libro di conti di Badoer è (95). Utile supporto bibliografico è il libro di RUOTOLO (334) con repertorio di tutte le riviste numismatiche italiane. Grande attenzione alle monete italiane medievali si trova nel catalogo di una mostra di Barcellona, con contributi di SANAHUJA ANGUERA, ESTRADA-RIUS, SACCOCCI, TRAVAINI (370, 192, 356, 413).

Studi sulla tecnologia hanno incluso indagini sui conii e loro produzione, conservazione e sopravvivenza (TRAVAINI 421) e sulle scene di coniazione medievali e moderne, con riflessioni sul ruolo delle zecche anche nell'immaginario del tempo (TRAVAINI 422). Di grande rilevanza la scoperta sul verso della porta del Paradiso del Battistero di Firenze di punzonature fatte con punzoni della zecca di Firenze per produrre parti del fiorino d'oro e del grosso d'argento: parti del santo e del giglio, stemmi dei magistrati della zecca (LISCIA BEMPORAD 249). Di monete usate dai battiloro per farne foglie d'oro ha trattato TRAVAINI (404).

Sui metodi di interpretazione dei ritrovamenti monetali si veda Saccocci (344) e il relativo capitolo in (420). Utili anche a fini generali le considerazioni di PIGOZZO sui nascondigli di monete nel medioevo (306). Lo studio dei tesori di monete d'oro dal 1252 al 1535 potrebbe essere meglio approfondito per valorizzare dati quali la presenza dei segni dei signori di zecca sui fiorini di Firenze che permettono una datazione al semestre: un progetto di ricerca è stato in tal senso presentato da TRAVAINI (428).

Tra i convegni si segnala quello dedicato al grosso agontano (396), tipologia che conobbe grande diffusione in Italia centrale e di cui gli atti permettono di fare il punto con una trattazione per ogni zecca che ne coniò (SACCOCCI 347, ROSSI 326, MATZKE 260, VANNI 138, VILLORESI 451, SOZZI 377, ed altri contributi di ERCOLANI COCCHI, DAY, TRAVAINI, FEA, 396): vi si segnala anche il saggio di CHIMIENTI (138) sulle *Rationes decimarum Italiae* e le menzioni monetarie dell'Italia centrale. Altro convegno è stato dedicato alla presenza di moneta nel mondo rurale medievale, curato da DELOGU e SORDA (177, 220, 252, 299: si vedano anche gli interventi nella tavola rotonda pubblicata in 177): nel complesso la moneta non era assente dall'ambito rurale ma vedeva usi a volte diversificati se non anche attardati.

Studiando le applicazioni della legge di Gresham per il convegno ad esso dedicato (38) CRISAFULLI ha preso esempi da Firenze e Venezia nel Quattrocento (161) mentre SACCOCCI ne ha esaminato gli effetti nel medioevo (360).

La pubblicazione di collezioni vede in forte evidenza il Museo Nazionale del Bargello di Firenze, con 4 volumi editi tra 2003 e 2007 a cura di TODERI e VANNEL-TODERI (385-388), con materiali di grande rilevanza finalmente disponibili; delle collezioni delle raccolte milanesi sono stati pubblicati i volumi sulla Toscana e Firenze (VANNI 439-440), Venezia (BELLESIA 81), Emilia prima parte (DI VIRGILIO 185), Lombardia zecche minori (VISMARA 454). È stato pubblicato il catalogo delle monete piemontesi nel Cabinet des Médailles della Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi (BIAGGI con collaborazione di DHÉNIN 101). La collezione del Museo della Moneta della Banca d'Italia a Palazzo Koch è stata pubblicata da BALBI DE CARO (45), e così pure la collezione di monete d'oro della stessa istituzione (46). La Banca Carige ha reso nota la sua ricca collezione di monete genovesi con una

pubblicazione inusuale, che illustra tutti i pezzi fotograficamente ma senza alcuna descrizione né commento (243). Monete italiane di zecche diverse sono presenti nella collezione di Arezzo (438). È rimasta invece purtroppo inconsultabile e senza sviluppi la grande collezione reale di Vittorio Emanuele III, di cui ci restano i vecchi venti volumi del *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* dei quali PINNA (308) ha pubblicato un corposo e dettagliato indice alla consultazione; TRAVAINI (410) ha curato la seconda edizione della storia della collezione reale.

Le monete e zecche del Rinascimento sono state trattate da TRAVAINI (423). Per l'età moderna si segnalano, oltre a (27), due contributi di CATTINI (128-129) e per il periodo successivo alla Rivoluzione francese quello di DE CECCO (169).

Tra i periodi recenti meglio indagati si segnala quello della Repubblica Romana, con studi di BRUNI (112, 114) e il catalogo della mostra curato da BERTUZZI, BRUNI, CATALLI (97).

Numerose sono state le ricerche iconografiche, fruttuose per gli spunti ed i collegamenti con ampi temi storico-politici: abbiamo saggi di SACCOCCI sulla monetazione comunale (356), di GRIERSON (218) e TRAVAINI sul ritratto nel medioevo (394, 400) e nel Rinascimento (427), sui santi (261, 402, 441-442), sulla croce (411), sull'aquila aquileiese (284), sui denari triestini (333); saggi di BOLIS e di TRAVAINI sul ruolo della scrittura (105, 107, 409). Traina (425) ha proposto un repertorio delle legende latine delle monete italiane, con traduzione e commento. ALBERTARIO ha trattato il ritratto presso la corte sforzesca (5) e ancora di ambito milanese gli studi (122 e 258). TRAVAINI (425) ha esaminato il ritratto monetale di Francesco Sforza introdotto nel 1462 (dopo i ritratti monetali di Ferdinando I di Napoli del 1458): questi ducati con ritratto sono ribattuti su ducati di altre zecche e non avevano la qualità dei ducati di Venezia come pretendeva lo Sforza nelle gride. Interessante il confronto fisionomico tra il ritratto monetale di Galeazzo Maria Sforza ed il suo (presunto) volto ricostruito in base al cranio ritrovato nella chiesa di S. Andrea di Melzo, Milano (432). TRAVAINI ha confrontato le kharrube siciliane di Ruggero II con ritratto con simili tipologie su falus andalusi, derivanti verosimilmente da un comune modello tardoantico (417).

Si segnalano un saggio di SACCOCCI (353) di respiro europeo sul periodo VIII-XII secolo e due saggi di TRAVAINI sulle monete al tempo di papa Bonifacio VIII e di Francesco Petrarca (412, 408).

Tra i materiali numismatici vanno ricordate anche le tessere mercantili (o meglio gettoni di conto per chi scrive): l'importante collezione del Museo dell'Opera del Duomo di Orvieto è stata pubblicata con catalogo di TAGLIAFERRI (380), e saggio introduttivo, con discussione della funzione, di TRAVAINI (419). Di una particolare iconografia di tessere si sono occupati (445) e (111) mentre un sintetico catalogo di collezione è proposto da BALDASSARRE e BURRESI (71).

Per la metrologia e la tolleranza del peso nelle zecche si vedano i contributi di RUSSO e CHIMIENTI (336, 338).

Monete straniere in Italia sono messe in evidenza continuamente nelle analisi di rinvenimenti archeologici; in particolare per denari normanni francesi si vedano SCREEN (375), SACCOCCI (361); per short-cross pennies (429); per monete islamiche (32, 351); per due monete d'oro francesi del XIV secolo da Pontremoli (282); per i denari tornesi della Grecia franca – divenuti poi moneta locale in Italia meridionale – si vedano BAKER (42, 44) e CASTRIZIO (124). Per materiali stranieri in Museo italiano si veda (286).

Monete italiane all'estero non possono essere censite se non episodicamente: se ne trovano nella Svizzera segnalate tra i materiali dell'IFS (235): molte di Milano (181, 182, 263) ma anche di Fermo, e un ripostiglio di terzoli milanesi da Tremona (IFS-235-, p. 43); monete veneziane sono comuni in area greca (202); un grosso di Venezia proviene da Silos in Spagna (456); alcuni talleri di zecche italiane – Pisa, Guastalla, Sabbioneta, Correggio – sono stati ritrovati in un tesoro dalla Palestina (381).

Molte sono le pubblicazioni per collezionisti, specialmente per l'età moderna: per esempio il catalogo delle monete d'oro italiane (89), i cataloghi (163 e 449), e molti articoli su *Cronaca Numismatica* e *Panorama Numismatico* che qui non si elencano singolarmente; si segnalano su *Panorama Numismatico* gli articoli di BELLESIA su varie zecche, di CASSANELLI su monete pontificie moderne, di PELLEGRINI sulle monete toscane granducali, di RAUSO su monete napoletane moderne.

Di ordinamento delle zecche italiane ha trattato (103 e 104) sottolineando l'esistenza di tante zecche mai esistite nella storia degli studi. Su numismatica e banche dati in Italia si veda (214). Su pesi e bilance monetali (211

e 458). Un utile elenco delle collezioni italiane con segnalazione quantitativa delle presenze di monete medievali e moderne è in (217). Di zecche clandestine e falsificazioni si tratta in (205, 213, 309, 341).

### **Le monete italiane dal X secolo al XIX: una sintesi bibliografica regionale**

Sintesi di ampio respiro sulla circolazione monetaria nell'arco alpino fino all'XI secolo è stata presentata da SACCOCCI (355).

#### Savoia – Piemonte

Il catalogo di monete piemontesi e sabaude della collezione della Bibliothèque Nationale de France è opera molto significativa (101), mentre i libri di BIAGGI (100), oltre a presentare utili notizie su ritrovamenti monetali, non aggiungono molto a quanto già scritto dall'autore in precedenza. Utile il catalogo per collezionisti di Cudazzo (163); per il catalogo di monete di Savoia nel Museo di Dresda si veda (188). Di monete piemontesi diverse ha trattato GIANAZZA (208-209). DAY ha trattato delle imitazioni piemontesi del fiorino d'oro di Firenze (166, 168). Reperti da scavo da sito piemontese in (431). Sulla zecca di Torino nell'Ottocento si veda Pennestrì (295).

FERRO (194) ha attribuito a Ponzone le monete da molti assegnate a Dego, ed ha esaminato i denari a legenda MARSACONA attribuendoli a zecca piemontese e non francese.

#### Liguria

Molti i reperti da scavo nella regione (49, 52, 54, 59, 66, 69, 70, 23), con monete genovesi ma anche di altre zecche; sintesi sulla Lunigiana sono (63 e 96).

Notevole materiale si trova nel catalogo della collezione Carige (243), benché pubblicato senza commenti. Un tesoretto ritrovato a Genova nel 1908, con 354 esemplari di zecche italiane (Genova, Bologna, Milano, Venezia, zecche toscane, e Asti, Cortemilia, Chiasso) e di Provenza, emessi tra il 1139 e il XIV secolo è stato riesaminato da (212). Altro ripostiglio ligure più recente è in (433-434). Utili le ristampe a cura del Circolo Numismatico Ligure di tutti gli articoli di Giovanni Pesce (298) e di Enrico Janin (242), di argomento prevalentemente ligure. Sulla moneta piccola di Genova è (167). Brevi le schede su monete genovesi in (296). Sulla circolazione nell'area di Savona (274).

#### Lombardia

Per le monete di Pavia in età ottoniana e la loro cronologia importante il contributo di SACCOCCI (340, 358). Monete di Milano dal medioevo al Seicento e di altre zecche settentrionali sono segnalate da scavo (12, 13, 110); frequenti i terzoli milanesi spesso presenti anche fuori dalla Lombardia.

Di monete lombarde tardomedievali da una fonte quattrocentesca tratta (78). Pubblicato in dettaglio il ripostiglio da Castiglione Olona con monete in oro e argento, prevalentemente di Milano, molto importante per il ruolo della zecca di Como in età viscontea (134). Pubblicata preliminarmente (131) la notizia del ritrovamento di un ripostiglio da Milano con 63 monete d'oro e 210 monete d'argento e mistura, databili tra la metà del XV e la metà del XVI secolo: monete italiane (Milano, Roma, Venezia, Ancona, Bologna, Ferrara, Genova, Lucca, Firenze, Mantova), francesi, svizzere e tedesche (apparentemente inedito un mezzo fiorino di Renato II di Lorena).

Notevoli i reperti dalla Valtellina (312), con molte monete milanesi ma anche di altre zecche lombarde ed emiliane, Tirolo, Aquileia, Gorizia/Lienz, Venezia, Castiglione delle Stiviere, ed una di Coira del Seicento. Due altri ripostigli sono stati pubblicati da Martini (254-255) il quale ha inoltre curato i cataloghi delle monete da Ludovico il Moro (257) a Francesco II Sforza (256) delle collezioni milanesi. SAETTI ha esaminato l'iconografia delle monete di Bona di Savoia (365).

Monete di Bergamo sono catalogate da BASETTI e CARANTANI (76), che pubblicano anche un ripostiglio di ducati di Venezia e del Senato Romano dalla città. Ha avuto seguito con nuovi ricchi volumi l'opera numismatica promossa dalla Banca Agricola Mantovana, ora dedicata anche alla monetazione dei rami cadetti dei Gonzaga (267).

GIANAZZA ha studiato in dettaglio e con supporto di molte fonti scritte la zecca seicentesca di Maccagno, attiva in molteplici contraffazioni (206), ed ha studiato problemi monetari lombardi (207). BOLIS ha curato una mostra sulla zecca di Pavia (109) ed ha studiato la circolazione nel pavese del Settecento (108).

La mostra dedicata a Como a Solone Ambrosoli è stata occasione di studi sulla zecca cittadina e su ritrovamenti monetali dall'area (278, 135, 136, 137).

#### Veneto – Friuli – Trentino - Alto Adige

Gli studi numismatici su queste regioni sono stati particolarmente numerosi specialmente per l'attività di SACCOCCI ed altri studiosi oltre citati. Molto materiale –ripostigli e fonti scritte- viene preso in esame nel libro di SACCOCCI (350) per ricostruire la circolazione monetaria fino al XV secolo. Le monete di Venezia hanno ovviamente un ruolo primario ma certamente è interessante vedere il rapporto con monete di altre zecche, ad esempio nel Friuli.

L'introduzione del grosso d'argento di Venezia nel 1194 è stato oggetto di approfondimenti da parte di TRAVAINI (415): i ritrovamenti monetali in Italia e in Levante dimostrano che questa moneta non fu creata per i commerci con l'Oriente, come molti hanno ritenuto, ma essenzialmente per facilitare gli scambi interni e semmai con le regioni alpine produttive di argento; l'iconografia del grosso, del resto, non deve essere ritenuta 'bizantina' dato che ormai da decenni faceva parte del patrimonio iconografico veneziano (per esempio nei sigilli).

Le monete della Padova trecentesca dei da Carrara sono state trattate in dettaglio da SACCOCCI (354), con aggiornamenti nella classificazione delle monete specialmente di Francesco I, organizzate in tre fasi. Notevole il ritrovamento a Padova nell'arredo ligneo della Cappella degli Scrovegni di alcune monete (Padova, Reggio Emilia, Verona) poste verosimilmente in segno 'di memoria' (117).

Numerosi gli scritti relativi a monete da scavo in queste regioni. Ben due esemplari del rarissimo denaro piccolo di Andrea Contarini provengono dallo scavo della chiesa carnica sede della fiera di San Martino nel XIV secolo: centro di scambi con monete prevalentemente venete (349); altri reperti da scavi nel Veneto sono in (25, 26, 160, 253, 318).

Diversi i contributi di PIGOZZO su circolazione e politica monetaria nel Veneto (301-305, 307). Numerosi gli scavi nel Friuli con reperti pubblicati o commentati in (2-3, 157-158, 244-245, 310-311, 345, 349, 357, 362).

Per il Friuli i contributi di PASSERA evidenziano anche due ripostigli trecenteschi; si segnala anche un'officina di falsari di XIV secolo nel castello di Gruspergo (290). Monete di Padova, Verona e Venezia sono circolante comune nel Friuli medievale (357). Segnalazioni bibliografiche sono in (281). Un ripostiglio da tomba da Feltre è segnalato da SACCOCCI in un contributo toscano (361, p. 146).

Il libro di RIZZOLLI (321) segna un capitolo fondamentale per la conoscenza delle monete di Merano dal tempo dei primi Asburgo del Tirolo fino al 1477 (una zecca dalla ricca documentazione archivistica oltre che numismatica, con molti dati quindi sul personale ed i contratti, oltre che sui ritrovamenti monetali relativi a queste monete); il libro tratta anche delle monete dei conti di Gorizia battute a Lienz e Dobbiaco fino al 1500. Le monete della contea di Gorizia sono state trattate anche da contributi di PASSERA (285, 287-288) e RIZZOLLI (319-320), e nel catalogo della collezione Coronini Cronberg (4), dove si presentano numerosi esemplari di età moderna conati in varie zecche dell'Impero Austro-Ungarico; questa collezione è ricca in monete medievali di Aquileia, Merano, Gorizia/Lienz. Dal Trentino si segnalano quattrini di Merano e di Bologna di XV secolo (130).

#### Emilia- Romagna

Di monete bolognesi ha trattato CHIMIENTI (139, 141-146) anche in *Panorama Numismatico*; lo stesso ha studiato il successo e le imitazioni del bolognino di Bologna in Italia, che ebbe influenze forti nei tipi di Marche e Umbria più del bolognino romano (145). Quattrini toscani sono stati rinvenuti nel bolognese (140). MORELLI (271) ha trattato della zecca di Ravenna inquadrando le vicende delle sedi, su cui anche (39).

Su Piacenza abbiamo ora il libro di CROCICCHIO e FUSCONI (162), completo ma con qualche aspetto collezionistico, e l'articolo (208). Gli scavi nella cattedrale di Fidenza (79) hanno restituito denari di Pavia, Milano, Piacenza e Poitou. Le monete di Parma sono descritte approfonditamente da BAZZINI (77) mentre il cosiddetto 'vittorino' di Parma è stato inquadrato nel contesto della monetazione milanese del XII e XIII secolo (80). Tra Ravenna e le Marche è attribuito un denaro di Marcoardo di Annweiler marchese di Ancona e duca di Ravenna nel 1195 (260).

Scavi dal reggiano hanno restituito monete dal XV al XIX secolo (164). Scavi a Cesena hanno ritrovato un ripostiglio trecentesco con grossi agontani (190). DI VIRGILIO ha curato la prima parte del catalogo di monete emiliane nelle raccolte milanesi (185).

Di monete di Ferrara tratta (115) pubblicando anche i conii pontifici; un quattrino di Ferrara viene da Forlì (221); l'iconografia delle monete ferraresi è esaminata da (324-325). Monete moderne di Ferrara, Mantova e Genova vengono dal ripostiglio di Cotignola (230) e dal ferrarese viene un importante ripostiglio di XVI secolo con monete d'oro e argento di Ferrara, Mantova, Venezia e altre zecche (222).

Sulla zecca di Correggio, attiva tra XVI e XVIII secolo c'è il libro (251). L'articolo (178) sulla zecca di Borgotaro contiene numerose imprecisioni. Un esame della progettata ma non attivata zecca di Carpi è in (389).

### Marche

I contributi di ROSSI hanno coperto vari temi della monetazione marchigiana, con un survey generale aggiornato sul bassomedioevo (328), un esame particolare dell'area di Fermo (327), dell'agontano (326) e del termine 'danesmarche' (329) che indicherebbe i denari di Ancona. MATZKE ha pubblicato un inedito denaro di Enrico VI imperatore attribuendolo a zecca marchigiana incerta (262). Sul grosso agontano anche SACCOCCI (347) ed il convegno (396).

Materiali da scavo dal comune di Urbisaglia sono in (36). SAETTI ha esaminato il ritratto monetale del duca Federico di Montefeltro, non privo di dubbi quanto ad autenticità (367).

### Toscana

Le monete di Pavia e di Lucca di età ottoniana, documentate in numerosi scavi archeologici che qui non elenco, sono trattate da SACCOCCI in margine alla pubblicazione del ripostiglio da Lucca area Galli Tassi con importanti precisazioni e aggiornamenti della cronologia dei diversi tipi, che dovrebbe ormai sostituire la cronologia tradizionale del *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* (340, 358); sono stati inoltre presentati due ripostigli toscani dello stesso periodo emersi da ricerche archivistiche, il primo registrato nel 1766 con monete di Pavia e Lucca (150) e il secondo da tomba con monete di Pavia per Rodolfo di Borgogna e Ugo e Lotario e monete anglosassoni (446).

Un convegno per i 750 anni del fiorino d'oro nel 2002 ha visto i contributi di GRIERSON, SPUFFORD, TRAVAINI, VILLORESI (219, 379, 414, 452). Di grande rilevanza un tesoro da Aciri contenente fiorini di Firenze occultato verosimilmente nel 1291 (241). Le imitazioni del fiorino sono esaminate da DAY (166, 168) e KLEIN (239).

Vi sono buoni contributi sulle zecche toscane tra Due e Trecento (98, 99, 268, 269, 270, 151). L'attività archeologica è stata particolarmente ricca in Toscana e molti sono i contributi con reperti monetali, specie di DEGASPERI, BALDASSARRI, CICALI: da Empoli (176), Prato (175), dalla Rocca brunelleschiana di Vicopisano (323); dalla Valdiniavole (74), dal Valdarno (174, con dati su altri ritrovamenti), da Lucca (1, 150, 340, 358), Gorfogliano (60), Pisa e dintorni (64-65, 67-68, 148-149), San Miniato (119-120); reperti tra X secolo e gli inizi del XVI secolo da Aulla (20); CICALI ha presentato materiali dal centro minerario di Rocca S. Silvestro (153), dalla Maremma (151), dal senese (152, 154, 155).

Da tutti questi materiali si rileva un quadro complesso del circolante minuto, con molta presenza dei denari e quattrini toscani, in particolare esaminati da SACCOCCI su un ampio campione di dati a partire da un ripostiglio di quattrini toscani da una tomba nella chiesa di S. Ponziano di Lucca (361): si descrivono così le fasi e aree di circolazione di tali monete, confermando tra l'altro la datazione al XIV secolo di quattrini pisani attribuiti dal CNI al XV. L'ampio movimento dei quattrini toscani si nota anche in una presenza in Friuli (244).

BALDASSARRI ha presentato un ampio profilo monografico della zecca di Pisa in età comunale (57), esaminata anche in altre sedi (56, 61); la stessa ha trattato delle monete a Volterra (51, 62), ed ha riconsiderato il noto tesoro aureo di Banchi (71). Le monete di Siena sono state studiate da TRAVAINI nel contesto del *Libro del Pellegrino* dove si affrontano altri temi di numismatica toscana e non solo (300, 395).

VANNI ha studiato il complesso di monete dall'urna di San Cerbone a Massa Marittima: esemplari di Modena, Firenze, Bologna, Lucca, Siena, Urbino e Napoli tra XV e XVI secolo (444). Per l'iconografia del Volto Santo di Lucca (261, 441-442). Per monete granducali TODERI e VANNEL (384); per le monete di Massa di Carlo I Cybo RICCI (317).

### Umbria

Denari enriciani lucchesi sono stati rinvenuti in un deposito di fondazione ('ex-voto' secondo SACCOCCI) sotto il pavimento della chiesa di San Damiano ad Assisi, attribuibile al 1206, opera di san Francesco (352); dallo stesso scavo provengono monete del XIII-XIV secolo di Siena, Arezzo (cortonesi), Perugia, provvisini romani, confermando dati già noti sulla piccola circolazione umbra.

Denari lucchesi enriciani provengono dalla tomba dello stesso san Francesco (418). Un denaro ottolino di Pavia viene da Perugia (279).

### Lazio – Stato Pontificio

Dall'area di Civitavecchia denari enriciani lucchesi e un paparino di Viterbo del XIII secolo (189). Monete fino al X secolo dalla Valle del Tevere in ROVELLI (331). Sui provvisini romani intorno al 1300 FINETTI (195). Sul primo romanino d'oro del Duecento, conosciuto solo in un disegno di Muratori, TRAVAINI (424). Sull'iconografia di monete pontificie brevi note in (193). Due contributi di ANTONUCCI ed uno di VILLANI hanno esaminato le sedi della zecca di Roma (8-9, 450).

### Italia meridionale – Regno di Sicilia, Napoli e Due Sicilie

PETRALIA ha trattato ampiamente il tema della moneta rurale e dell'economia nell'Italia meridionale (299). SANTORO ha sottolineato il ruolo delle zecche in età angioina, anche elencando il personale (371, 374); lo stesso ha portato un contributo sui ritrovamenti di grossi veneziani nel Regno (372), finora poco noti; notevoli anche quantitativamente i reperti monetali dagli scavi del castello di Lagopesole (373), con poche monete delle fasi più antiche, per l'età normanna un solo follaro di Ruggero II (non Pandolfo Capodiferro), e molte monete sveve e angioine di cui gli esemplari più recenti sono denari di re Roberto e denari tornesi di Chiarenza. Denari tornesi sono nel ripostiglio da Filignano, località che ha restituito anche denari di Champagne, Ancona e Macerata (44).

Dall'Alto Volturno provengono monete napoletane e dell'Aquila ma anche un ottolino di Pavia, denari di Verona, Ravenna e Ancona, un grosso di Reggio Emilia e bolognini romani (280). Dall'Abruzzo settentrionale (376) un tarì di Ruggero II (confermando la circolazione in tutto il Regno di queste monete in età normanna), un enriciano di Lucca, bolognini romani e monete di Ancona, Ascoli e Fermo. Da scavo abruzzese un 8 tornese di Ferdinando IV (315). Sulla zecca dell'Aquila per Carlo VIII si veda (368). Per collezionisti il libro (165).

Da Sepino provengono tre tarì di Salerno/Amalfi di inizi XI secolo (127); sulla circolazione minuta nel basso medioevo molisano FINETTI (196). Su due ripostigli di gigliati, e relativi problemi di classificazione, ha scritto BAKER (42-43); commenti su queste monete anche di TESTA (383).

LIBERO MANGIERI ha segnalato un ripostiglio di denari di Champagne con un ducale di Guglielmo II da Ostuni (247), un ripostiglio di denari di Federico II ed un altro di tarì d'oro siciliani con spezzati occultati durante il regno di Carlo I d'Angiò da Benevento (248). La monetazione nell'area di Benevento tra X e XI secolo è discussa in (392, 397), mentre un ripostiglio settecentesco dal beneventano è in (121). Sulla zecca di Salerno si veda (401), e su alcune monete di questa zecca (94); reperti da scavo nel salernitano sono presentati da (294).

Per la Sicilia in epoca islamica si veda (399); reperti di età normanna sono segnalati in diverse sedi (41, 75, 332); occultati nella prima età sveva il ripostiglio di kharrube edito da SOZZI (378); da Entella in Sicilia monete normanne e sveve (159). Le prime letture delle legende arabe dei tarì normanni sono trattate in (392) in margine alla collezione di monete cufiche del cardinale Borgia.

La monetazione e la metrologia del regno di Federico II sono esaminate in (272, 406-407).

Utile il catalogo per collezionisti delle monete siciliane dal tempo dei normanni alla chiusura della zecca di Palermo: VARESI (449). Di monetazione moderna e ottocentesca si tratta in (102, 264).

### Sardegna

ESTRADA-RIUS (192) ha esaminato il percorso amministrativo che portò alla coniazione degli alfonsini d'oro cagliaritari nel 1339, di cui non restano esemplari. Gli scavi di Cagliari (259) hanno restituito monete tardomedievali, tra cui esemplari di Genova, monete aragonesi e spagnole della zecca di Cagliari, con molti esemplari da 3 cagliaresi di Filippo III (1598-1621), e monete sabaude settecentesche coniate per l'isola. Dagli scavi al villaggio medievale di Geridu provengono monete di XIII-XVI secolo (50, 53).



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## PENÍNSULA IBÉRICA

*José M<sup>a</sup> de Francisco Olmos y Javier de Santiago Fernández*

Antes de comenzar el comentario de la amplia bibliografía localizada en estos años, queremos tributar un sentido recuerdo y un merecido homenaje a dos personas fallecidas en estos años que han contribuido con sus escritos al progreso científico de la Numismática en la Península Ibérica en las épocas que nos ocupan. Se trata de Néstor Fatia Vidal y León España, seudónimo de León Hernández-Canut y Fernández-España.

### Obras generales y catálogos

En estos años ha proseguido la edición de catálogos y obras generales, unas que continúan y ponen al día trabajos tradicionales y otras más novedosas y específicas. Destaca, para la moneda castellana, la obra de CENTENO YÁÑEZ (3), que tiene como protagonista un tema complicado, como es el de los resellos sobre la moneda de vellón del siglo XVII, que el autor resuelve con acierto y claridad. MONTANER AMORÓS (15) ha realizado un sencillo catálogo de la amonedación a nombre de los Reyes Católicos, tema complejo por la enorme cantidad de variantes existentes en este numerario. Es importante la obra de Calicó (1) sobre una de las más emblemáticas piezas hispanas de época moderna, la Onza, que es una actualización y puesta al día de publicaciones anteriores. En la Numismática portuguesa destacamos la reedición de la tradicional obra de GOMES (9) y los más específicos y novedosos trabajos de SALGADO (21 y 22).

### Exposiciones

Destaca en este apartado la Exposición realizada en Vicenza sobre la moneda medieval castellana (28). Asimismo la conmemorativa del 75 aniversario de la creación del Gabinete Numismático de Cataluña (26) y la dedicada a la ceca del Principado durante la Guerra de la Independencia (35). Fue importante también la que tuvo como protagonista a los ocho siglos de monedas de oro portuguesas (29).

La moneda ha sido parte principal en diversas exposiciones, como son la dedicada a Laureano Figuerola, ministro de Hacienda español en la época de creación de la Peseta (33), la del viajero Ibn Jaldún (32) y la dedicada a las ferias de Medina del Campo, donde la moneda y los instrumentos de pago fueron los protagonistas (31).

### Colecciones

La Real Academia de la Historia ha continuado su labor publicista, iniciada en años anteriores, dedicado a todas las épocas que abarca su magnífica colección de piezas y documentos. En estos años se ha publicado la documentación del Gabinete Numario (41) y se han editado unas conferencias sobre los fondos de la colección (37). El resto de aportaciones son mucho más específicas, referentes a los fondos de museos locales o a piezas concretas conservadas en los mismos.

### Hallazgos

Los hallazgos aportados en estos años corresponden preferentemente a moneda medieval y, en concreto, en su mayoría relativos a la Corona castellano-leonesa, los cuales nos permiten mejorar el conocimiento de la circulación monetaria en Castilla y León en este complicado período. Destacamos los trabajos de GARCÍA RUIZ (53), donde se muestra la aparición de monedas cristianas mezcladas con andalusíes, de España y otros (49), relativo a las excavaciones en Calatrava la Vieja, de GONZÁLEZ VILA (54), referente a la fortaleza de A Rocha Forte, y, por último, el de FUENTES GANZO (50) sobre la circulación foránea de oro en Castilla en el siglo XV.

En lo que respecta a las Edades Moderna y Contemporánea apenas se han publicado hallazgos, únicamente los de GARCÍA FIGUEROLA (52) y VELASCO SÁNCHEZ (59), siendo este un débito de la investigación numismática referente a estas épocas.

## **Metrología**

Destacan las numerosas y muy estimables aportaciones de uno de los mayores especialistas en este tema, PELLICER I BRU, con obras referentes a la relación metroológica entre las monedas cristianas y musulmanas (66-73). En Portugal, el trabajo de MIRANDA (65) abarca desde la Edad Media a la Revolución Francesa. La obra de BODEGA (61) aborda la cuestión de los diferentes marcos medievales. Por último, SANAHUJA (75) ha tratado el tema de la ley y la talla en la moneda catalana de plata del siglo XVII.

## **Edad Media**

La rica Numismática medieval de la Península Ibérica tiene en este período un muy loable intento de realizar un manual básico por parte de LEÓN ESPAÑA (77), que intenta poner orden en el complejo mundo medieval hispánico; ordenado de forma cronológica con la pretensión de relacionar lo que ocurre en los diversos ámbitos políticos, nos muestra la distinta evolución de la moneda en cada uno de ellos, convirtiéndose en una obra básica, en especial para los estudiantes de Numismática o para aquellos que se introducen en esta ciencia, además de servir de base general para los especialistas de la época. Junto a esta magnífica obra debemos hacer mención a algunos trabajos que engloban temas referentes a varios de los reinos, ya sea por hablar del problema de las primeras emisiones que se produjeron en el occidente peninsular, como la de ROMA (82), como por tratar de forma genérica la fabricación de moneda, más en concreto el problemas de las piezas de cobre, presente en los trabajos de TORRES (83 y 84).

### La Corona de Castilla-León

La fragmentación política propia del período hace que la mayor parte de las publicaciones se centren únicamente en uno de los estados peninsulares. Es la Corona de Castilla-León el estado más estudiado, siendo la obra de conjunto de FRANCISCO OLMOS (121) la que ha intentado dar una visión global de todo este período histórico, desde el uso de monedas prestadas hasta la consolidación de una moneda propia con su particular evolución cambiaria, tipológica y política, donde se aprecia el poder que el rey castellano tenía sobre la moneda frente a las restricciones que los órganos de representación del reino habían conseguido en otros territorios.

Por otra parte podemos destacar el tradicional estudio individualizado de emisiones concretas o de piezas específicas, que abarcan acuñaciones que se realizaron desde el siglo XI hasta el XV. Es el caso de los trabajos de BALAGUER (86), CABRILLO (89), CANO (91), ESPAÑA (92, 101, 107, 115 y 116), GONZÁLEZ y ROMA (127), ROMA (140, 142 y 145), SÁNCHEZ (146), SUÁREZ (148) y URGORRI (152 y 153), desvelando problemas de datación, lugar de acuñación, variantes, etc.

Nos parece más interesante hacer referencia a los trabajos donde la moneda se convierte en un documento, una fuente de primer orden, para interpretar diversos aspectos de la sociedad que la produjo, ya sea desde el punto de vista simbólico como del político. Dentro de este nuevo campo de estudio hay que destacar las obras de ESPAÑA (95-114), centradas fundamentalmente en el período altomedieval, y las de FRANCISCO OLMOS (120-122), que llegan hasta la llegada de la Casa de Austria al trono castellano. Estos trabajos dan un importante salto cualitativo para reivindicar el papel de la moneda como algo más que un trozo de metal con valor económico y una mera descripción de sus tipos y leyendas.

Desde un punto de vista más económico hay que citar los trabajos de grandes estudiosos de este tema, como los de LADERO (129 y 130) y VALDEÓN (154) sobre la muy interesante época de Alfonso X, o el de MACKAY (132) sobre el complejo siglo XV y su constante escalada inflacionaria. A estas obras hay que añadir las que tratan en detalle el problema jurisdiccional que se creó alrededor del control de la moneda, es decir el poder del rey para alterar la moneda y la resistencia del reino, como son las de FUENTES (125) y MORÁN (133).

Para terminar es necesario hacer una referencia al muy importante tema de las falsificaciones, en especial las realizadas en los reinos vecinos a Castilla, tratadas por CANO (90), así como al de la circulación de moneda extranjera en el reino de León, presente en FUENTES (123).

Sobre documentación relativa a la moneda tenemos dos trabajos interesantes, uno que estudia las referencias monetarias en un tiempo y lugar concreto, el archivo de la Catedral Córdoba en el siglo XIV (134), donde podemos observar la evolución del uso de determinadas piezas y su cambio de valor y denominación, y otro

que indaga en la vida de uno de los grandes estudiosos de la numismática del siglo XVIII, el Padre Liciniano Sáez (155).

#### La Corona de Aragón

Recordemos que este Estado se fue conformando a la largo del tiempo como una confederación de estados independientes unidos bajo la autoridad del Rey y que cada territorio tenía su propia moneda, leyes y Cortes; por tanto, hay estudiosos específicos de cada uno de sus territorios, a lo que hay que añadir que en el caso de Cataluña debemos tener en cuenta sus propias especificidades, como son las de las llamadas monedas condales y las locales. Sobre piezas concretas de moneda condal hay que citar los trabajos de CRUSAFONT-BALAGUER (159) sobre Urgell y CRUSAFONT-SELLART (161) sobre Rosellón, mientras que en el tema de las amonedaciones locales destacan las obras de SANAHUJA (170, 171); en cuanto a la gran moneda barcelonesa destaca la obra de ESTRADA (162) sobre la organización de la ceca de esta ciudad.

Especialmente interesantes son las publicaciones sobre la moneda mallorquina. Recordemos que este Reino tuvo una azarosa vida política independiente de la Corona desde la muerte de su conquistador, Jaime I, hasta su anexión por parte de Pedro IV a mediados del siglo XIV, por lo cual su moneda presenta ciertas particularidades, que podemos ver en la obra de CRUSAFONT-TRILLA (160) sobre la primera pieza cristiana de este Reino, en la de ESTRADA (163) acerca de la importancia de la ordenanza monetaria de 1315 y su recepción en el resto de territorios de la Corona, y en la de CRUSAFONT (158) sobre la política monetaria de Jaime III.

En el Reino de Aragón los trabajos se han centrado en temas relativos a la política monetaria, presentes en las investigaciones de ZULAICA (174 y 175), y en los problemas sobre moneda y circulación en el siglo XI, tratados por UTRILLA (172). A ellos hay que añadir un estudio sobre Lastanosa, uno de los primeros estudiosos de la moneda jaquesa, la propia de este reino (173).

Igualmente, y para terminar este bloque, debemos destacar los trabajos de PELLICER (167-168) sobre el problema de la acuñación de millareses en distintos territorios de la Corona.

#### Reino de Navarra

Los trabajos sobre este Reino se han centrado en problemas políticos, ya sea de estricta política monetaria, como el de MUGUETA (180), que estudia esta cuestión en el momento de la llegada al trono de los Evreux, como de fiscalidad en diversos momentos del complejo siglo XV, en la obra de CARRASCO (177 y 178), sin olvidar el estudio de ALBERDI (176) sobre el personal de la ceca navarra.

#### Reino de Portugal

Son muy de destacar las obras de VIDAL (197 y 198) y LOSA (185) sobre documentación y fuentes numismáticas en los siglos X al XII, así como los estudios de FERREIRA (182) y VIDAL (194) sobre la obra y datos monetarios que aporta el cronista Damiao de Gois.

En el análisis de piezas concretas podemos citar las obras de POIARES (189 y 190), MIRANDA y COSTA (188) y, sobre todo, la de VIDAL (193) sobre la introducción del real branco como nueva unidad monetaria en tiempos de Juan I. Sobre la iconografía monetaria, centrada en temas religiosos, destacamos los trabajos de MARQUES (186-187); sobre el problema de la producción de moneda y sus talleres, el de VIDAL (195). Para concluir, resaltamos el trabajo sobre política monetaria en la época de Juan II realizado por VIDAL (199), con el que se concluye cronológicamente el período medieval y entramos plenamente en el moderno.

### **Edades Moderna y Contemporánea**

#### España

Los años cubiertos por el presente *Survey* han sido prolíficos en el número de publicaciones y en la variedad de temas tratados en lo referente a las Edades Moderna y Contemporánea (ss. XVI-XXI).

Para la época moderna, el centro preferente de atención ha sido el reino de Castilla. Los estudios han seguido diversas líneas de investigación que pasamos a desarrollar.

Destaca, en primer lugar, la cuidada y minuciosa edición del texto de la importante pragmática de Medina del Campo (285), acompañada de diferentes estudios, fundamentalmente de orden económico. Dentro de ese mismo

período, el de los Reyes Católicos, se ha analizado la influencia de las novedades aportadas en el numerario de los siglos siguientes, llegando hasta el XVIII, en un trabajo de SANTIAGO FERNÁNDEZ (367).

Destaca en este período la profundización en una línea de investigación netamente economicista, presente en autores como ÁLVAREZ NOGAL (204), quien ha estudiado la influencia de la moneda de vellón en la negociación con los agentes financieros de los Austrias, CARLOS MORALES (218), que profundiza en los tipos de cambio del siglo XVI y en la interferencia del poder real en ellos en función de la situación del mercado financiero y del crédito, y GARCÍA DE PASO (266-268), quien ha hecho un planteamiento general de la política monetaria del siglo XVII, retomando los datos conocidos y aplicándolos a un modelo económico-teórico previamente definido. SANTIAGO FERNÁNDEZ ha analizado la utilización de la moneda como herramienta fiscal en los siglos XVI (372) y XVII (373). Línea económica también tienen los trabajos de MUÑOZ SERRULLA (301-305), quien analiza las cuentas de una institución, el Monte de Piedad de Madrid, y a través de ellas la cuestión monetaria.

La expansión e internacionalización de la moneda castellana, fundamentalmente a través del real de a ocho, ha sido objeto de la investigación de GARCÍA GUERRA (272). ROYO MARTÍNEZ ha publicado parte de su Tesis Doctoral (337), centrándose en la circulación de moneda extranjera en Castilla en el siglo XVI, donde aporta además noticias sobre ensayadores de algunas cecas.

Se ha estudiado el fraude monetario. GARCÍA GUERRA (273) se ha centrado en el contrabando monetario. GIRÁLDEZ (276) analiza la falsificación monetaria a través de un memorial. CLUA I MERCADAL (223) valora la circulación de moneda falsa de la guerra de Sucesión en Cataluña.

Muy interesante ha sido en estos años una línea de investigación que ha profundizado en el conocimiento y análisis del pensamiento monetario en la Edad Moderna, orientación bastante novedosa. Un estudio muy completo de esta cuestión, referente al siglo XVII, es el de GARCÍA GUERRA (269). Es de celebrar asimismo la reedición en castellano del magnífico estudio de GRICE-HUTCHINSON (281) sobre la Escuela de Salamanca. FERNÁNDEZ DELGADO (235) ha analizado la obra del Padre Mina. SANTIAGO FERNÁNDEZ (362) ha editado de manera crítica el interesantísimo arbitrio de Pedro de Oña. MATEOS ROYO (295 y 296) ha planteado la relación entre las ideas mercantilistas y la evolución monetaria en el Reino de Aragón.

Otro campo que ha experimentado, como el anterior, una singular intensificación ha sido el de la valoración de la moneda como elemento de propaganda política, como transmisora de una ideología y unas mentalidades concretas. Especialmente prolífico ha sido Francisco Olmos, con estudios referentes a diversas épocas y espacios geográficos. Ha tratado la época de los Reyes Católicos (239), el siglo XVI (243), el XVII (253), la Guerra de Sucesión (257) y el período comprendido entre 1700 y 1868 (258). También se ha ocupado de los territorios europeos pertenecientes a la Monarquía Hispánica (237, 249 y 250). SANTIAGO FERNÁNDEZ ha aplicado similar metodología en un análisis general del numerario castellano de época Moderna (365).

Este último autor ha ofrecido interesantes trabajos centrados en la ordenación de la moneda de vellón del siglo XVI, la emitida a nombre de los Reyes Católicos durante los reinados de Carlos I y Felipe II, y la fabricada por este último monarca a partir de 1566, cuando introduce su nombre en las estampas monetarias (363, 367), aportando un nuevo marco cronológico justificado fundamentalmente en la documentación y en las marcas de ensayador. La moneda de vellón también es la protagonista de otro trabajo del mismo autor (378), ocupándose en este caso de la época, poco trabajada, de Carlos II.

Citar también, por la novedad metodológica, la utilización de la documentación notarial para la reconstrucción de la circulación monetaria en ámbitos geográficos y cronológicos concretos, línea iniciada por SANTIAGO FERNÁNDEZ en el sexenio correspondiente al anterior *Survey*, pese a no ser incluido en él, y continuada en este, aplicándolo a la época de Carlos II (373).

También se han publicado interesantes trabajos sobre la Corona de Aragón, destacando la actividad de SANAHUJA ANGUERA, que se ha ocupado de diferentes aspectos concretos, como la moneda municipal (350-353 y 356-357), la moneda jaquesa aragonesa (355) o, desde un punto de vista más general, lo que el autor define como moneda menuda (358). FRANCISCO OLMOS (248) ha analizado las emisiones monetarias correspondientes a la guerra *deis Segadors*, como en otros trabajos, desde un punto de vista documental.

En lo que se refiere a la Edad Contemporánea, uno de los protagonistas recientes ha sido el cambio de la unidad monetaria nacional, el paso de la Peseta al Euro. El tránsito de una moneda a otra lo encontramos en FERIA

(233) Los estudios sobre la historia de la Peseta han sido varios. Un interesante planteamiento general, estudiando tanto la evolución del sistema como la de sus tipos lo encontramos en MARTORELL LINARES (292). Carácter general tiene también el trabajo de SANTACREU SOLER (360), abordando al evolución tipológica de la Peseta como un testimonio de la historia de España. Desde un punto de vista catalográfico la ha estudiado ALEDÓN (201). CLEMENTINA RÓDENAS ha analizado la evolución de sus tipos de cambio (222). Este tema y su integración en el contexto internacional en el período comprendido entre Bretton Woods y la Unión Monetaria Europea están presentes en PELET REDÓN (315). Los tipos de cambio también han sido investigados por RÓDENAS Y BRU (330), quienes han estudiado la convertibilidad de la Peseta a lo largo del siglo XIX. GARCÍA-IGLESIAS SOTO (274) ha valorado su relación con el patrón oro. SERRANO SANZ (380) ha trabajado sobre la evolución de las características y el papel del oro en la Restauración. TEDDE DE LORCA (381) estudia la relación entre la creación de la Peseta y la evolución de la economía española.

Por supuesto, también el Euro ha tenido cierto protagonismo en estos años. Con un planteamiento económico, CATALÁN (220) aborda el tema de los beneficios que ha propiciado, analizando de modo comparativo los casos español y sueco. ALEDÓN se ha centrado en la cuestión tipológica (202).

Pese al protagonismo evidente de la Peseta y el Euro, especialmente la primera, también el resto del siglo XIX ha sido objeto de varias publicaciones. HARO (282) ha estudiado el trienio liberal (1820-1823). Esta obra tiene su continuación en PRIETO TEJEIRO y HARO (326) que prolongan el análisis hasta la reforma de 1848.

Cuestiones más concretas referentes a la moneda de época contemporánea han sido la valoración de la circulación de moneda extranjera en el primer tercio del siglo, realizada por FRANCISCO OLMOS (238), las emisiones cantonales, estudiadas por DÍAZ GARCÍA (227) y GONZÁLEZ VELÁZQUEZ (278), la utilización propagandística de la tipología que hace en diversos trabajos FRANCISCO OLMOS (242), quien se ha ocupado del reinado de Juan Carlos I (242) y del final del de Fernando VII (260). Este autor ha incidido en esta línea de investigación en un trabajo dedicado al contexto europeo, ocupándose de la cuestión en la época napoleónica, pero con referencias también a la Península Ibérica (247).

El tema de las cecas y la producción de moneda ha sido tratado por diversos autores, bien desde un punto de vista general, bien desde el análisis de alguna cuestión concreta o profundizando en el estudio de talleres determinados. ALBERDI AGUIRREBEÑA se ha dedicado al estudio de los oficiales de las cecas navarras (176). TORRES LÁZARO (383) ha realizado un estado general de la cuestión. MURRAY ha continuado su línea de años anteriores en el análisis del Real Ingenio de la Moneda de Segovia (308 y 309). FROCHOSO (264) se ha ocupado de la ceca de Córdoba a finales del reinado de Felipe IV. Bello Platas (210) ha trabajado sobre la casa de Jubia. SANTIAGO FERNÁNDEZ ha estudiado las cuentas de las cecas de época moderna en varios períodos, ofreciendo datos concretos de producción de moneda de vellón para el Ingenio y Cuenca entre 1597 y 1602 (361) y para el conjunto de cecas castellanas para los primeros años 80 del siglo XVII (378). GRACIA LORÉS (280) se ha centrado en las cuentas de la ceca de Barcelona en un período de tiempo muy determinado, la Guerra de la Independencia. Ese mismo período es estudiado por SANAHAJA ANGUERA (354) en relación con la llamada ceca del Principado de Cataluña. FRANCISCO OLMOS (259) ha analizado la producción de moneda en la época del Sexenio Revolucionario, ofreciendo numerosos y minuciosos datos. También se han realizado diversos trabajos sobre cuestiones técnicas de la fabricación de moneda como son los de ESPARCIA POLO (230), MURRAY (307), NOGAL ROPERO y CÓRCOBA (310).

### Portugal

En este período las publicaciones portuguesas se han centrado en los problemas concretos de algunas acuñaciones como las de cobre del rey Pedro II, estudiadas por MARINHO (400), o las emisiones provinciales brasileñas del mismo período, tratadas por LIMA (396), sin olvidar estudios específicos de piezas como los de REBELLO (404 y 406) y VIDAL (420). Sin duda debemos destacar el gran trabajo de SOUSA (412), quien relaciona con detalle las acuñaciones y el comercio de metales preciosos en el Portugal del siglo XVII. Del último período histórico de la moneda portuguesa, el anterior al Euro, hay que destacar las obras de TRIGUEIROS (414) y VALERIO (418) sobre la historia de su divisa, el Escudo.

### **Billetes**

#### España

Los años cubiertos por el presente *Survey* presentan una interesante serie de publicaciones sobre el mundo del billete. Desde un punto de vista catalográfico destaca la interesante Enciclopedia de Billetes (429), realizada por

la editorial LAMAS BOLAÑO, con la colaboración de diversos especialistas que firman varios estudios sobre temas concretos.

Análisis de tipo documental, valorando la iconografía de los billetes y su uso como medio de propaganda, lo encontramos en CORREYERO RUIZ (428). FRANCISCO OLMOS ha aplicado un método similar al utilizado en el estudio de las monedas metálicas al mundo del billete, ocupándose de la cuestión del estampillado (432). En esa línea SANTIAGO FERNÁNDEZ ha analizado las emisiones comprendidas entre la proclamación de la II República y los primeros años del Franquismo (448).

Los billetes emitidos durante la guerra civil han sido objeto de varios estudios. MONTANER AMORÓS y GARI BERGES (438) han realizado un catálogo de las emisiones municipales; los de Albacete, fueron analizados por HERNÁNDEZ-CANUT (435) y VICO BELMONTE (466); TURRÓ I MARTÍNEZ se ocupó de las emisiones catalanas (460-465). Cuestión muy interesante fue la planteada por MARTÍNEZ GALLEGU en torno a pruebas de billetes con la efigie de Franco (437).

TORTELLA CASARES ha continuado su actividad de períodos anteriores, ofreciendo obras de notable interés, tratando diferentes aspectos, como las emisiones de los años centrales del siglo XIX (453), la fabricación de billetes españoles en el extranjero (455) o la relación del billete con el mundo del arte (450 y 451). Destacan dos interesantísimos catálogos, acompañados de diversos estudios (452 y 454).

### Portugal

Sobre la historia y génesis del sistema bancario portugués destaca la obra de VALERIO (419), a la que se unen las de VIDAL (469-471), sobre la creación del primer banco nacional y el nacimiento del papel moneda. Del mismo modo hay que resaltar el trabajo realizado por el Banco de Portugal sobre la historia del papel moneda portugués (467).

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## Portugal

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## HUNGARY AND THE BALKANS

*Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu*

### **Bibliographies and generalities**

A very selective bibliography of the literature on Hungarian, Croatian, Bosnian, Serbian, Macedonian and Romanian medieval and modern numismatics published during the years 1996-2001 was presented by GYÖNGYÖSSY and PALLÓS (1). A comprehensive bibliography of Hungarian numismatic research or regarding Hungarian coinage is published every two years in *Numizmatikai Közlöny* (vols. 100-105; 2001-6). For rapid information on the main contributions on Croatian numismatics one could use the site *Croatian scientific bibliography* (48). For Serbia, useful data on Serbian and Bosnian medieval numismatics or coin finds are published in the archaeological periodical *Starinar* (vols. 53-56; 2002-6). A selective survey of publications on Bulgarian medieval numismatics is presented annually, with a quite long delay, by *Bulgarian Historical Review* (nos. 29-34; 2002-2007), but other information can also be found in *Istoricheski Pregled*. For Romanian numismatics quite a complete source of information is *Bibliografia istorică română* (119).

The only recent source of general information on Hungarian and Balkan medieval coinages, written in an international language, was published by KLUGE (2).

For the monetary history of the Croatian territories a short introduction is given by DUKAT and MIRNIK (52), while HOOVER presents the main problems regarding Slavonian deniers (55). As concerns the Serbian medieval coinage, the best introduction is that of IVANIŠEVIĆ (56). For a non-native speaker of Serbo-Croat, a very general source of documentation on Bosnian medieval coinage could be the catalogue of JOVANOVIĆ (62). Two excellent presentations of the development of Bulgarian medieval coinage during the 13th-14th centuries were written by DOCHEV (88) and AVDEV (85-86). ILIESCU (128) gave a general survey of Romanian medieval and early modern coinage. It is pity that all these contributions are written in local languages or if they have abstracts in foreign languages, these are either very short or, often, irrelevant.

### **Catalogues and collections**

A lot of new reference catalogues were edited during the last five years. DOBRINIĆ (50) published a catalogue of the municipal issues of the Dalmatian and northern Albanian medieval towns: Antivari, Cattaro, Drivasto, Dulcigno, Lesina, Scutari, Sebenico, Sovacia, Spalato, Trau and Zara, but the information presented by the author should be complemented by IVANIŠEVIĆ (56) and JOVANOVIĆ (62). IVANIŠEVIĆ (56) is the author of the first comprehensive, clear and really modern standardized catalogue of Serbian medieval coinage. A catalogue of the Serbian and Bosnian coinages was published by JOVANOVIĆ (62). Thanks to DOCHEV (88) and AVDEV (86), scholars interested in Bulgarian medieval coinage now have two very modern reference catalogues, far better and easier to use than that published during the early 1990s by PENCHEV. A reference catalogue of the coinage of the Moldavian prince Stephen III (1457-1504) was published by OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU (143).

Among the most valuable collection catalogues published during 2002-7, one could mention those of the Hungarian gold florins in the Hungarian National Bank and the ELTE collections in Budapest, both edited by GYÖNGYÖSSY (12-3). PANIS and BUDAJ (26) published the coin hoards containing Hungarian issues preserved in the Slovak National Museum in Bratislava. ČERNÝŠOV published the collection of the very rare large silver issues of the Hungarian king Vladislav II, in the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg (3).

A guide of the numismatic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb edited by DUKAT and MIRNIK (52) gave some idea of the amazing richness of its medieval coins. RADIĆ and IVANIŠEVIĆ (76) published a catalogue of the hoards of Serbian coins preserved in the National Museum in Belgrade, and ČERANIĆ and RAŠKOVIĆ (46) one of the Serbian issues kept in the National Museum in Kruševac. A catalogue of the Ottoman coin hoards in the National Museum, Belgrade was edited by MARIĆ-JERINIĆ and NEŠIĆ (65).

HADŽI-MANEVA and RAZMOVSKA-BAČEVSKA have published the Byzantine, Serbian, Venetian and Ottoman coins from the collection of Ohridska Bank in Ohrida, in Macedonia (63), meanwhile, the second author edited a selective catalogue of the coin collection of the Archaeological Museum of Ohrida (77). For Bulgaria, one could mention the catalogues of the coins exhibited in the Regional Historical Museum in Shumen and

that of the coins finds from the Byzantine and Medieval fortress of Shumen, edited by ZHEKOVA (112, 116). ZHEKOVA (114) has also prepared a catalogue of the Bulgarian coins in Dumbarton Oaks collection, Washington DC. Two important catalogues of museum collections were published recently in Romania. The first, edited by MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU *et al.* (131), presents the medieval and modern coins found in Bucharest and its hinterland and the second, by BUTNARIU *et al.* (121), published the coin collection of the County Historical Museum of Vaslui. PÂRVAN and CONSTANTINESCU (157) have published a catalogue of the Moldavian coins from Corneliu Secășeanu's collection, now kept in the National History Museum of Romania.

#### **Attributions, classifications, the organisation of coin production and distribution and iconography**

A series of very important and innovative contributions about the early Hungarian mint organisation was published by FEKETE, KISS and TÓTH (5) and by KISS and TÓTH (17-19). These studies are only a part of a project announced by the authors to produce a new edition of *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae*, the well-known standard catalogue of Hungarian medieval coinage. For the research on the mint-mark system used by the Hungarian mints during the 14th-16th centuries one could mention the publications of DOMOKI (4), KŐSZEGI (20) and SZÉKELY (45). The coinage of King Stephen I was discussed by GEDAI (6), HUNKA (16) and PROHÁSZKA (28). I would like to emphasize the special interest of recent contributions of TÓTH on the arrangement and chronology of the deniers of Charles Robert, Louis I and Mary (34-37, 40). The new chronology of the Hungarian coinage suggested by TÓTH should have huge significance for a better dating of some contemporary Serbian, Bosnian, Wallachian and Moldavian issues too. GYÖNGYÖSSY (10) and PAP (149) discussed the organisation behind the striking of Sigismund I's gold coinage.

The organisation of the minting activities and distribution of coins in Hungary during the 15<sup>th</sup>-16th centuries was analysed by GYÖNGYÖSSY (7) in a book of very great interest. This is probably the first really modern contribution to be published on the late medieval monetary and economic history of Hungary. I hope that the book will also be translated into an international language, because the developments in Hungarian monetary policy during the 15th and early 16th century had a wider European impact. SZÉKELY (43) discussed the issues of Vladislav II struck in the mint of Kremnitz. The role of the Kremnitz mint in the general monetary policy of the Hungarian kingdom was studied also by HUNKA (15); while TÓTH (38) presented an overview of minting activity in Visegrad.

The issues of Frisacher-type deniers struck by the only mint located in present-day Croatia, at Kostanjevica (Landstrass-Landestrost), were analysed by ŠEMROV (78). Several contributions considered the 13th-century coinage of the Croatian dukes and bans: PANDŽIĆ (73), HOOVER (55), MIKÓ (67) and SMAJLAGIĆ (80). The last author proposed a new attribution and dating of the Slavonian deniers marked with the mint-mark o – 0 to the rule of Otto of Bavaria.

A classification of the coinage of the Dalmatian and northern Albanian towns was presented by DOBRINIĆ (50) and KLIŠKIĆ (64), though most of the classes represent, in fact, only die-variants. The attribution by DOCHEV (51) to the mint of Ragusa of the diverse groups of stamena belonging to so-called "Latin imitative issues, large modules, Constantinople types D-Z" is far from convincing.

An excellent work on the 13<sup>th</sup>-to 15th-century Serbian mining activities, which allowed this country to become one of the major silver producers in the late medieval world, was published by ĆIRKOVIĆ, KOVAČEVIĆ-KOJIĆ and ĆUK (47). In his highly innovative reference catalogue of Serbian coinage, IVANIŠEVIĆ (57) described new monetary types and proposed a new classification and chronological scheme for the issues of this state. The same author analysed the nature and the effects of successive reforms of the Serbian coinage (56, 58). ZAJIĆ (83) published a new type of groat struck by Đurđe Balšić, and GERLOVICS (53) discussed the common issues of denier-size coins bearing the names of the despot, Đurđe Branković and the Hungarian governor, John Hunyadi. IVANIŠEVIĆ and RADIĆ (61) offered the best overview so far made of the activity of a Serbian medieval mint. Their analysis focused on the production of the mint of Novo Brdo. The output of this mint was probably the largest not only in Serbia, but, generally, in the Balkans during the second half of the 14th and the first half of 15th centuries. RADIĆ (76) studied the monetary iconography of the Serbian imperial issues (1345/6-71). For the Bosnian coinage one could mention the article of GYÖNGYÖSSY (54) regarding the issues of Nicholas Újlaki, the last king of this country.

AVDEV (85-86) and DOCHEV (88) gave a new classification and chronological scheme for the entire medieval Bulgarian coinage and also proposed some new attributions. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU (106) set

out evidence for the existence of an early phase of Bulgarian coinage, characterised by imitative issues, having as prototypes the 9th-/10th-century Byzantine gold nomismata and small module cast imitations of the anonymous folles class A1. JORDANOV and ZHEKOVA (98) have published several lead sheets bearing imprints of dies used to strike Byzantine coins found in the area of Preslav attesting a local production of “genuine” imperial issues, before the Byzantine conquest of north-eastern Bulgaria in 971. The local Bulgarian cast copper coinage was also discussed by JOTOV (99). However, the search for new Bulgarian 10th-/11th-century monetary issues has led to some mistakes. For example, PENCHEV (111) wrongly attributed to a local Bulgarian mint a late 11th-century anonymous follis struck in Trebizond. Recently, JORDANOV (97) proposed the attribution of a group of gold hyperpera of John II/John III type to the Bulgarian tsar Kaloyan. New types and variants of 14th-century Bulgarian issues were edited by DOCHEV (91), DZANEV (92) and ENCHEV (93). A very important contribution on the early phase of the minting activities at Vidin was published by PENCHEV (108), and ZHEKOVA (112) discussed the coinage of John Alexander, struck in the mint of Shumen.

The local coinage in Dobrudja during the 13th-14th centuries was the topic of several contributions by OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU (144-145), LAZAROV (104) (Noghay), NICOLAE (132), DOCHEV (88) and AVDEV (85-86). The coinage of the Lordship of Dristra was discussed by PENCHEV (110) and ZHEKOVA (112).

For the Wallachian coinage, one could mention the publication by COSTIN (122) of two new pre-reformed coin types of Vladislav II, and VÎLCU and GRAMATICU (168) proposed a new classification of the reformed coinage of the same ruler. Recent studies by NICOLAE (134) and VÎLCU (167) have demonstrated the existence of a previously unknown chapter of the Wallachian coinage during the 15th-16th centuries, consisting of a quite plentiful production of imitative issues of Ottoman akches.

Some important contributions addressed the attribution, chronology and classification of the medieval Moldavian coinage. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU and PÂRVAN (148) have proved that the groats MBR 352, previously considered to have been struck by an “unknown ruler” from the end of the 14th century, belong, in fact, to the Podolian duke of Lithuanian origin, Constantine Koriatovič. PÂRVAN (151) published an unknown type of pre-reformed “half-groats” of Alexander I. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU (143) proposed a new classification and dating for the issues of Stephen III, and asserted that the copper municipal issues of Cetatea Albă (Moncastro) with Greek inscriptions reading ACIPKACTPOV and the countermarked silver issues of the town should be dated to the period 1467-84. PÂRVAN (155) suggested a new classification and dating to the coinage of Bogdan III. ZWECKER and OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU (169) have noted a new die variant for the thalers of John Despot Heraclides.

Moldavian minting technology during the second half of the 15th century was investigated by PONOMAREV (161), RUSSEV (162) and PÎNZAR (160). As in Wallachia, recent research led to the identification of a large-scale Moldavian imitative coinage, based on the prototypes of the Ottoman akches; NICOLAE (134, 139) and OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU (143).

The Lithuanian connexion of the heraldic representation of the mounted, charging rider, found on the issues of Elias, was studied by GORODENKO and DERGACIOVA (127).

Several important contributions by NICOLAE (135-138) have considered the Golden Horde coinage on the territory of Moldavia during the second half of the 14th century, and also in Dobrudja (144-145). An important review of the activity of the Ottoman mints in the Balkans during the 14th-16th centuries was published by SREĆKOVIĆ (81).

## Metallurgical Analyses

In the last five years the number of publications dealing with the results of metallurgical analyses undertaken on Hungarian, Bulgarian and medieval Romanian coinages increased dramatically, as a result of the implementation of several long-term national programs and projects. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU (25) presented the data collected from 13th- to 16th-century Italian, French and Spanish sources regarding the finesses of the Hungarian gold and silver issues. One of the sources also mentioned the silver content of Slavonian banales. Several contributions were published on the analyses of Hungarian silver and gold coins of the 11th-15th centuries by SÁNDOR, TÖLGYESI and GRESITS (30-32), TÓTH (39, 41) and GYÖNGYÖSSY (7). IVANOV *et al.* (95) did analyses on the Byzantine and Bulgarian “billon” and copper coinages. Data on the silver content of Wallachian coins were given by PÂRVAN (154) and OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU (143). Moldavian medieval coinage appears to have been the largest beneficiary of research on metallic content during the last six years. Basically, all the recent coin publications have been accompanied by data on their composition: BUGOI *et al.* (120), PÂRVAN



(151-153, 155), PÂRVAN and CONSTANTINESCU (156-157) and OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU (143, 147). OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU and PÂRVAN (148) have also published the results of investigations into the silver content of the Podolian groats of Constantine Koriatovič, and OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU (143) on the 15th-century issues of the Golden Horde and the Genoese colony of Caffa.

### **Monetary and economic history**

RÉVÉSZ (29) and KOVÁCS (21 and 24) have produced some remarkable contributions on the use of coins in early Hungarian society, during the 10th-12th centuries. An important study on minting activity and coin circulation in 13th-century Hungary was made by SZÉKELY (45). One could remark on the significance of the works of TÓTH (34) and GYÖNGYÖSSY (7) for the general improvement in scholarly knowledge of the development of the monetary economy in 14th-to 16th -century Hungary. GYÖNGYÖSSY (11) discussed the role of the Hungarian gold coinage in the European economy during the same period. IVANIŠEVIĆ (60) offered an excellent review of the use of the coin in medieval Serbian society.

OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU (106) and GEORGIEV (94) investigated the use of coinage and the development of the monetary economy in the First Bulgarian Kingdom, during the 9th-10th centuries. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU (142) and ZHEKOVA (116-117) studied the extent of the monetary economy in rural societies in the eastern parts of the Balkans during the 6th-14th centuries. The best overview of the monetary policy of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom was given by AVDEV (85-86). The same author studied the money-of-account system used at Varna during the 14th century (84).

OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU (141, 143) dealt with the Moldavian accounting “zlot” or “florin” and the attempts to reform the coinage of this country undertaken by Alexander I, Peter III and Stephen III during the 15th century. PONOMAREV (161) and RUSEV (162) discussed some aspects of monetary policy in Moldavia during the second half of the 15th century.

### **Finds surveys and studies of monetary circulation**

There have many publications of finds of Hungarian coins. KOVÁCS (23) published addenda and corrigenda to Salzer’s work on the 11th-/12th-century coin hoards in Hungary, and a study by TÓTH (42) focused on the coin hoards concealed in Hungary during the Mongol invasion of 1241-2. Find surveys or individual finds of Hungarian coins have been published for Hungary (7, 9 and 44), Slovakia (11 and 26), Transylvania (124-5, 129, 164-6 and a well-documented survey by PAP (150)), Croatia (64, 66 and 68-9), Serbia and Bulgaria (59, 76, 89-90 and 117), Wallachia and Moldavia (121, 126, 131, 140 and 163). OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU (25) and PICCINNI and TRAVAINI (27) have published documents of the 13th-16th centuries attesting the use of the Hungarian coinage in Italy, France and Spain.

There have been several publications of coin finds from Croatia (64, 68-70 and 79-80), with specialist contributions on finds of Carolingian coins by MIRNIK (71) and Venetian issues by DELONGA (49). From Macedonia, finds of Byzantine coins have been published by RAZMOVSKA-BAČEVSKA (77) and HADŽI-MANEVA (63), and finds of Serbian issues by RAZMOVSKA-BAČEVA (63), IVANIŠEVIĆ (56) RADIĆ and IVANIŠEVIĆ (76). Some Albanian finds were discussed by TOURATSOLOU and BAKER (82) and PAPADOPOULOU (74). Finds of Serbian coins in Serbia have been surveyed by IVANIŠEVIĆ (56), ČERANIĆ and RAŠKOVIĆ (46) and RADIĆ and IVANIŠEVIĆ (76), while a Romanian hoard that includes 15th-century Serbian coins was published by STÎNGĂ (163). For Bosnia, there is a publication by MULAOMEROVIĆ (72).

Among the large number of finds reports from Bulgaria, several are cited here (85, 87, 89-90, 96-97, 99-100, 108-109 and 117), as well as ones with Romanian finds of Bulgarian coins (131 and 163). Finds of Wallachian medieval issues in Romania were recorded (124, 131, 154, 163 and 167).

The list of publications regarding Moldavian coin finds is also quite rich (121, 123, 126, 140, 143, 146-147, 151-153, 155-157 and 159), as are those of Wallachian and Moldavian coins found in Serbia and Bulgaria (76, 85, 89-90, 100, 109 and 117-118). PETAC and PREDA (158) have published the large hoard of Brăiești (Botoșani County) consisting in Hungarian, Venetian, Genoese, Indian and Levantine imitations of the Venetian ducats, one of the most important coin finds so far known from early 15th-century Moldavia; the Romanian hoard from Dudașul Schelei (163) also contains a large number of Venetian gold ducats, French écus, Bohemian guldens and imitations

of the Venetian ducats. KRIŽANIWSKIJ (130) gave a valuable survey of the finds of Red Russian issues in Moldavia.

Several contributions dealt with the presence of the Islamic issues in the area surveyed here, including Caliphate issues found in Hungary and Bulgaria (22, 33 and 107), Golden Horde coinage found in Bulgaria and R. of Moldavia (101, 108-109, 117, 133, 135-136 and 138), Ottomans coins in Hungary, Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania (8, 59, 65, 72, 89-90, 102-103, 109, 117, 134, 131, 121 and 167), and, a novelty for this region, coins struck by the Turkic principalities of western and northern Anatolia found in Bulgaria (105 and 117).

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### Abbreviations

ACIN XIII	<i>Actas del XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática, Madrid, 2003</i> , vol. II, ALFARO, C., MARCOS, C., OTERO, P., (eds.) (Madrid, 2003).
AMV II	<i>Numizmatichni i sfragistichni prinosi kăm istorijata na Zapadnoto Chernomorie Mezhdunarodna konferencija, Varna, 12-15 septemvri, 2001 g. Numismatic and sphragistic contributions to history of the Western Black Sea coast International conference Varna, Septembre 12th-15th, 2001</i> [sic !] [Acta Musei Varnensis, II] (Varna, 2004).
AMV III	<i>in Bălgarskite zemi prez Srednovekovieto (VII-XVIII v.) Mezhdunarodna konferencija v chest na 70-godišnata na Prof. Aleksandăr Kuzev Varna 12-14 septemvri 2002 – The Bulgarian lands in the Middle Ages 7th-18th centuries International conference a tribute to the 70th anniversary of Prof. Alexander Kuzev Varna 12-14 September</i> , [Acta Musei Varnensis, III, 1] (Varna, 2005).
EHB	<i>The economic history of Byzantium from the seventh through the fifteenth century</i> , LAIOU, A. E., et al. (eds.), [Dumbarton Oaks Studies 39] (Dumbarton Oaks, 2002).
FA	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, Hungary.
IIMSh	<i>Izvestija na Istoricheski Muzej Shumen</i> , Shumen, Bulgaria.
INIM	<i>Izvestija na Nacionalen Istoricheski Muzej</i> , Sofia, Bulgaria.
JRNC	<i>Journal of Radioanalytical and Nuclear Chemistry</i> , Budapest, Hungary.
Monedă și comerț	<i>Monedă și comerț în Sud-Estul Europei, I, Lucrările întâlnirii din anul 2007 Sibiu – Capitală culturală europeană – Coins and commerce in the South-East of Europe – Proceedings of the 2007 meeting Sibiu – European capital of culture</i> (Sibiu, 2007).
NPM-5	L. Lazarov, <i>Numizmatichni prouchvaniya i materialy</i> , Chast 5, 1999 g. (avtorska poredica) (Veliko Tărnovo, 2004).
NE	<i>Sofia Numizmatika i epigrafika</i> , Sofia, Bulgaria.
NSE	<i>Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika</i> , Sofia, Bulgaria.
NumBrat	<i>Numizmatika</i> , Bratislava, Slovakia.
<i>Numizmatika és a társtudományok IV</i>	<i>A numizmatika és a társtudományok IV. Konferencia Esztergorban 1999. október 1-3.</i> , TORBÁGYI, M. (ed.) (Budapest, 2002).
<i>Numizmatika és a társtudományok VI</i>	<i>A numizmatika és a társtudományok VI. Konferencia Székesfehérváron 2004. szeptember 24-26.</i> , TORBÁGYI, M. (ed.) (Székesfehérvár, 2007).
<i>Simpozion Chișinău-2001</i>	<i>Simpozion de numismatică organizat în memoria martirilor căzuți la Valea Albă, la împlinirea a 525 de ani (1476-2001) Chișinău, 13-15 mai 2001 Comunicări și Studii</i> (Bucharest, 2002).
<i>Simpozion Chișinău-2002</i>	<i>Simpozion de numismatică dedicat împlinirii a 125 de ani de la proclamarea independenței României, Chișinău, 24-26 septembrie 2002 Comunicări, Studii și note</i> (Bucharest, 2003).
<i>Simpozion Chișinău-2003</i>	<i>Simpozion de numismatică dedicat centenarului Societății Numismatice Române (1903-2003), Chișinău, 26-28 noiembrie 2003 Comunicări, Studii și note</i> (Bucharest, 2005).
<i>Simpozion Chișinău-2004</i>	<i>Simpozion de numismatică organizat cu ocazia comemorării sfântului Ștefan cel Mare, Domn al Moldovei, Chișinău, 29 septembrie – 2 octombrie 2004 Comunicări, studii și note</i> (Bucharest, 2007).
<i>Sbornik H. Haritonov</i>	<i>Monetite i banknotite – vāzmojni prochiti. Jubileen sbornik v chest na st. n. s. d-r Hristo Haritonov</i> (Veliko Tărnovo, 2005).
VAMZ	<i>Vjesnik Archeološkog Muzeja u Zagrebu</i> , Zagreb, Croatia.

### General

1. GYÖNGYÖSSY, M., PALLÓS, L., Ungarn und die Balkanhalbinsel, ALFARO, C., BURNETT, A., (eds.), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1996-2001* (Madrid, 2003), pp. 553-567.
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2007).

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## TSCHECHISCHE REPUBLIK

*Eduard Šimek*

Die Ergebnisse des numismatischen Studiums wurden in den Jahren 2002-2007 ähnlich wie in den vorherigen Zeiträumen vor allem in den vom Nationalmuseum in Prag (*Numismatické listy*, Jg. 57-62, Red. HÁSKOVÁ /Jg. 57-60/, KLEISNER /Jg. 61-62/) und vom Mährischen Landesmuseum in Brno (*Folia numismatica*, Bd.16-20, Red. KUČEROVSKÁ /Bd. 16-19/, KAŠPAROVÁ /Bd. 20/) ausgegebenen numismatischen Zeitschriften veröffentlicht. Eine Reihe von Beiträgen trugen auch Informationsbulletins der Tschechischen numismatischen Gesellschaft (*Informace členům České numismatické společnosti*) und Bulletins ihrer Zweigstellen in Hradec Králové (*Sběratelské zprávy*, Nr. 101-120, Red. MAREK) und in Brno (*Numismatik*, Jg. 7-12, Red. GROSSMANNOVÁ) bei. Des öfteren wurden numismatische Themen auch auf den Seiten archäologischer und allgemein historischer Zeitschriften und Sammelbände (wiederholt vor allem im Rahmen von *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze* in den Jahrgängen 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007 /Nr. 1-2 – Festschrift für Jarmila Hásková zum 70. Geburtstag, Hrg BOUBLÍK, 96 S.) präsentiert. Neue Publikationsmöglichkeiten gewährte die erneuerte Edition des traditionellen Periodikums der tschechischen Numismatik, des *Numismatický sborník*, der seit dem Jahre 1953 an *Numismatický časopis československý* (erschieden in den Jahren 1925-1952) anknüpft. *Numismatický sborník* (Bd. 20-22, Red. MILITKÝ, SOMMER) wird seit dem Jahre 2005, als nach einer zwölfjährigen Pause sein 20. Band erschien, regelmäßig einmal jährlich ausgegeben. (Sein Herausgeber ist das Philosophische Institut der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik, v.v.i / das Zentrum der mediävistischen Studien der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik und der Karlsuniversität in Prag in Zusammenarbeit mit der Tschechischen numismatischen Gesellschaft).

In speziellen Sammelbänden (Hrg. ŠIMEK) wurden die Beiträge aus den Fachseminaren veröffentlicht, die von der Numismatischen Kommission der Assoziation der Museen und Galerien der Tschechischen Republik veranstaltet wurden. Die Seminare, die in den Jahren 1998 und 2003 in Pardubice stattfanden, wurden den Fragen der Dokumentation und Präsentation der Geschichte der böhmischen Münze und der Währung der Groschenzeit in den Museen der Tschechischen Republik (4) und der Schätzung der Forschungsergebnisse und anderer Tätigkeiten auf dem Gebiet der Numismatik in Tschechien und in der Slowakei in den ersten zehn Jahren nach der Zweiteilung der Tschechoslowakei (3) gewidmet. In den nächsten Bänden der Editionsreihe *Acta Numismatica Bohemiae, Moraviae et Silesiae* (Hrg. ŠTEFAN) wurden die Beiträge aus den Konferenzen *Peníze v proměnách času III / Geld im Wandel der Zeit III – Sancta ecclesia in nummis* (Sv. Hostýn, 2001) (13) und *Peníze v proměnách času V / Geld im Wandel der Zeit V – Luxemburger, Münzwesen, Medaillenkunst und Geldbeziehungen* (Zlatá Koruna, 2003) (14) publiziert. In Form eines Sammelbandes (Hrg. POLANSKÝ) wurden auch die Pavel Radoměrský zu seinem 75. Geburtstag gewidmeten numismatischen Studien ausgegeben (12). (Der Sammelband enthält auch das Verzeichnis der publizierten Arbeiten des Jubilars und die Reedition seiner Studien *Nález mincí z 15. století v Králově Dvoře u Berouna / Ein Münzfund aus dem 15. Jahrhundert in Králův Dvůr bei Beroun* /, *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze*, 21 (1967); *Beischlag doby husitské a příspěvek k jihlavskému a rožmberskému mincovnictví 15. století / Der Beischlag der Hussitenzeit und ein Beitrag zum Iglauer und Rosenberger Münzwesen im 15. Jahrhundert* /, *Časopis Národního muzea*, 145 (1976); *Dva zvrátické nálezy a příspěvek k otázce rožmberského mincovnictví / Zwei Funde aus Zvírotice und ein Beitrag zur Frage der Münzprägung der Rosenberger* /, *Numismatický sborník*, 16 (1983) ). Die Inhalte weiterer Sammelbände bilden die Materialien aus der Konferenz *Realita, představa, symbol v numismatické ikonografii* (Realität, Vorstellung, Symbol in numismatischer Ikonographie) (Vranov u Brna, 2002) (15) und aus der dem Professoren Jiří Sejbál (1929 – 2004) gewidmeten Konferenz *Postavení Moravy v mincovnictví a peněžních vztazích ve střední Evropě* (Die Position von Mähren im Münzwesen und in Geldbeziehungen im Mittelalter) (Hustopeče, 2004) (16).

Neben den Sammelbänden wurde die numismatische Thematik öfter auch durch Monographien einzelner Autoren präsentiert, die eine bedeutsame Bereicherung der tschechischen numismatischen Literaturproduktion darstellen. Die Biographie des Mathematikers, Archäologen und Numismatikers Josef Smolík (1832-1915) von BEČVÁŘOVÁ (1) ist ein gänzlich Abbild der umfassenden Forscher-, Literatur- und Organisationstätigkeit eines bedeutenden Vertreters der tschechischen Numismatik, der sich um die Jahrhundertwende des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts in die Geschichte der tschechischen Wissenschaft einschrieb. Eine Reihe bibliographischer Handbücher erweitert das Register von *Numismatický časopis československý* aus den Jahren 1925-1952 von ŠIMEK (20), das gleichzeitig einen Beitrag zur Geschichte der Numismatik in Tschechien in dieser Zeit vorstellt. Der Katalog von mehr als 1100 Münzen aus der Sammlung des Sammlers Josef Květoň (1828-1905), von ŠMERDA (23) bearbeitet, ist eine repräsentative Übersicht der Münzen der Böhmisches Kronländer.

Detailbeschreibungen der ostböhmisches Funde aus Černožice (ein Fund aus dem Jahre 1979 enthaltend 217 Brakteate, 1052 Prager Groschen Wenzels II. und 59 Silberabgüsse, datiert auf den Beginn des 14. Jhs.) und aus Hradec Králové (ein Fund aus dem Jahre 1991 enthaltend 1606 Prager Groschen /Wenzel II. – 12, Johann von Luxemburg – 833, Karl IV. – 761/ und 5 Meißner Groschen, datiert auf den Beginn der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jhs.) und aus Tábor in Südböhmen (ein Fund aus dem Jahre 2001 mit fast 4000 Münzen zu 98 % böhmischer Provenienz aus der Zeit der Jagellonen-Herrscher Wladislaw II. (1471-1516) und Ludwig I. (1516-1526), die NĚMEČKOVÁ – SEJBAL (74), VORLOVÁ (89), KRAJÍC – CHVOJKA (50) vorlagen), geben neben konkreten, typologischen und metrologischen Feststellungen auch wertvolle methodische Hinweise. Dasselbe kann man auch von dem typologisch-chronologischen Katalog der Prager Groschen Wenzels II. (1378-1419), von HÁNA (127) bearbeitet, sagen. Die von KLEISNER und HOLEČKOVÁ (213) bearbeitete Übersicht der Münztätigkeit und Prägungen der letzten Rosenberger, Wilhelm (1536-1592) und Petr Vok (1539-1633), die auf einer Zusammenfassung der Informationen aus der älteren Literatur sowie der Untersuchung gleichzeitiger Sammelfunde in der Tschechischen Republik und im Ausland gegründet ist, stellt für diese Kapitel neuzeitlichen Münzwesens eine Publikation von Grundbedeutung dar. Eine vielgesuchte Quelle des weiteren Studiums bleibt zweifellos auch die Abhandlung über die Münzandenken böhmischer Adelsgeschlechter von POLÍVKA (218), die durch Beschreibung und Qualitätsfotos in Form eines Katalogs 258 Exemplare aus seiner Sammlung vorstellt. Ähnlich widmete POLÍVKA (217) böhmischen Rechengroschen, Jetons und Metallmarken Aufmerksamkeit. Es wurden auch umfangreiche Kataloge der Notenpapierzahlungsmittel publiziert, die VOSTAL und RYANT (238) (ein Katalog der Geldscheine aus den Jahren 1848 –1850) und DANĚK und HOLNA (204) (ein Katalog der Noten- und Lagerpapierzahlungsmittel aus den Jahren 1914-1945) bearbeiteten. Es erschienen ausdrucksvolle Versuche für eine die Synthese der Münzgeschichte, die als Bestandteil der gesamthistorischen Entwicklung gesehen wird. In einer neuen Publikation erschien ein umfangreicher Begleiter durch die Geldgeschichte in den böhmischen Ländern von VOREL (196) und derselbe Autor (237) beschäftigte sich in breiteren Zusammenhängen mit der Geldentwicklung in Europa und in der Welt und mit der Aufgabe des Talers im Geldumlauf des 16.-20. Jhs. In einer Monographie widmete VOREL (235) dem Münzumlauf in Mitteleuropa in den Anfängen der Neuzeit (1524-1573) spezielle Aufmerksamkeit.

Im Grunde genommen kann man die numismatische Produktion, die außer den Konferenz- und Spezialsammelbänden und Bücherpublikationen durch eine große Zahl von analytischen Studien und Artikeln repräsentiert ist, für inhaltlich sehr bunt und zeitgemäß breit definiert von der Antike bis in das 20. Jahrhundert bezeichnen. Wiederholt wurde der Bibliographie der numismatischen Arbeit in Form von Gesamtübersichten (22) und von Registern numismatischer Periodika (24) Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Bibliographien einzelner Autoren wurden bei Gelegenheit ihrer Lebensjubiläen vor allem in *Numismatické listy* veröffentlicht. Die der Geschichte der Numismatik (5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 17, 18, 19, 21) und ihrer Quellenbasis – den Münzfunden – gewidmeten Arbeiten nahmen zu. Dank des Wiedererscheinens der Zeitschrift *Numismatický sborník* erhöhte sich ausdrucksvoll die Zahl der veröffentlichten Fundberichte (in den Jahren 2005-2007 wurden in diesem Periodikum außer den Dutzenden von Funden antiker und keltischer Münzen 63 mittelalterliche und neuzeitliche Funde veröffentlicht), deren fleißiger Bearbeiter oft in Zusammenarbeit mit einer Reihe von Archäologen MILITKÝ (37, 39, 41, 42, 44, 49, 54-73, 103-107) war. Obwohl es in vielen Fällen um die Veröffentlichung einzelner überwiegend bei archäologischen Untersuchungen gefundener Münzen oder um die Bruchstücke älterer Funden ging, erfüllen sie insgesamt bedeutsam die Vorstellung über die Münze und ihren Gebrauch in der Denar- und Groschenzeit. Die Berichte über die Münzfunde dieser Zeiträume werden hier in Vollständigkeit zitiert. Von den neuzeitlichen Funden sind es nur Massenfunde und die Funde einzelner Goldmünzen (99) und großer Silbermünzen (102). Außer der Beschreibung einzelner Funde wurden auch zusammenfassende Beiträge über die Fundlage in einzelnen Regionen und über die Einlagerung der Funde in den Sammlungen von Museen publiziert (26-35). ŠIMEK (113), PAUKERT (162) und ZAORAL (91-96) folgten dem Vorkommen böhmischer Münzen in ausländischen Funden. Mit der Problematik geschnittener byzantischer Goldmünzen in den Münzfunden aus den böhmischen Ländern des 9.-11.Jhs. beschäftigte sich MILITKÝ (152). Es wurden auch Denarfunde in Form von Obulus für Tote (42, 70, 76, 77, 88), Funde von Rechenpfennigen (110, 111) und Funde falscher Münzen (46, 205) veröffentlicht. Im Vergleich zu den Münzfunden ist den numismatischen Sammlungen und ihren Fonds geringere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt worden (2, 8, 25). Häufiger sind bisher unbekannte Typen und Varianten böhmischer Denare (37, 141, 148, 168, 192), Dukaten (154), Prager Groschen (125, 157, 187), kleiner Münzen der Groschenzeit (130, 135, 140) und Münzen der Neuzeit (206, 207, 209, 214, 215, 220) veröffentlicht worden. Es wurden auch Beiträge über Münzen ausländischer Provenienz publiziert (161, 191, 199).

Was einzelne Zeiträume betrifft, kann man konstatieren, dass aus den letzten Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts auch weiterhin ein erhöhtes Interesse für die Problematik des Anfangszeitraums des böhmischen Münzwesens überdauerte. Hierzu gehören gegenseitig polemische, der Typologie der ältesten böhmischen Prägungen gewidmete Beiträge von PAUKERT (158-161) und PETRÁŇ (167-171), die Diskussion von Teilaspekten des Münzwesens der

Dynastie von Slavnik von PETRÁŇ (166, 169) und LUKAS (145), sowie auf eine genauere Datierung zielende Analysen ausgewählter böhmischer Denartypen (Typ Cach 196-199, 226 und Typ Kreuz-drei Balken) von LUKAS (142-144). Eine interessante Feststellung brachte die Überprüfung böhmischer Denare mit Spuren von Überprägung aus dem Fund von Poděbrady von LUKAS und POLANSKÝ (146), und zwar sowohl unter dem Gesichtspunkt ihrer Beurteilung (zu den Überprägungen kam es nicht wegen der Verbesserung falsch geprägter Münzen und es ging auch nicht um die so genannte „renovatio monetarum“), wie auch unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Chronologie der Varianten böhmischer Denare des bayrisch-schwäbischen Typs und der Denare mit breiter Hand. Die Revision des Fundes aus Poděbrady und Stará Boleslav veranlasste POLANSKÝ (178) zu neuem Nachdenken über die Bestimmung böhmischer Denare des Typs Cach 160 und 161. Er meint, dass es nicht um Münzen von Soběslav Slavnik, sondern von Boleslav II. geht. Ähnlich klang auch die Revision des Fundes von Čistěves von ihm und TOMKOVÁ (84) aus, der um die 1. Hälfte der 90-er-Jahre des 10. Jhs versteckt wurde, und Denare des Typs Cach 152-154 betrifft, die bisher unter die Prägungen der Dynastie von Slavnik eingereiht wurden. Neue Erkenntnisse rekapitulierte POLANSKÝ (179) auch in einer englisch publizierten Studie. Ausführlich beschäftigte er sich mit der Ikonographie des Denars des so genannten Pfeiltyps (175), mit den Münzen des Fürsten Oldřich (176, 177), mit der Persönlichkeit der Fürstin Biagota (180). Ikonographie böhmischer Denare wurde zum Objekt des Studiums auch weiterer Autoren (121, 133, 148, 164). Ein anderes Thema, die Tätigkeit der Münzstätte in Mělník um die Wende des 10. und 11. Jhs., interessierte HÁSKOVÁ (132). Neue Erkenntnisse brachte das Studium der Münzstätten des 13. Jhs. in Jihlava (44) und in Podivín (185). ČERNÝ (122), PAUKERT (163, 165, 192, 193), SEJBAL (183, 185), ŠMERDA (189), VIDEMAN (165) und ZAORAL (198, 200) behandelten die älteste Geschichte des mährischen Münzwesens. Die Bearbeitung böhmischer und mährischer Prägungen aus dem Münzschatz im österreichischen Fuchsenhof bei Freistadt von ZAORAL (91-94) bereicherte bedeutsam die Kenntnisse der Währungs- und Münzsituation in der 2. Hälfte des 13. Jhs. und war auch zum Anlass zu einer genaueren Betrachtung der Handelsbeziehungen von Böhmen mit Bayern und Italien (201, 202). Ähnlich breit besprochen werden die in das 13. Jahrhundert datierten Pfennig- und Brakteatenfunde aus Böhmen und Mähren von MILITKÝ (49, 54-56, 63). Derselbe ging auch den Funden der Bronzebrakteaten in Mitteleuropa nach (59, 153). Es wurden auch schlesische (155) und lausitzsche (181) Brakteaten studiert. MAŠEK (147) beschäftigte sich mit der Kaufkraft des Denars des 12. Jhs. und NĚMEČKOVÁ (156) mit der Problematik des Gebrauchs ungeprägten Silbers als Zahlungsmittel.

Nicht weniger oft wurde die Aufmerksamkeit dem Studium der Münz- und Währungsfragen der Groschenzeit gewidmet. BOUBLÍK (120), HÁNA (123, 125, 126, 128-130), HÁSKOVÁ (120), CHVOJKA (138), MICHL (149), PINTA (172) publizierten neue Erkenntnisse zur Typologie und Chronologie der Prager Groschen und Kleinmünzen einzelner Herrscher, beginnend mit Johann von Luxemburg und endend mit Vladislav II. von Jagiello. Gegenstand des Interesses von HÁNA (124) waren auch die Fragen der Produktionstechnologie in der mittelalterlichen Münzstätte. PINTA (173) beschäftigte sich neu mit der Möglichkeit der Existenz einer Münzstätte in Přisečnice in der 1. Hälfte des 14. Jhs. BOUBLÍK (117-119) analysierte Währungsverhältnisse in der Zeit der Regierung von Georg von Poděbrady einschließlich der Beurteilung seiner Münzreform vom Jahre 1469. HÁSKOVÁ (131) verfolgte die Finanzpolitik Johanns von Luxemburg. Mit dem Umlauf der importierten Pfennigmünze in Südböhmen in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jhs beschäftigte sich MILITKÝ (150), der neue Feststellungen auch für die Beurteilung der Tätigkeit der Münzstätte des Matthias Corvinus in České Budějovice in den 70-er-Jahren des 15. Jhs. und für die Identifizierung ihrer Prägungen, der Münzen mit dem ungarisch-böhmischen Wappen brachte (151). Die Möglichkeiten der Ausnützung der statistischen Metrologie für das Studium der Groschenmünze mahnte neu ŠTEFAN (6, 190) an und VOREL (194) erklärte, wie es in Böhmen zur Bildung der Rechnungseinheiten „böhmischer Groschen“ sowie „Meißner Groschen“ kam und wie sie in der Praxis gebraucht wurden. Ohne Interesse blieb auch die Ikonographie der Münzen dieser Zeit nicht (139, 195).

Eine Reihe von Beiträgen bereicherten die Kenntnisse zur neuzeitlichen Problematik. VOREL (233, 234) legte neue Schätzungen der Finanz-, Währungs- und Münzpolitik von Ferdinand I. (1526-1564) und Maximilian II. (1564-1576) vor. ŠIMEK (112, 226) widmete den Möglichkeiten der Auswertung der neuzeitlichen Münzfunde für das Studium der Struktur des Umlaufgeldes und der Charakteristik des Geldumlaufs Aufmerksamkeit. Aufgrund der Detailanalyse der Funde bemühte er sich, die Entwicklung der Produktion der Kleinmünze in Jáchymov in der Zeit der Regierung von Rudolf II. (1576-1611) anzudeuten (225). Den Fragen des Geldumlaufs in Mähren im 17. Jh. widmete sich GROSSMANNOVÁ (205). Beiträge zum Münzwesen der geistlichen Herren, vor allem zum Münzwesen Olmützer Bischöfe publizierten ŠMERDA (227), ŠTĚPÁN (228, 229) und VIDEMAN (232). INDRA (210) interessierte sich für das Münzwesen des Fürsten von Neiß und des Bischofs Schaffgotsch (1748-1777) von Breslau. Interessante und wertvolle Prägungen aus den schlesischen fürstlichen Münzstätten aus der Sammlung des Nationalmuseums in Prag wurden von HOLEČKOVÁ (208) veröffentlicht. JÁNOŠÍKOVÁ (212) beschäftigte sich mit der Währung und dem Währungsrecht während der Regierung von Maria Theresia (1740-1780) und Joseph II. (1765-1790) und INDRA (211) legte konkrete Belege über die Geldlage nach dem staatlichen Bankrott im Jahre

1811 vor. Es wurden auch Zeugenaussagen über eine Fälschertätigkeit in Olomouc während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges (230) und über die Fälschungen schlesischer Groschen von Leopold I. (1657-1705) publiziert (223, 224). Zum Studienobjekt von POLÍVKA (219) wurden die Münzzeichen auf den Münzen von Eggenberg aus den Jahren 1652-1658. Ein wiederholt verfolgtes Thema war die Klassifizierung der weißen Münzen von Ferdinand I. (1526-1564) (182, 222). In der numismatischen Forschung der letzten Jahre wurde auch den Münzen, dem Papiergeld und weiterem numismatischem Material des 20. Jhs. Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Mit Rücksicht auf den Umfang dieses Beitrages sind hier die diesem Zeitraum gewidmeten Studien und Aufsätze nicht angeführt.

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## POLAND

*Borys Paszkiewicz*

During the years 2002-2007, two bibliographical lists were published (apart from the previous *Survey*): one of Polish research on Pomeranian coinage (259) and other of SUCHODOLSKI's works (45). As previously, the early medieval period attracted many scholars but one can observe, after many decades, a revival of interest in the early modern period. *WN* has maintained its leading role in Polish numismatic research (218). Other academic periodicals, *PracMat* and *Notae Numismaticae / Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, produced only a single volume each. Among numerous collectors' magazines, *BN* remains still the most important. Apart from periodicals, there were nine volumes of conference proceeding, devoted to interpretation of coin finds (266), relationships between a coin type and a legend (202), coin circulation (111), hoarding (168), money and war (169), coinage and coin transfer around the Baltic (109), and regional research into Pomeranian (117) and Kuiavian (28) numismatics. One conference volume (104) and a separate festschrift (110) were published to mark SUCHODOLSKI's sixty-fifth birthday.

### General works

MIELCZAREK wrote about the myth of the Vandal origin of Poles, based upon Roman coins which were found in the Late Middle Ages (102). FILIPOW recalled Antoni Waga, the author of a nineteenth-century numismatic dictionary (29). More historical studies were devoted to collecting activities: of the Prussian Bishop Stephen of Neidenburg (1412-95) (20), of King Stanislaus Augustus and his friend, Count August Fryderyk Moszyński (1730-86) (1), and of Jerzy Samuel Bandtkie (1768-1835) (74), as well as to several nineteenth- and twentieth-century collections (3, 42, 58, 67, 73, 75, 201). Two museum exhibition catalogues are of note: "The World of Bracteates" at Bydgoszcz (38), and the other at Malbork, gathering coins and medals of Royal (West) Prussia (21).

The TXRF method of metal analysis applied to coins was described by OSTACHOWICZ and OSTACHOWICZ (119). Interpretation of coin finds was discussed in general in a few works (150, 181). In an interesting work by MIECHOWICZ magical applications of coins in Poland were discussed (101). A broad study of coins in medieval and modern burial deposits was presented by KURNATOWSCY (93). PASZKIEWICZ considered coins as means of prestige (133).

Among general works on heraldry on coins of Poland (71, 72) and Pomerania (41), a study by PIECH (167) merits particular attention, presenting an overall picture of the system of symbols of Jagiellonian dynasty, i.e. coins juxtaposed with seals, tombstones and drawings in books.

Studies of regional coinages were devoted to Gorzów Wielkopolski (Landsberg, by SZCZUREK, 230), Szczecin (Stettin, a non-specialist book by HOEVELER, 57), Legnica (Liegnitz) and Kłodzko (Glatz) by PIENKOWSKI (173, 174). An outline of Upper-Silesian coinage compared to neighbouring countries was presented by PASZKIEWICZ (149).

### Finds

The project of current registration of coin finds in the Internet failed and, as a consequence, only the most important, selected finds are recorded in *WN*. Several scholars produced lists of finds which they had noted in their work (e.g. 155, 166, 238). A general preview of early medieval coin finds in Silesia was presented by BUTENT-STEFANIAK (18). A series of articles lists old coin finds recorded in archival sources (7, 12, 23, 76, 207, 251, 260). Thanks to such pieces of information, several hoards were rediscovered in museum collections (165, 180). Among new finds, single coins from Truso, an early Viking-Age emporium in Prussia, particularly attracted scholars' attention (5, 9, 10, 203). A number of hoards of the tenth-eleventh centuries were discussed in separate studies: Turwia (62), Ulejno (60), Kotowice (17), Pomorsko (54), Oterki (14), Raciążek (124), Szlichtyngowa (160), Naruszewo (108), Kapiel (4) and Ogorzelczyn (241). The thirteenth century was a dark period of Polish coinage, but a series of new discoveries has enabled remarkable progress to be made in research. The most interesting is the find of the oldest coin die in Poland: a bracteate die from the second half of the thirteenth century in Gdańsk (79). Newly discovered coin hoards from the same century contain mostly unrecorded bracteates and double-faced pennies, such as the hoards from Zgłowiączka (134), Gdańsk (79), Lublin (258) and Secemin (164). An important contemporary hoard from Mołtowo in Pomerania was also published (103). New facts appeared about the Cracow hoard from 1999 (49, 50, 135). A new variant of a Saxon bracteate was found in Pszczew (237) and an unrecorded penny,

probably Great-Polish, occurred singly in Łekno (6). Cumulative finds from Dębczyno (193), Pałecznica (8), Św. Wojciech near Międzyrzecz (96) and Gorzów Wielkopolski (233), also contained thirteenth-century coins. In the Prussian hillfort at Beżławki, two Teutonic bracteates from the fourteenth century were found (118). Later medieval and early modern cumulative finds were also registered in the Franciscan monastery in Inowrocław (83), in the village of Czulczyce near Chełm (16) and in the Market in Białogard (15), but the most abundant were various sites in Gdańsk (142, 143, 146, 26). The fifteenth-century hoard from Szczaniec contained mostly Prague groschen (30), and another from Ujście consisted of Polish half-groschen (178). Modern coin hoards did not produce new facts (177, 179, 257, 265, 51, 52, 53), but one copper shilling hoard from an uncertain locality allowed SINCHUK to recognize some imitations and forgeries (197).

## Middle Ages

Medieval studies produced extensive work on non-monetary currency in Central and Eastern Europe by ADAMCZYK (2). This sort of currency was also studied in Brandenburg by SZCZUREK (231, 235). SUCHODOLSKI has researched the use of coins in the Merovingian period (212). The same author discussed a controversy between numismatists and archaeologists on interpreting and dating medieval finds (213), and the coin inflow into the Baltic zone around 1000 (214). A bitter argument was carried on between supporters of the mainly economic origin of Viking-Age silver hoards (204, 11, 181), and those who prefer magic and custom as the main reasons of deposition (245, 244, 81, 25). Other aspects of interpreting Viking-Age finds were also discussed (99, 107, 182, 261, 94), together with the problem of pecking and bending coins (25, 22). ŁYSZKOWSKI published two studies of interpreting Viking-Age single finds (97, 98). SUCHODOLSKI recapitulated the arguments over the beginnings of the Polish, Bohemian and Hungarian coinages (216, 222), and PINIŃSKI published the third specimen of the oldest Polish penny of the *Arrow/Cross* type (183). SUCHODOLSKI discussed two other types of Boleslaus the Valiant's (992-1025) coins, REX and PRINCES POLONIE (220, 217), and KOPICKI did the same with the Cyrillic type (77). The PRINCES type, thanks to die-links, led BOGUCKI to identify a new type of Polish penny (13). Other unrecorded early Polish or Pomeranian coins were noted by ILISCH and SUCHODOLSKI (61, 63). Czech and Moravian coins were also discussed (123, 208, 253). SUCHODOLSKI solved a series of iconographic problems of early medieval coins (209, 210, 215, 219, 224). KĘDZIERSKI, while studying younger types of cross-pennies, re-attributed some of them to Polish mints (68, 69). Monetary circulation in Silesia in the eleventh century was also discussed (112), as well as an old and apparently insoluble problem of the private or national status of Palatine Sieciech's coinage (242, 205).

PASZKIEWICZ proposed a revised picture of the early provincial coinage in Poland (125) including Silesia (141, 144), and in Prussia (132), but other studies of coins from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were dominated by the subject of iconography. The outstanding treatise on the iconography of Piast coins from the years 1173-c. 1280 by GARBACZEWSKI (32) was preceded and accompanied by a series of smaller articles by the same author (31, 34, 35, 36, 39) who, among others, pointed out the apotropaic function of coin types (34). A rich iconography of Mieszko III's (1173-1202) bracteates was discussed by GORLIŃSKA (43, 44). Other iconographic studies were presented by SUCHODOLSKI (210), HACZEWSKA (46-48), PASZKIEWICZ (121) and PTAK (186). Monographic presentations were devoted to the later medieval coinages of Prussia (120), Krosno Odrzańskie (Crossen, 236), Żagań (Sagan, 140), Kuiavia (153, 115), Poznań (157) and the New Mark (229). A long series of articles concerns attributions of thirteenth-century coins (78, 113, 122, 127, 136, 154, 156, 158, 161-163, 223). PIENKOWSKI discussed methods of research on bracteates (170). The weight systems were compared with preserved medieval weights from Poland by WACHOWSKI (246, 247). The same author has studied bracteate boxes (248). SZCZUREK considered some problems of German coinage (227, 228, 234).

The fourteenth century offers Polish numismatists more Czech material than national. PIENKOWSKI pointed out a special issue of John the Blind's (1310-46) groschen (172) as well as two groschen dies of this king (171). The Czech groschen in Pomerania and Prussia reveal an interesting difference between finds and written evidence (184). Pomeranian coins in Brandenburg were also discussed (232). The Slovak hoard from Hrabušice produced unrecorded Polish provincial coins (129, 131, 139), and several others were recognized among bracteates regarded as Prussian (128). A new specimen of the rarest penny of Ladislas the Little Ell (1306-33) was also published (130). The discussion on the coinage established by Polish kings in Red Ruthenia resulted in the monograph by KRYZHANIVS'KYI (86, see also 152, 221, 88, 89). The beginnings of the Lithuanian coinage was revised by PASZKIEWICZ (159). The early Jagiellonian period in Poland was studied by KUBIAK (90, 91), SUCHODOLSKI (206), ZAWADZKI (262-264) and PASZKIEWICZ (147, 151). The coinages of Pomerania (59), Silesia (175, 145, 126) and Prussia (100, 114, 116, 137) were also discussed. Besides these, there was one study of the iconography of Rus'ian coins (148).

## Modern Times

General work: a monograph on Pomeranian coinage (85). Particular problems: hoarding (138, 198, 199), monetary systems (106, 189, 192, 196, 239, 256), monetary policy (187, 188), a mint in Koszalin (Köslin) (84), mint identification (65, 87, 190, 240, 250, 252, 255), mint technique (55, 56, 66, 191, 249, 254), mint officials and entrepreneurs (70, 195), iconography (33), unrecorded coins (19, 200), forgeries (64, 194), archival material (40, 176), and placards (27). Paper money: the catalogue of Lucow's monumental collection (82) and a detailed typological catalogue (105). Soviet military money for Central European countries (225, 226). Substitute and emergency money: monographs on Silesia between 1914-24 (95, see also 92), on money of Fordon during WWI (37), paper money in Chełmno Land in the years 1914-39 (243). General catalogue of paper emergency money (185). Iconography (80). Registration of bonds, coins and tokens is being conducted in *BN*.

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## BALTICUM

*Ivar Leimus*

Numismatic research carried out during 2002-2007 in the Baltic countries progressed both extensively and intensively, in comparison to the previous period. In particular Lithuanian numismatists have contributed a lot to the total of the studies. Lithuania as the largest of the Baltic countries has been the only one in the region able to issue a numismatic (and rather substantial) periodical edited by GRIMALAUSKAITĖ (31-33) that also contains bibliographies of the recent numismatic research by REMECAS (132, 142). A comprehensive bibliography of Lithuanian numismatics until 1999 had been issued by REMECAS already in 2001 (115), but was unfortunately omitted from the previous Survey. In Estonia LEIMUS published a historiography of the Livonian medieval economy (94) that also embraces the minting and finances of towns.

Baltic scholars have studied mainly the traditional numismatic subjects. First of all, hoards of every kind, new and old, and single coins coming from excavations, museum collections or otherwise discovered have been published, among others, by KIUDSOO (49, 51, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63), LEIMUS (77, 79, 80, 90, 95, 97) in Estonia, by BERGA (1, 6, 8) and DUCMANE (13, 17) in Latvia, and by GRIMALAUSKAITĖ (19, 27) and REMECAS (117, 119-122, 128, 130, 133-136, 140, 143, 147) in Lithuania. The excavations in the Lower Castle of Vilnius turned out to be particularly fruitful. An impressive number of previously unknown coins, especially domestic but also foreign, have been discovered mainly in Lithuania but also in Latvia and Estonia. These finds can contribute a lot to our understanding of the monetary history of Baltics and hence deserve to be seriously investigated. Numismatic research has brought forth an abundance of papers on various types of coins, their peculiarities, (re)attributions etc. Viking-Age coins found in Baltic countries have been studied by BERGA (7) and LEIMUS (83, 99), medieval ones by BERGA (3, 5, 9), GRIMALAUSKAITĖ (30), GRIMALAUSKAITĖ/ SINCHOUK (36), IVANAUSKAS (43, 44), LEIMUS (82, 87), the Polish numismatist PASZKIEWICZ (109), SAJASKAS (153, 155, 157), the Finnish numismatist SARKKINEN (161-163), ŽUKAUSKAS (173) and others. The numerous articles of REMECAS on Lithuanian early coinage (116, 118, 124-127, 129, 131, 141, 144, 145) are particularly to be emphasized here. On the other hand, different opinions still exist on the question of how to determine and date various coin types.

Intensive coin studies have laid a good basis for compiling various new and richly illustrated catalogues, such as those of the medieval coins of Riga from the Riga City Museum published by BERGA (4), the coins of Riga from the free-town period by KRUGGEL/ GERBAŠEVSKIS (64), Livonian bracteates and penny-type coins by HALJAK (40, 41), and Estonian tokens and jetons by ROSS (148). Catalogues of Lithuanian coins were put together by DOUCHIS/ IVANAUSKAS (11) and SAJASKAS/ KAUBRYS (160). A *sylloge* of Islamic dirhams in Estonian collections by LEIMUS (98) is the first of this kind in the Baltic and Northern countries.

Another traditional direction in research deals with the problems of the monetary circulation from the Viking Age to the Early Modern Period. This has been studied by KIUDSOO (52, 55, 61) and LEIMUS (93) in Estonia, by BERGA (2), DUCMANE (15, 16) and OZOLIŅA (105-107) in Latvia, by IVANAUSKAS (42), KVIZIKEVIČIUS (67) and REMECAS (123) in Lithuania. The Ukrainian numismatist SHLAPINSKIJ (164) has observed the circulation of Lithuanian coins in Lvov.

Less attention has been paid to the units of reckoning, monetary systems, various denominations and problems of their origin etc. Just in Estonia LEIMUS has published some articles (70, 72, 74, 84) on that subject. The same author has also investigated aspects of monetary policy in a broader context of the Swedish kingdom (75) and the course of inflation in Livonia/ Estonia (78). Daily use of money in Estonia was studied by LEIMUS (71, 76), and secondary usage of coins as ornaments by the peasantry by KIUDSOO (50) and KIUDSOO/ RATAS (62). Technological aspects of making and counterfeiting coins in Lithuania have been investigated by KVIZIKEVIČIUS (66, 68), REMECAS (137, 138), REMECAS/ SINCHOUK (146) and SINCHOUK (165) on the basis of preserved remnants of mints, flans and forgeries as well as written sources.

That all in its turn prompts new generalising surveys of the monetary history of the Baltic lands or the smaller feudal states on their territories. Recently they in one form or another were compiled by LEIMUS (86, 89) in Estonia, by DUCMANE (13) in Latvia, and by IVANAUSKAS/ DOUCHIS (45) and SAJASKAS (158) in Lithuania. However, these papers can be considered just a transitional stage in writing the monetary history of the Baltic, for in many areas it still remain uncertain.

A general problem of numismatic works is that they tend to stand isolated from other historical research, *ein Ding für sich*. At the same time coin studies combined with the investigation of corresponding written and other sources can enable us to contribute for the solution of wider historical problems. That has been clearly demonstrated by LEIMUS who has questioned the role of Vikings in the silver supply of the North (92), suggested great economic change in the Northern Lands around the first millennium (96), attempted to date the arrival of German merchants to Livonia (81), discussed the origin of the minting authority on Gotland (85) and revealed the existence of a medieval economic crisis in Livonia (88). LEIMUS/ KIUDSOO (100) suggested the furs of beavers as possible goods exported from Estonia in exchange for Oriental silver in the 9th century. The role and meaning of coins in Lithuanian archaeological graves has been discussed by JAROCKIS (47).

Coinage is not the only category of material to have been studied. Medals form a separate but quite significant field of the numismatics, more active in Lithuania than in other Baltic countries. DŽIOVĖNAS (12), GRIMALAUSKAITĖ (26, 28), RAZALIŪNAITĖ (112-114), and RUZAS (149-151) published a number of papers on historical, religious and other medals and medallions, usually with accompanying catalogues. In Latvia, GRĪNBERGA (37-39) has been studying agricultural medals and other awards, while in Estonia, LEIMUS (101) has written on medals/badges of the peasantry local government.

Yet what would we know about coins and medals without having collections of them. Again, Lithuania is leading the research into their history. GRIMALAUSKAITĖ (20-22, 24-25), in particular, has done a lot in this field and studied the formation of public and other numismatic collections of Lithuania. DUKSA (18) wrote about a forgotten Polish coin collector. In Estonia, KIUDSOO (58) investigated the history of the largest local public coin collection. LEIMUS (91) edited and commented on a handwritten catalogue of a private collector in Estonia from the early 19th century.

Last but not least, one should mention a number of fully illustrated exhibition catalogues on various subjects ranging from coins and hoards by REMECAS (139) and TAMLA/ KIUDSOO (175), to money-boxes by POVILIŪNAS (110) and coins and medals in jewelry and the household by POVILIŪNAS/ ZALYS (111), although these do not generally contain unpublished information.

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## RUSSIA

Peter G. Gaidukov

Over 700 publications concerning medieval Russian numismatics (c. 800-1700) were published in Russia during 2002-7. The key ones are listed in the present bibliography, which is in three parts.

Part I (history of numismatics, personalities and museums) comprises 84 historiographic studies. During the period in question, Russian researchers showed a growing interest in the history of the discipline. The publications in Part I are: history and teaching of numismatics (4, 9, 11, 12, 18, 20, 26), origin of numismatic collections in museums and private hands, biographies of Russian numismatists of the 18th - 20th centuries, and bibliographies of their works. The history of the coin collections in museum at Vilno (25), Vladimir (7), Kazan (58, 59), Kiev (82), Copenhagen (28, 30), Moscow (68-72), Novgorod (15), St. Petersburg (9, 42, 43, 45, 60) and Smolensk (16) has been researched. Studies have been published on the lives and works of well-known Russian numismatists: Bauer (11, 13, 67), Zubov (22, 48, 49, 83), Il'yin (33, 37, 38, 44), Markov (2, 4, 44, 56), Oreshnikov (11, 44, 48, 52, 62, 77, 78, 84), Reichel (17, 27, 31, 32, 55), Spassky (11, 21, 46, 61, 65), Tolstoy (53, 73), Fyodorov-Davydov (51, 57, 74), Fuchs (12), Yanin (35) and others.

Part II (Russian numismatics) is the largest one, comprising 249 items divided into eight sections. The studies cover Russian monetary terminology and accounts (section 1), foreign coins that circulated in Eastern Europe and Rus' (sections 2-4), Russian medieval coins and gold ingots, and monetary circulation in the Rus' state (sections 5-8).

Section 1 comprises studies of written sources of the 14th-16th centuries that contained information about Russian monetary terminology and accounts (85-91). To our regret, there is little research on the topic.

Section 2 comprises literature on Oriental coins of the 6th - 11th centuries that circulated in Eastern Europe. The works in question are mainly publications of hoards of coins of the Arab Caliphate of 8th - 10th centuries either recently discovered in Russia or found earlier but now subject to further study (92, 98-102, 109, 111, 114-118, 119-121, 123-125, 128-131, 134). Individual oriental coins were also published (94, 103-105, 108, 110, 122, 126, 135). The volume *A Topography of Sassanidian and Kufic coins in Eastern Europe* was being prepared for publication (95, 96, 132). One should note the book by KHAN (118) on the distribution of Kufic coins in Eastern Europe late 8th - early 11th centuries. Section 3 presents seven new studies of Byzantine coins found in Ancient Rus and adjacent territories (136-142). Section 4, also a small one, comprises studies of West European coins found in Russia (143-150).

Of the four sections devoted to studies of Russian coins, Section 5 covers the most ancient Russian coins of the late 10th - early 11th century. Such coins are extremely rare, hence the list is a short one (151-160) and comprises mainly publications of new coins that have been found in collections or on excavation sites. New material is gradually accumulating and adds to the *Catalogue of Russian Coins of the 10th - 11th cent.* that was published by M. Sotnikova and I. Spassky in 1983. Section 6 is devoted to monetary ingots of the 12th - 15th centuries (161-174). New hoards were published (161, 163-165, 170, 171, 174), as well as articles on individual gold, silver and copper ingots (162, 169, 172). The role of ingots in monetary circulation in Rus was analyzed by KOTLAR (166, 167).

The two final sections of Part II comprise the bibliography on Russian coins of the 14th-17th centuries and are the two largest (with 76 and 83 items respectively). Section 7 covers the period of independent feudal principalities and their subsequent consolidation into the Moscow State (second half of the 14th cent. - 1533). For a very long time, this period had remained the least studied one in Russian numismatics, but during 2002-07 many new numismatic sources were published: hoards of coins (177, 185, 186, 194, 199, 209, 210, 219, 228, 232, 236, 244, 250) and individual coins from medieval settlements (189, 220, 226, 227, 233, 240, 241). Another topic for research and cataloguing concerned coins from individual Russian minting centres: Moscow (180, 192, 193, 223, 231, 243, 246, 249), Zvenigorod (182, 208), Serpukhov (215, 217, 218, 221-223, 229, 230), Dmitrov (207, 232, 245, 247), Uglich (196), Malayaroslavets (222), Veliky Novgorod (176, 187, 205, 237), Torzhok (183, 188), Pskov (175, 178), Tver' (190, 198, 201, 204, 206, 235), Ryazan (195), Yaroslavl (234, 241, 248), Suzdal and Nizhny Novgorod (211-214). The topography of coin finds in individual regions of Rus was also studied (191, 224). Three books should be noted: the one by GAIDUKOV (179) on the fractions of the *denga*, the main monetary unit of the

Russian monetary system in the 14th–17th centuries, and two books by ZAITSEV, on the coins of the Dmitrov principality (232) and coins of Princes Ivan III and Vasily III (1462–1533) (239).

Section 8 is devoted to ‘czar’ coins of the State of Moscow (1533–end of the 17th cent.). This period in Russian numismatics was researched in detail by the well-known Russian numismatists I. Spassky (1904–1990) and A. Melnikova (1929–2005). During 2002–07, new hoards of coins were published (251–256, 263–265, 268–271, 274, 280, 282–286, 288, 300, 302–305, 308–310, 313, 315–316, 320, 322), as well as individual coins found at medieval settlements (257, 261–262, 311, 312, 314, 317). There have been comprehensive coin catalogues or articles on individual previously unpublished coin types (258, 259, 266, 307, 318), and studies of monetary circulation in various regions of the Moscow State (276, 277, 324, 329, 332). Specific aspects of the Russian monetary system considered include: the topography and work of mints (272, 281, 290, 301, 321, 326, 328, 330, 331), monetary reforms (278, 292, 297, 327), changes in the weight of coins (279, 306), circulation of gold coins (293, 294), production and circulation of counterfeit money (275, 325, 333) and circulation of Russian coins in neighbouring western countries (278, 289, 296, 298).

Part III of the bibliography (Numismatics of the Rus’ neighbours) includes 50 items that are divided into two sections. The first section lists the major works on the numismatics of the Golden Horde (334–355). These mainly comprise publications of new hoards and individual findings of coins, but also studies in the metrology of the Jo-Chi coinage. One should note the book by PONOMAREV, *Money of the Golden Horde and the Trebizond Empire* (344). The second section presents studies in the numismatics of Lithuania and Southern Rus’ (356–383). These include publications of new findings of Lithuanian and Southern Rus’ coins, and articles which include catalogs of coins minted by some of the Lithuanian princes.

The main scientific and organizational event in Russian numismatics is the All-Russia Numismatic Conference (VNC). During 1993–2005 the conference was held once a year, and since 2005 once every two years. A bibliographical index of the works published within the framework of Conferences I – IX was prepared for publication by ZVEREV and STUKALOVA (76). In 2002–07, five Conferences took place: the Xth (2002), XIth (2003), XIIth (2004), XIIIth (2005) and XIVth Conference (2007). The present bibliography includes the major papers and abstracts from them. The XVth Conference is scheduled to take place in April 2009.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Abbreviations

AP	<i>Arkheologiya Podmoskovya: Materialy nauchnogo seminara</i> . Moscow
DPDR–IV	<i>Drevnosti Povolzhya i drugikh regionov: Vypusk IV</i> . NS. Vol. 3. Nizhny Novgorod, 2002.
DPDR–V	<i>Drevnosti Povolzhya i drugikh regionov: Vypusk V</i> . NS. Vol. 4. Moscow– Nizhny Novgorod, 2004.
DRR	<i>Denezhnye reformy v Rossii: Istoriya i sovremennost</i> . Moscow, 2004.
DR–RNV	<i>Ot drevnei Rusi k Rossii novogo vremeni: K 70-letiyu</i> , A.L. Khoroshkevich. Moscow, 2003.
GE	<i>Gosudarstvennyi Ermitazh</i> .
GIM	<i>Gosudarstvennyi Istorichesky muzei</i> .
GiS	<i>Gorod i step v kontaktnoi yevro-aziatskoi zone: TD III Mezhdunarodnoi NK, posvyashchennoi 75-letiyu</i> , G.A. Fyodorova-Davydova. Moscow, 2006.
IKP	<i>Istoriya i kultura Podmoskovya: Problemy izucheniya i prepodavaniya: TD NK</i> . Kolomna, 2003.
KhE	<i>Khranitel Ermitazha: Sbornik vospomaniy i nauchnykh statei k 100-letiyu</i> , I.G. Spasskogo. St. Petersburg, 2004.
KhIU	<i>Khranitel, issledovatel, uchitel: K 85-letiyu V. M. Potina. Sbornik nauchnykh statei</i> . St. Petersburg: GE Publishing, 2005.
Klady	<i>Klady: Sostav, khronologiya, interpretatsiya. Materialy NK</i> . St. Petersburg
MIGM	<i>Muzei istorii goroda Moskvy</i> .
MION	<i>Materialy i issledovaniya Otdela numizmatiki</i> . St. Petersburg
MIRK	<i>Materialy i issledovaniya po ryazanskomu kraevedeniyu</i> . Ryazan.
MNK	<i>Mezhdunarodnaya numizmaticheskaya konferentsiya</i> .
MNO	<i>Moskovskoe numizmaticheskoe obshchestvo</i> .
Moneta	<i>Mezhdunarodnyi numizmatichesky almanakh ‘Moneta’</i> . Vologda.
NA	<i>Numizmatichesky almanakh: Nauchno-populyarnyi zhurnal</i> . Moscow.

NE	<i>Numizmatika i epigrafika</i> . Moscow.
NK	<i>Nauchnaya konferentsiya</i> .
NS	<i>Numizmaticheskyy sbornik</i> .
NS–2003	<i>Numizmaticheskyy sbornik: 2003: Pamyati A.A. Bykova (1896–1977)</i> . St. Petersburg, 2003
NS GIM–XVI	<i>Numizmaticheskyy sbornik GIM</i> . XVI, ed. P.G. Gaidukov. Moscow, 2003. ( <i>Trudy GIM</i> . Vypusk 138.)
NS GIM–XVII	<i>Numizmaticheskyy sbornik GIM</i> . XVII, ed. V.V. Zaitsev. Moscow, 2005. ( <i>Trudy GIM</i> . Vypusk 151.)
NS GIM–XVIII	<i>Numizmaticheskyy sbornik GIM</i> . XVIII, ed. V.V. Zaitsev. Moscow, 2007. ( <i>Trudy GIM</i> . Vypusk 171.)
NS [MNO]	<i>Numizmaticheskyy sbornik Moskovskogo numizmaticheskogo obshchestva</i> . Moscow.
Numizmatika	<i>Numizmatika, Nauchno-informatsionnyi zhurnal</i> . Moscow.
PN	<i>Patriarkh Nikon i yego vremya</i> . Moscow, 2004
Polunina	<i>Polunina N.M. Kto yest kto v kollektsonirovanii staroi Rossii: Novyi biografichesky slovar</i> . Moscow, 2003.
RA	<i>Rossiiskaya arkheologiya</i> . Moscow.
RAN	<i>Rossiiskaya akademiya nauk</i> .
RiSh	<i>Rossiya i Shvetsiya v srednevekove i novoe vremya: Arkhivnoe i muzeinoe nasledie</i> . Moscow, 2002.
SNVE	<i>Srednevekovaya numizmatika Vostochnoi Yevropy</i> . Moscow
TD	<i>Tezisy dokladov</i> .
TDS	<i>Tezisy dokladov i soobshcheny</i> .
TMNK–I, II, III	<i>Trudy mezhdunarodnykh numizmaticheskikh konferentsy «Monety i denezhnoe obrashchenie v mongolskikh gosudarstvakh XIII–XV vv.</i> (I MNK – Saratov, 2001; II MNK – Murom, 2003; III MNK – Staryi Krym, 2004). M., 2005.
TPE	<i>Trudy Podmoskovnoi ekspeditsii Instituta Arkheologii RAN</i> .
TTZ	<i>Tver, Tverskaya zemlya i sopredelnye territorii v epokhu srednevekoviya</i> . Tver.
VID–XVIII	<i>Vspomogatelnye istoricheskie distsipliny: Klassicheskoe nasledie i novye napravleniya: Materialy XVIII NK</i> . Moscow, 2006.
VNK	<i>Vserossiiskaya numizmaticheskaya konferentsiya. X VNK – X VNK: Pskov, 15–20 aprelya 2002 g.: TDS</i> . Moscow, 2002.
XI VNK – XI VNK	<i>Sankt-Peterburg, 14–18 aprelya 2003 g.: TDS</i> . St. Petersburg, 2003.
XII VNK – XII VNK	<i>Moskva, 19–24 aprelya 2004 g. TDS</i> . Moscow, 2004.
XIII VNK – XIII VNK	<i>Moskva, 11–15 aprelya 2005 g. TDS</i> . Moscow, 2005
XIV VNK – XIV VNK	<i>Sankt-Peterburg, Gatchina, 16–21 aprelya 2007 g. TDS</i> . St. Petersburg, 2007.
GNC	<i>The Great numismatic collections on the Baltic: From coin collections of the sovereigns to National research institutions</i> . St. Petersburg, 2005.
Numizmatika Lietuvos	<i>Numizmatika: Metrastis. Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus</i> . Vilnius.
TNK	<i>Tarptautine numizmatikos konferencija, skirta Lietuvos nacionalinio muziejaus 150-meciui: Pranesimu tezes: Vilnius, 2006 m. balandzio 26–28 d.</i> (International Numismatic Conference Marking the 150th anniversary of the National Museum of Lithuania: Lecture Summaries: Vilnius, April 26–28, 2006), Vilnius, 2006.

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## NORTH AMERICA

*Robert Hoge*

### United States: General

General works in the field of North American numismatics mostly constitute compilations rather than research publications, although they frequently include updated information. The Whitman Publishing Company in particular has continued and expanded its series of popular Guidebooks, familiarly known as the Official Red Book, as in BOWERS (1), GARRETT (2), and YEOMAN (6). While intended for collectors and the marketplace, a remarkable series of auctions of the collection of the late John J. Ford, Jr., held by the STACK'S (5) firm included extensive scholarship with very broad representation of numerous areas of American study. Other commercial American firms, in addition, produced particularly fine auction catalogs covering a variety of North American subjects during this period, among them American Numismatic Rarities, LLC (now subsumed with Stack's), Auctions by Bowers and Merena, Inc., Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins and Collectibles, Inc., Heritage Numismatic Auctions, Inc., R. M. Smythe and Company (Later, Smythe, now subsumed with Spink's) and Superior Galleries.

### United States: Pre-Federal

Study of the coinages prior to the establishment of the United States government's mint at Philadelphia, in 1792/3, has enjoyed great florescence during recent years. With their bearing upon the Colonial period of American history, issues from Canada, Bermuda, and the Caribbean can also be considered part of this series although citations to those areas are under separate headings below. Some of these may be mentioned here for convenience. Important work has ranged through the very earliest issues of British North America to the immediate pre-cursors of the official U.S. coinage. MOSSMAN (42) prepared a useful bibliography of all the pertinent articles published by the American Numismatic Society in its *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*.

JORDAN (23, 24, 25) has effectively analyzed many aspects of the Massachusetts silver coinage of the Boston mint (from 1652 to ca. 1682) as well as that produced by Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, for his Maryland colony (minted in 1658). JORDAN (233) has also presented the enigmatic DK-stamped lead tokens found at Ferryland, site of the "Avalon" colony on the Island of Newfoundland; this important Canadian discovery was also covered by BERRY (184). These rare and previously-unknown pieces are believed to have been produced from bullets by order of Sir David Kirke, governor from 1638 to 1651. In addition, JORDAN (166) discussed the earliest British New World coinage, the 1616 "Somers Islands" issues of Bermuda; this rare and problematical series was also effectively amplified by SPORTACK (179). MARTIN wrote articles on American colonial coins found in Bermuda (35) and on the discovery of a late eighteenth century hybrid of a *Georgius Triumpho* token with a counterfeit Danish West Indies 1767 24-skilling piece die (33).

Major advances have been made in the study of the coinages of William Wood. MARTIN'S (34) is now the definitive work on the Hibernia issues. DANFORTH (10, 11, 12, 13, 14) has made significant contributions toward advancing our understanding of William Wood's coinage as well as of the St. Patrick token and other areas. MERCHANT (39) reported a countermarked variety of the 1723 Wood's Hibernia halfpenny; KLEIMAN (29) also wrote on the Wood's Hibernia series.

FULGHAM (17) explored the background and present state of knowledge of the 1694-dated Carolina Elephant token, including copies. KRALJEVICH (30) and GOLDSTEIN (19) surveyed, respectively, the coins known to have been found at Jamestown and those in the Colonial Williamsburg collection. VLACK (52) published a complete study on Franco-American billon coinage while FANNING (16) reported a new variety of the 1767 French Colonies sou. WESTON (53, 54, 55) and WESTON and SCHETTINO (56) wrote on the contemporary British counterfeit halfpenny issues. MOORE (40) published a counterfeit 1773 Virginia halfpenny; KLEEBOERG (26), a listing of the modern forgeries of Early American coins by Peter Rosa. ANTHONY and MOORE (7, 8) updated the known varieties of the actual Virginia halfpennies and reported the discovery of another previously unrecorded one.

Few serious archaeological articles address numismatic subjects. MOSSMAN (41) and SHELBY (47) surveys coins found in a southern New Jersey context, but these are largely drawn from scattered reports by hobbyists of pieces found by metal detectorists. HOGE (20) reported on items recovered from Highway Department contract



excavation in Vermont. GLADFELTER (18) wrote of the discovery of a hoard of colonial paper currency. MAYHUGH published a list of money confiscated from prisoners taken in George Clinton's 1776 New Jersey raid (36), and also studies of the 1780s coining proposals presented by Walter Mould (37) and Daniel van Voorhis (38).

The New Jersey state coinages of the 1780s witnessed outstanding review and discovery. WILLIAMS (58) completed a comprehensive survey of all of the die varieties and, with SIBONI (48), helped report the discovery of a variety that had actually been revealed in 1858 but remained unrecognized until two specimens were recently found. The fine large photographic plates of New Jersey coinage die varieties prepared by nineteenth-century numismatist Dr. Edward Maris have continued to attract interest by students and collectors: WIERZBA (57) and WILLIAMS (59). ISH (22) reconstructed the sequence that would have created the odd dies states of Maris variety 77-dd. A valuable work dealing with the background of the New Jersey coinage is the post-humous study by DOUGLAS (15), edited by Trudgen, *et al.*

Several trenchant studies of defined aspects of coinage or money of the colonial era have appeared, such as TRUDGEN'S (51) work on the New York copper crisis in 1753, SMITH'S (49) on metrology and circulation, and LASSER and GOLDSTEIN'S (32) focusing on the use of foreign rather than British silver in the North American British colonies. LASSER (31) also wrote on what little is known of the peculiar "Raleigh's Plantation" token. NEWMAN (43) wrote on the unique 1792 gold Washington pattern; ROEHRS (44, 45), on the careers of two colonial silversmiths who were involved with numismatic production; ROTHSCHILD (46), on the early history of collecting the Connecticut state series; TOWNSON (50), on a find of a Bar "cent" made into a love token; HOWES (21), on the analysis of several American contemporary British counterfeit halfpennies of the 1780s; and Bowser (9), on the source of the 1748-dated counterfeit British halfpenny.

#### **United States: Federal**

Regular-issue coinages of the United States have been effectively studied by a good many authors, in particular, serious collectors who have extensively studied the characteristics and evidence of die varieties and their context and meaning. GARRETT and DANNREUTHER (84, 85) have published useful "Official Red Books" of auction records on all the series. Some works have surveyed auction sales records of specific series, important for helping to lead to further die and population studies. These include AUGSBERGER and LOW (60) on the Seated Liberty coins sold from 1985 to 2002, covering varieties, rarities, conditions and proofs based upon the publications of ten of the major auction houses. The products of individual mints have received attention from authors: GOE (87) covering those of Carson City and WINTER (133) those of Dahlonega. MOULTON (110) discussed the earliest period of the Philadelphia mint, focusing upon Henry Voigt and his role.

Federal coinage has received some attention regarding virtually every time period and denomination as well as series; GUTH and GARRETT (92) reprised a study of every type, while GARRETT and GUTH (83) highlighted one hundred favorite American coins. YAMADA (135) wrote on the changes in design throughout the history of U.S. coinages. Many issues have undergone considerable and sometimes thorough analysis. LANGE (102, 103) presented a monographs each ("complete guide") on the Lincoln cent and "Mercury" dime, as well as an article on the Walking Liberty half dollar (101). These and other coins of early twentieth century design have been comprehensively studied from an art-historical standpoint by BURDETTE (67, 68, 69). Their subjects have also been addressed in shorter studies, such as BENFORD (61) and KNAUSS (99) on the Standing Liberty quarter dollar. The redoubtable BOWERS (64, 65, 66) has added specialized works to the familiar Whitman's Guidebook series, covering 20-dollar gold pieces, Shield and Liberty Head "nickels," and Morgan silver dollars; he also published on gold coinage, in general, in connection with the major American Museum of Natural History exhibition on this subject (63).

Authors' achievements are to be recognized through some of the rest of the literature by series, denomination and type. Of importance is OROSZ and HERKOWITZ' (113) work on the first U.S. official issuer, the "half dismes" of 1792. Half cent pieces have been investigated by some of the members of the EAC (Early American Copper) group, such as COLEMAN (75) in his series on the Coronet issues. The Large cents always evoke study, as with NEISWINTER'S (112) look at the observations made by a group at the American Numismatic Society on the 1793 issues (differentiating the edge markings of the several die varieties and analyzing the "Strawberry Leaf" pieces) and his demonstration (111) that the 1794 S63 reverse is actually a reworked 1793 S13. (This was followed immediately by the LUSK (167) article explaining the computer graphics technology that made the demonstration possible.) Further work on the Large cents included BOKA'S (62) on the provenance of varieties from 1794 and MAROTTA'S (107) on the Coronet series of 1816-1857.

SNOW (121) revisited the early Small cents (Flying Eagle and Indian Head types) in the growing guide book series and MAROTTA (106) also wrote on the Indian Head cent. GIFFORD (86) compiled a major study (“ultimate guide”) of the three-cent nickels of 1865-1889, encompassing 375 varieties and incorporating 2,175 images. JULIAN (96) wrote on the five-cent coin series as a whole; SPINDEL (123) on the 1866-1883 Shield nickels, specifically. The fantasy 1913 Liberty Head nickel received much attention as the long-missing fifth specimen was revealed. MONTGOMERY, BORCKARDT and KNIGHT (109) wrote on the subject and did DEISHER (76).

With SOUDERS’ (122) survey of the diagnostics of rarities among the Capped Bust half dollars, the ever-popular early Bust series of silver coinages received attention. The succeeding Seated Liberty series saw studies such as CABLE-CAMILLEIS’ (70) on the quarter dollars of 1840 to 1853, MCCLOSKEY’S (71) on the issues prior to the introduction of the E PLURIBUS UNUM motto in 1866, and KELLY and OLIVER’S (98) on newly-discovered documentation for the legendary 1870-S quarter. DELOREY (77) wrote on the date of the appearance of obverse stars in the design for dimes and half dimes while WILEY (132) covered the die variety pairings of the famous 1861-O half dollar. OSBURN (114) summarized other new varieties found among the Seated Liberty half dollars series.

FLYNN (79, 80) published on the dimes in the Barber and Roosevelt series, calling his works the “authoritative reference.” CHIMIRRI-RUSSELL (73) wrote on the design elements of the head shown on the “Mercury” dime, referring to its Classical prototypes and similarity to images of Perseus. TOMASKA (126) offered a “complete guide” to the Franklin half dollars series. GANZ (82) wrote on the controversial 1964 Peace dollar (all ordered destroyed) while the Susan B. Anthony dollar was discussed by PIKE (115).

State quarters, commencing in 1999 and culminating in 2006, continued throughout our period, and were reflected by numerous publications dealing with the various respective issues. CLARK (74), for instance, wrote on the 2003 Arkansas issue; GREGORY (89), on the Michigan; KNIGHT (100), on the Florida coin of 2004; and Raitz (117), on the Iowa issue. SIEBER (120) discussed the Wisconsin quarter, and PILLIOD (116) analyzed the occurrence of the Extra Leaf die variety found on some of these pieces, evidently created by a surreptitiously-added cut mark. Publicity attended the design specifications and introduction of each succeeding state.

American gold coinages found increased popularity and publicity. WINTER and CRUM (134) described the 20-dollar pieces of 1850-1866. LOEWINGER (104) studied the proof gold issues of all the series. TRIPP (127) wrote on the numismatic work of Augustus Saint-Gaudens on behalf of President Theodore Roosevelt. TRIPP (128) also, and FRANKEL (81) as well, authored a book on the notorious 1933-dated 20-dollar gold piece, the historical and legal issues involved with its sensational re-appearance in the marketplace.

Coins made by the mint specifically for collectors, the proof and commemorative series, have been given attention. GREGORY (88) wrote on the Plymouth half dollar of 1920; HINES (94), on the modern commemorative issues celebrating the Olympics Games of 1984, 1988, 1992, 1996 and 2002, and the 1996 special Olympics; SHAFF (119) on the problems attending the issuance of the 1925 Stone Mountain half dollar, designed by the famous sculptor Gutzon Borglum. MAROTTA (108) made observations on the production and grading of the mint’s “Cameo” proof coins. GUTH and GALE (91) wrote on proof sets and mint sets. The Liberty Bell as a design on the Sesquicentennial and Franklin half dollars was addressed by REBACK (118).

Pattern pieces have recently elicited more interest than has been the case for many years. A new (8<sup>th</sup>) edition of the standard work on patterns and related pieces, JUDD (95), appeared. GREGORY (89) wrote on the Seated Liberty dollar patterns in the Bass collection at the Museum of the American Numismatic Association. The pattern dollars designed by mint engraver Christian Gobrecht have generated discussion and argument as to the proper ordering of the different die orientations and their emission sequences, as proposed by JULIAN (97) and argued otherwise by CARBONEAU and GRAY (72).

Mint errors continue to interest collectors and students. HERBERT (93) published his “official guide” to all U.S. mint errors. MARGOLIS and WEINBERG (105) issued their “encyclopedia (4<sup>th</sup> ed.) covering this field. WILES (131) discussed modern collar, planchet and striking errors. WEXLER, ALLEN and BORDNER (130) catalogued re-punched mintmark varieties of the Lincoln cent while FLYNN (78) wrote on doubled-die varieties of the Franklin and Kennedy half dollar series. VAN ALLEN (129) investigated Morgan dollar die clashes and “ghost” letters.

## United States: Paper

The collecting and study of American paper currency has become increasingly popular, evidenced more by escalating prices in the marketplace than an abundance of serious research, but there has been a remarkable advance in the field of issues of the Southern Confederacy. Although his title is modest, FRICK (139) has presented the first new compendium since the work of Criswell in the 1950s and '60s, and the first really complete treatment. SHULL (150) has done much the same for the issues of the individual states in the Southern Confederacy during the Civil War. DAUER (138) presented no less than a "pictorial history" of the country as seen on currency, while BOWERS and SUNDMAN (137) selected one hundred of the greatest notes in that history for handsome presentation. The popular general catalog by FRIEDBERG (141) has now joined with the Whitman Guidebook series (140); the useful KRAUSE and LEMKE (146) *Standard Catalog* has gone into further editions. HESSLER'S (142) scholarship on the engraved imagery of currency printing plates has continued, as has HUNTOON'S (143, 144) on vignettes and the National Bank notes. BOLIN (136) discussed the imagery of the first Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, prevalent on many notes. Early obsolete banking notes have received worthwhile attention: the vast SMYTHE (151) series of catalogs of the Schingoethe collection add comprehensively to the known corpus of this series. REED (148) and SCHREINER (149) have added to understanding of the issues of the original chartered Bank of the United States. RABINOWITZ (147) has investigated the lives and images of the signers of the notes issued by the Continental Congress at the time of the Revolutionary War while KAGIN (145) has discussed the 1812-1815 Treasury notes that constituted the first actual circulating currency of the United States.

## Regional and Topical

Many studies fit not into discussions of the Federal issues, *per se*, but deal rather with particular considerations or questions in American numismatics or issues from areas other areas than the United States proper or Canada alone, strictly speaking. For instance, BOOTH (152) discussed a token issue of Clifton, Canada, which was in fact a Civil War period United States private token issue of one W. E. Tunis, of Detroit, Michigan. JACOBS (163) discussed another instance of a relationship between a Canadian and a United States token: utilizing die links, he demonstrates that a Lower Canada "bouquet sou" of one T. Duseamann was in reality a U.S. "Hard Times" token of T. D. Seaman. JACOBS (164) also presented an interpretation of a "ready reckoner" pamphlet of the 1790s for conversion of British and United States coin values in the province of Quebec. Likewise, Kyle presented all currently known of the "Columbia" farthing tokens which seemingly came into North America. 192—1830. American Civil War period issues in the extensive collection of the American Numismatic Society were surveyed by HOGE (159). GREGORY (158) discussed the popular "Hard times" token *Loco Foco* issue.

BRAUN (153) discussed the question of the origin of problematic Caribbean issues from either Haiti, Barbados, St. Kitts or Vieques Island. LEONARD (171) pursued token issues of Jewish merchants in the Caribbean region. CUHAJ (154) and REBACK (176) surveyed the metropolitan Subway token issues of New York City. GANS (156) outlined unadopted proposals submitted to the government to feature the portrait of the late President Ronald Reagan on United States coinage. GREGORY (157) surveyed the coinage and currency of the three-cent denomination, and the governmental bills proposed to reintroduce these after their discontinuance. HUNT and WILLIS (162) reviewed the various numismatic issues relating to the Lewis and Clark exposition at Portland, Oregon, in 1905.

In a handsome volume, JAEGER and BOWERS (165) presented their "hundred greatest" pieces of American exnumia as chosen by voters (relying largely upon the collections of the American Numismatic Society for illustration). "Love tokens"—engraved coins or other pieces intended as gifts or mementoes—with Hebrew inscriptions were discussed by KURITZKY (168). HOGE (160) discussed the traditional "money" forms of Native Americans found in the collection of the American Numismatic Society. Territorial and early Western frontier issues of coins and ingots were discussed and investigated by HULL (161) and also by EVANS, HOLABIRD and FITCH (155), the latter with a view toward establishing authentication criteria for the problematic rare stamped precious-metal bars produced by local assayers. MOULTON (173) presented a study of United States dealers' auctions of the 1990s. Also compiled by Moulton is the journal of 1840s Philadelphia collector Joseph MICKLEY (172). RONDOT (178) studied the life and policies of Hugh McCulloch, early-day banker and Secretary of the Treasury (1865-1869).

Counterfeiting was discussed in a number of cases, including NEWMAN'S (174) publication of a previously unknown "detector" of 1849, OLIVER and KELLY'S (175) on some of the nineteenth-century criminals, and LARSON'S (170) expose of the techniques involved in modern times. ROEBUCK (177) discussed the modern "Vision" counterfeit detector used for U.S., Canadian, British and Euro issues.

Various hoards and treasures continually evoke popular attention, but they rarely receive any scholarly publication in the United States. Existing literature, such as VESILIND (181) on the fascinating Civil War-era shipwreck of the S.S. *Republic*, does include useful information, however. SURASKY (124, 125) discussed the vast quantity of old U.S. silver dollars and bullion (some 46,000 pounds) found in the estate of a Mr. Binion, a casino owner.

## Canada

A great part of Canadian numismatic research has been devoted to understanding and elucidating the country's many token emissions. Apart from those already mentioned in connection with issues that also claim recognition in United States numismatics, they further demonstrate extensive discoveries and explanations. DOUGLAS (193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199) has done much in this regard. GREENE (214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221) has been another leader in the study of Canadian tokens, particularly those issued by various dairies. DYKES (213) contributed a study of the tokens of William Fullarton. The tokens and scrip of the famous Molson company have been presented by HOLTON (222).

The early twentieth century Ontario tokens of merchant and blacksmith Jesse A. Hoover have been presented by HOOVER (223). Other token issues have been well usefully reported by IRWIN (224, 225, 226) and JAMES (228, 229, 230, 231, 232). KYLE (234, 235) has commented on the Bank of Upper Canada penny varieties and on unlisted Ontario token issues of R. J. Nicholson and S. E. Spackman. LEIGHTON (237, 238) has written on early Nova Scotia tokens of the Blacks, in Halifax. LAEVENS (236) wrote on the ca. 1900 Delhi, Ontario, merchant token scrip of Jas. Hall; UMAN (244), on the 1950s tokens of the Dahlberg Radio company. BOOTH (186) discussed the R. W. Soper Dominion Gun Works issues of London, Ontario.

The CHARLTON (187, 188) catalogs remain the standard for Canadian coinage and currency subject matter organization, with increasing growth of interest in exonomia, it seems. Opportunities exist for future research in many areas of the regular coinage, including identification of forgeries, as pointed out by CORNWELL (190, 191, 192). MOSSMAN (240) authored an examination of the early colonial money of Nova Scotia; ALLAN (183) studied the Canadian Bank of Commerce notes that feature paintings by A. E. Foringer. LEITCH (239) published an article on a Masonic secret society issue of "black" penny tokens while CLARKE (189) discussed the Knights of Labor token associated with the agitation at the Joseph Hall Works in 1883 Ontario. NICHOLS (241) contributed an overview of the countermarked Bank of England and Bank of Ireland silver issues under George III, as well as a discussion of the contemporary circulating counterfeit coins; NICHOLS also (242, 243) wrote on the early die state Bust and Harp tokens as well as the so-called Blacksmith copper Wood 42, which he interprets as an eighteenth-century British counterfeit.

Canadian currency has received notice. Notes of New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Quebec have been studied by EISENHAUER (200, 201, 202, 203). FONTAINE (205, 206) has discussed numbering equipment; GRAHAM (212), the checks of the Ontario Savings Office. FRASER (210) and GIROUX (211) have also contributed to the study of Canadian currency notes. Canadian Tire Company coupons, or scrip, have gained collectors interest. ADAMS (182), FOURRE (207, 208), and FOX (209) have discussed some of the features and varieties that have contributed to this phenomenon.

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## OCEANIA

*Walter R. Bloom*

### General numismatics

A principal source of published information on Australian numismatics has been the *Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia* published by the Association, while that for New Zealand is the *New Zealand Numismatic Journal* published by the Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand. These two journals contain some meritorious articles on subjects outside the scope of this Survey, in particular papers on ancient numismatics and other topics. In addition there are various state numismatic society publications, the more important of which are the *AN* and the magazine of the Queensland Numismatic Society Inc. *Mintmark*, the journal of the Numismatic Society of Auckland, is also a valuable source of original articles.

Another source is the *Australasian Coin and Banknote Magazine*. This has been valuable in particular for a range of articles on Australian rare coins (48–52, 62–66, 88–89) and Australian varieties. Indeed there has been an upsurge in interest in the latter topic, mainly because of these articles and the publication of (166). The previous such episode of popularity occurred with the publication in 1965 of John Dean's standard work on varieties, just before the introduction of decimal currency in Australia.

Banknotes are very popular in Australia and New Zealand, and this is reflected in the large number of articles and books in this area. VORT-RONALD has been particularly prolific and his publications form the main source of information on Australian banknotes.

There has also been considerable interest in commercial tokens, value-added check pieces, bread and milk tokens, and related items of both Australia and New Zealand, with many of the articles coming out of Queensland. The study has been resulted in several books (321, 329, 331, 333 and 347).

There has been a growing interest in the history of numismatics and numismatists, with a range of articles on each. Two (7, 8) on the early years of the Numismatic Society of Victoria by the late James Hunt DEACON have been reprinted in the *AN*, followed by (9) which details the follow-on Numismatic Association of Victoria. The history has also extended to banknotes, and a beautifully produced comprehensive book on these (211) appeared just last year. There is also the collection of papers of Walter ROTH (44) which has been deposited in the State Library of New South Wales. Across the Tasman we have (25) looking at the New Zealand Numismatic Society, and a very detailed study (24) of the coin designs of 1933, the first year of New Zealand coinage.

The section following includes several obituaries. While it is difficult to rank their various contributions to numismatics, special mention has to be made of Sir William Dixon (34), whose substantial donation now forms the Dixon Collection of the Mitchell Library in Sydney, and William Gale (45), whose generous donations have resulted in the establishment of the Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies (ACANS) and the training of research students in numismatics at Macquarie University.

Publications on Australian coins cover a wide range of topics, but concentrate mainly on pre-decimal proof coins, coins of great rarity, and proclamation coins. The paper (69) provides an important detailed study of the Perth Mint proof coins of the period 1955–1963, continuing a sequence of similar studies by the author. There is also a study of the production of half sovereigns and sovereigns at the Melbourne and Sydney Mints.

Since the last Survey there has been another shipwreck discovered off the Western Australian coast, that of the Portuguese ship the *Correio da Azia* which sank 26 November, 1816. So far over a 1,000 coins have been recovered, all Spanish pillar dollars. Such coins have a strong link with Australia through Governor King's proclamation of 1800 (see 57). Very recently a substantial hoard of Australian and British coins has been unearthed, buried in 1921 at the time of the mooted debasement of Australian silver coins. Both of these will be the subject of a future Survey.

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## **ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN COINAGES**

## INTRODUCTION

*François Thierry*

Depuis le précédent *Numismatic Survey*, de très nombreuses recherches ont été menées dans le domaine de la numismatique orientale non-musulmane, mais ce qui est nouveau cette année, c'est que nous avons réussi à couvrir pratiquement l'ensemble des régions et des époques de l'Asie (Chine, Vietnam, Indochine, Asie du Sud-Est, Japon, Asie centrale, Iran, Indes, Sri Lanka), de l'Océanie et de l'Afrique (Afrique pré-coloniale et Ethiopie) avec l'aide de collègues de nombreux pays qui ont eu à cœur de nous apporter leurs connaissances, leur appui et leur solidarité scientifique. Ils ont en général rédigé une introduction pour la partie qu'ils ont acceptée de rédiger : qu'ils en soient remerciés ici.

La mode du concept de « Routes de la Soie » s'étant encore accru et étendu, les diverses régions qu'elles traversaient ont bénéficié d'une attention particulière, c'est ce qui explique le nombre et l'importance des études sur les monnayages d'Iran, d'Asie centrale iranienne, kouchane, hephtalite et türke et de Chine occidentale. De même, la Chine maintient sa place dans la numismatique orientale. Mais au-delà de ce socle, somme toute, traditionnel de notre discipline, il convient de noter qu'un effort tout particulier a été fait dans deux autres domaines quasiment absents des *Survey* précédents : l'Inde et le Japon. Grâce au travail du Professeur Sakuraki Shin'ichi, la numismatique japonaise trouve ici la place qui lui revient ; c'était là une absence à laquelle jusqu'à présent il n'avait pas été possible de remédier, une absence dont beaucoup parmi nous s'étaient étonnés. De même, le Docteur Susmita Basu Majumdar et le Professeur Rehan Ahamad permettent à l'Inde de retrouver une place de choix dans cette bibliographie numismatique. Après plusieurs années durant lesquelles il avait été impossible de trouver des collaborateurs pour la tâche, souvent ingrate, de rédaction d'un *Survey*, nous avons reçu l'aide de ces deux chercheurs qui n'ont ménagé ni leur temps ni leurs forces puisqu'ils n'ont pu être contactés que relativement tardivement. Enfin, nous tenons à saluer le travail remarquable du Professeur Emmanuel Poisson grâce auquel les travaux numismatiques vietnamiens sont pour la première fois mentionnés et communiqués à notre communauté scientifique ; que lui et nos collègues vietnamiens qui l'ont aidé soit remerciés.

## AL-ANDALUS

*Alberto Canto García*

### Aspectos generales

Los estudios de numismática andalusí siguen manteniendo un notable nivel de actividades y sus resultados empiezan a ser aplicados de forma sistemática estudios históricos. Así tanto MANZANO (53) como SALVATIERRA/CANTO (80) utilizan información numismática trabajos de fuerte contenido histórico. De forma similar en trabajos sobre minería se establecieron vínculos con la numismática CANTO/CRESSIER (22). Destaca para este lapso de tiempo la proliferación de estudios sobre el periodo almohade.

### Exposiciones

Entre las exposiciones de carácter estrictamente numismático se encuentra CANTO/BAENA (17) en el Museo de Córdoba así como la parte numismática en diversas exposiciones generales como la de Ibn Jaldún (Sevilla), CANTO (15, 16) y El Cairo CANTO (23, 24) o sobre la figura de El Cid, CANTO (20).

### Colecciones

Se han publicado diversas colecciones siendo la más importante la de la serie andalusí del Museo Casa de la Moneda de Madrid CANTO/IBRAHIM (12); los mismos autores han llevado a cabo una actualización de la obra de Prieto y Vives sobre las taifas del siglo XI CANTO/IBRAHIM (10).

### Manuales y obras generales

Desde un punto de vista documental MARTÍN *et al.*, (57) han publicado toda la documentación relacionada con el Gabinete Numario de la Real Academia de la Historia, entre los siglos XVIII y XX. Sobre la moneda islámica en al-Andalus CANTO (21), PÉREZ (72) y consideraciones generales sobre derecho y religión en las monedas en PEÑA/VEGA (68).

### Hallazgos

Como suele ser habitual la mayor parte de la información está relacionada con la publicación de hallazgos de monedas, ya sea en excavación, fortuitos, depositados en Museos o reconstruidos documentalmente como demuestran CANTO/MARTÍN (18) y MARTÍN (56) o MAIER (52) sobre casos concretos; según los periodos a los que se refieren. Para la conquista y la presencia de monedas andalusíes en territorio francés BENEZET *et al.*, (4) y sobre el tesoro de dirhemes de la conquista de Baena (Córdoba) y la historia monetaria del momento MARTÍN (55, 58, 59); sobre el Emirato omeya CANO *et al.*, (7); PEÑA/VEGA (71), VEGA/PEÑA (84, 86, 95) y VILLALBA (98); el Califato de Córdoba en los estudios de CANO *et al.*, (6, 8); CANTO/MARTÍN (19); FROCHOSO (48); MARQUÉS (54); RUIZ *et al.*, (79); para el periodo taifa del siglo XI encontramos ALGARRA *et al.*, (1) y un avance del importante tesoro de dinares encontrado en Valencia en CANTO *et al.*, (14); otros estudios del mismo periodo en CASTRO/SÁNCHEZ (25); DOMÉNECH (26); FONTENLA (41, 42); SANAHUJA (81). Sobre el periodo almohade VEGA/PEÑA (91). C. Domenech ha prestado especial interés a la circulación de monedas fatimíes en al-Andalus tanto desde un punto de vista territorial DOMÉNECH (28, 31) como en el caso de hallazgos concretos (35).

### Metrología

Pellicer i Brú ha dedicado especial atención a este campo con sus trabajos sobre la relación entre los sistemas monetarios islámico y cristiano PELLICER (64, 65, 66); el periodo almohade FONTENLA (39); IBRAHIM ha estudiado las relaciones entre ponderales y precintos en los primeros tiempos de al-Andalus IBRAHIM (50).

### Estudios

Los omeyas han sido objeto de estudios por parte de BALLESTÍN (3), FROCHOSO (44, 45, 46, 47); VEGA/PEÑA (90, 92); el oro en al-Andalus en época califal por CANTO (11). Sobre la dinastía hammudí y su



legitimación numismática ha escrito ARIZA (2), PELLICER (63), PEÑA/VEGA (70), VEGA/PEÑA (87, 93). Los feluses de al-Andalus han sido objeto de diversos estudios: FONTENLA (38) y sobre su composición ROMA *et al.*, (78); y su iconografía RODRÍGUEZ (75). Las taifas del siglo XI han sido objeto de estudios territoriales como ELHADRI (36), RETAMERO (74) o sobre las islas Baleares MOLL (62); sobre contenidos metálicos en la taifa de Toledo ROMA (77). Los almorávides por VEGA/PEÑA (89) y su presencia en las Islas Baleares MOLL (61). La moneda de la dinastía almohade ha sido objeto de una especial con la monografía de VEGA *et al.*, (96), PEÑA/VEGA (69) y FIERRO (37) y una especial atención al ser incluida dentro de un coloquio de la Casa de Velazquez y el CSIC sobre esta dinastía; en el se encuentran los estudios de BENHSAIN-MESMOUDI/GUICHARD (5), FONTENLA (40) y VEGA *et al.*, (97). Sobre cecas almohades VEGA (83), VEGA/PEÑA (67); VEGA/PEÑA (88, 94) y para sus sucesores FONTENLA (43). De los nazaríes, sus lemas y la influencia de los mismos MARTÍNEZ (60), su sistema monetario CANTO (13), JIMENEZ (51).

Al respecto de monedas de otras dinastías islámicas en Al-Andalus puede verse una vista general en CANTO (9), sobre feluses abbasíes RODRÍGUEZ (75); TRAVAINI ha estudiado relaciones entre la moneda normanda de Sicilia y la andalusí en TRAVAINI (82) y sobre moneda meriní en al-Andalus VEGA/PEÑA (85) y mención a una moneda portuguesa en POIARES (73). I. HOFMAN analiza la pervivencia de terminología monetaria islámica en documentación tardía HOFMAN (49).

Estudios de ámbito territorial más amplio han sido realizados por DOMENECH, sobre el levante peninsular en DOMENECH (27, 29, 30), complementados con el material de las excavaciones de Albacete DOMENECH (33, 34) y revisión de las cecas del territorio DOMENECH (32).

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## ISLAMIC NUMISMATICS (NORTH AFRICA TO CENTRAL ASIA)

Lutz Ilisch

### Introduction

Over the past decades gradually a lower level of scientific standards spread in some Near Eastern countries. One of the main reasons for this was the unavailability of the older Western literature. Resulting from an enterprise of highest importance and consequence this has changed. A reprint series comprising the majority of all articles (and some monographs too) on Islamic numismatics published between approximately 1770 and 1950, was organized by the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the University of Frankfurt under the direction of Fuat SEZGIN. Its 56 volumes will hopefully enable students of numismatics in Near Eastern countries to use the vast resources of presentations and discussions of materials included here.

With this longstanding problem solved another one comes into sight. The material published with full illustrations and metrological data in auction catalogues has become important reference material for research, which is seriously rivalling the material of public collections. Moreover the easy availability of online versions of auction catalogues with high resolution images strengthens the preference of auction catalogues to traditional information sources. Here again research facilities in the Near East mostly lack the resources, but in this case equally traditional libraries in Europe and America do not collect auction catalogues.

At present no specialized periodical for Islamic numismatics exists. The newsletter of the Oriental Numismatic Society witnessed a further increase in volume and was renamed Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society. Also Numizmatika Uzbekistana continued to appear regularly, while the Bülten of the Türk Nümismatik Derneği appears no longer annually. al-Sikka, the online magazine connected with the Islamic Coins Group was not continued after 2002. Also Yarmouk Numismatics has not been revived during the period of this Survey.

There have been some changes in the availability of public collection during the period 2002-2007, of which the most important were the practical closing of the Oriental collection of the State Hermitage in St. Petersburg after the death of the curatorial staff, the failure to restore the huge collections of the National Museum in Baghdad, but on the positive side also the numerical increase of the collection of the Qatar National Museum by acquiring the Samir Shamma and other collections, so that it reached a size which equals the ANS and Tübingen collections. Also the important publication series of the Qatar Museum was continued in 2005, but for various reasons the distribution of the new third volume has not yet taken place.

Unlike previous reports Golden Horde numismatics is to be found under Russian numismatics, also Viking period finds of Islamic coins from Eastern Europe and the states around the Baltic Sea have been left outside of this part of the survey and are covered elsewhere.

### General

BERNARDI (2) outlined the methodology for recording the known Islamic gold coins in a corpus, of which a first volume was presented in manuscript at the II Assemani symposium in Trieste in 2008.

A *sylloge* type publication of all Islamic silver coins in public collections in Estonia drawing on the rich Viking period materials from Baltic finds, was published by LEIMUS (10). This is certainly one of the most important publications, which ends the shortage of published comparative material for Sāmānīd dirhams of which about 2400 are illustrated at 1:1 on the plates. Other areas of particular importance are the Hamdānids and their successor dynasties and more than 200 Volga Bulghar dirhams. While Leimus' achievement fulfills perfectly the original task of the *Sylloge* series to provide materials for die comparison in order to enable the user to do better attribution work and to advance die studies, other *sylloge* series seem to follow different objectives, such as producing handbooks to a particular series of coins, while the *sylloge* part changes to an illustrated part of the handbook. Tübingen and Jena still follow the traditional model, intended to furnish materials to others. The Oxford *sylloge* volume I by ALBUM and GOODWIN (32) including the pre-reform Umayyad coinage in the Ashmolean Museum fills more than half with an introduction of true handbook character. A *sylloge* as an online publication was first carried out for the collection of glass weights in the Gayer Anderson Museum in Cairo (371).

The hitherto rather unknown collection of 644 coins from all over the Islamic World in the Greek-Roman Museum in Alexandria is catalogued by RAMADÂN (18) with remarkable erudition. The introduction includes an abstract of monetary history in general. A selection of coins from the National Archeological Museum in Naples is discussed by GRASSI (4), while an overview of the smaller collection in Padua is given by CALLEGHER (3).

The Saudi Monetary Agency presents its collection as a coffee table book with excellent reproductions of mostly very rare Islamic coins that have otherwise been published only in the auction catalogues, from which they originate (1).

A textbook for students by NABARAWY (13) is a good example of present day numismatics in Egypt, which is focused on the explanation of coin legends. For a similar use AL-QAYSÎ gives an overview on the content of (written) information of Islamic coins (16). RAMADÂN (17) reviews the monetary history of the Umayyad, 'Abbâsid, Fâtimid and Spanish Umayyad caliphates. A loosely connected presentation of the coins of various opponents to the 'Abbâsid caliphate, is composed by YÛSUF (22), which includes no new materials.

Analytical work covering the whole sphere of Islamic numismatics was done by YUSUF (21) on the use of Quranic verses on Islamic coins, following the earlier books by RAMADAN (128) on the non-Quranic religious verses on coins.

The history of the German role in Islamic numismatics, collecting and research is investigated by HEIDEMANN in a short abstract (7), with special reference to developments in Jena (8). He also gives an overview of the collection of the University Library in Leipzig (6) and basic data of all present day public collections of Oriental coins in Germany (5).

A large number of XRF surface analyses of about 4500 coins, mostly from Khurâsân and Central Asia, are presented by ILISCH and SCHWARZ (9). The original incentive was to detect fingerprints of metal coming freshly from mines, but it seems that most detectable features are related to production techniques. A specialized analysis of specimens of Abbasid fake dirhams from the Iranian hoard published in *NC* 1975 is considered by VLACHOU, McDONNELL and JANAWAY (115) in order to reconstruct the methods of silver coating.

### **Pre-reform coinage.**

An up to date overview of Arab Sasanian numismatics is given by ALBUM (32) as an introduction to the *sylloge* of pre-reform coinage in the Ashmolean Museum.

A volume on Sasanian and Arab Sasanian drachm finds from Xinjiang by TSUMARA and YAMAUCHI (80) includes an important hoard from Wuqia, West of Kashghar, terminating 60 H. An important aspect of this hoard is the presence of apparently Central Asiatic imitations of drachms, which have not been recognized as such in the past.

The productive mint of Darabgird is reviewed by MOCHIRI (57), who rejects ALBUM's identification of various field-marks as referring to secondary mints. SEARS (73) tries to identify the name of a governor, unknown to narrative sources ('Abd al-'Azîz ibn MDWL), on a drachm dated 61 H., from Istakhr. A new reading Numayla ibn Malik for an ambiguous governor, previously read as Mughîra ibn Muhallab, is suggested by DESAZO (35).

An important anonymous drachm of Garm Kirman 70 H. which replaces the governor's name by a Pahlavi version of *Muhammad rasûl Allâh*, which provides a link to the partly epigraphic Foroughi drachm, was described by SHAMS ESHRAGH (77). A second specimen of the same type and date bears clearly the marginal legend *bismi llah wali al-amr*, which was subsequently used by the Kharijite imam 'Atiya. Therefore FOSS (42) links this dirham with the Ibâdî Kharijite movement rather than Zubayrid. MOCHIRI (56) discusses a drachm from the post reform period dated 71 Y.E.= 83 H. from Dârâbjird. Referring to a more detailed study the author rejects the interpretation of single letters to the sides of the altar on reverse as secondary mints.

A new hoard of early Bukharkhudat dirhams published by KUZNETSOV (53) includes specimens with various countermarks including the Arabic words as *jâ'iz* and *jadd*. A general overview over the history of the Bukharkhuda dirhams is given by TREADWELL (79).

MALEK (54) publishes a corpus of the coinage of Tabaristân under the Dâbûyids and ʿAbbâsid governors. Both Sasanian type and Arabic type coins are included. A frequently misread date 141 P.Y.E. on the dirham from Tabaristan of the governor ʿAbbâsid Abd-allâh is corrected as 151 P.Y.E. by DESHAZO (34). Another regional coinage of the pre-reform period are the Muhammad-drachms, which are rediscussed with more detail by SEARS (75), who now opts for an origin in Armenia rather than his previous attribution to Azerbaijan. Only referring to Sears' first article on the subject ILISCH (51) rejects the regional attribution for the lack of find evidence and prefers al-Hîra, which is substantiated by a single find.

Several new fundamental works on Syrian Arab Byzantine coinage have resulted from the work of the members of a British study group around ODDY, GOODWIN, and PHILLIPS formed in the early 1990s. ODDY (60) provides a bibliography with comment and PHILLIPS (64) summarises the potential contribution of the numismatic sources to the general history of this period. GOODWIN (32) uses the occasion of the introductory part of the Ashmolean Museum *sylloge* of pre-reform coins to review in detail the present state of Arab Byzantine numismatics as well as its history of research. GOODWIN also presents a volume on the Khalili (44) (originally S. Qedar) collection including die studies of the Palestinian and Baʿlabakk pre reform coppers. Further die studies are published by the same author (50) concerning the production of the Pseudo-Damascus mint, which has to be located in the South of Jund Dimashq.

An important concise statement on the numismatic evidence regarding the Nevo/Koren-theory which denies the existence of Muhammad and the beginnings of Islam by FOSS (41), still holds true viz à viz more recent followers of such theories as Popp and Ohlig, who regard the early Umayyads as Christians. FOSS (37) also discusses and confirms the validity of the crucial statement in the Maronite chronicle, according to which Muʿâwiya produced gold and silver coins early in his reign. A follis imitating a Byzantine solidus prototxpe of Heraclius on the obverse published by GOODWIN (49) may be of interest in this context.

As a result of forming groups of 7<sup>th</sup> century imitative Byzantine type folles from Syria and investigating their metrology POTTIER and SCHULZE (66) conclude an early dating of the imitations in close chronological context to their prototypes. The full publication of this research followed only after the end of the period under review and no further discussion of this controversial interpretation and no comparison to the results of die studies have taken place yet. It should however be noted that this conclusion ignores the apparent regional and not successive character of different types of imitations.

A prominent group of North Syrian imitative folles, mostly imitating Cyprus mint coins with a typical fabric characterized by overstrikes on cut Byzantine coins, is dated by GOODWIN (47) on the basis of die links and imitated prototypes after 650, possibly into the 660s. A group of Constans II imitation with the possibly meaningful inscription ΑΙΤΟΙΕ is defined by ODDY (59). These coins seem to form a precursor to the standing emperor coinage of Hims. In another article ODDY (62) suggests Abila 50 km north of Jarash, as a mint of a group of imitative folles which have an obverse legend, often beginning with ΑΒΑ.

A new type of square flan follis with a twig and the Greek legend ΠΑΠΟΥΝΙ on one side and Μ on the other, apparently from the Amman area, is identified and discussed by SCHINDEL (67).

METLICH and SCHINDEL (55) reassess an attribution of Domaszewicz and BATES of the Egyptian copper coins marked MACAR to Fustat rather than to Alexandria.

The Syrian coinage of the decisive years 72 to 77 H. have been researched with intensity. As a continuation of his article on the orans-drachm of Bishr ibn Marwân TREADWELL (79) continues to investigate the Damascus drachms, suggesting that Miles' iconographic interpretation of the *mîhrâb* and *ʿanaza* should be reinterpreted as a *sacrum* and a spear as a reference to Jerusalem as a Muslim sanctuary. As a result of a new reading of two dates on Kufan drachms the initial silver coinage of Damascus in 72 H. is seen by ILISCH (51) as an adoption of Zubayrid prototypes from al-Kûfa, while TREADWELL and SEARS (75) regarded the relevant Kufan type as following Damascus leaving the date readings an open issue. FOSS (39) discusses a problematic pre-reform copper type, the two standing caliph issue, as depicting 'Abd al-Malik and his brother 'Abd al-'Azîz, who were both made successors by their father Marwan, and a dating just after the accession of 'Abd al-Malik. Jarash is addressed as the more like mint than Baisan. ODDY (61), however, places this same type into its die-link context, which suggests a reversal to barbarous pseudo Imperial coinage after the Arabic version.

A new group of fake standing caliph coppers, partly overstruck on genuine ancient coins is identified by SCHULZE (72), while her husband (69) identifies a whole group of countermarks applied to genuine Byzantine type coins as modern forgeries. But also genuine countermarks of the transitional period exist, which are reviewed by SCHULZE and GOODWIN (70).

### **The Umayyad and Abbasid caliphate**

A new catalogue of the Umayyad post reform dirhams by KLAT (96) replaces Walker's catalogue of the British Museum collection as a reference after half a century. Although rather guided by the practical perspective of a longstanding collector than a scholar this catalogue gives a complete account of what was known by 2002. On top of this one of his greatest merits is the exclusion of the numerous pseudo dates and mints resulting from modern mutilations of genuine coins as well as from outright forgeries.

TARGAC (226) comments on two rare Umayyad dirhams from Marw-rud 80 and Tawwaj 82 H., while LLOYD (103) has found a dirham of Herât dated 80 H. with shows a Pahlavi mint name below the obverse field like contemporary dirhams of Marw and Marw-rud.

ZAQZOUQ (116) catalogues 238 post reform dirhams of the main mints in the recreated Hamah Museum. The Umayyad post reform gold coinage is reviewed by HILLENBRAND (91), who focuses on the paleographic development of the series.

The most important new publication on Umayyad copper coins is GOUSSOUS (88) study of his magnificent collection of pre and post reform Umayyad copper coins. This collection has a very local aspect so that all coins common here but otherwise rare can be assigned to either 'Ammân or the Southern part of the Jund Dimashq. This is of major importance for the pre-reform copper coinage, of which a distinct group of square Constans II type folles can be discerned as clearly from 'Ammân. The book includes a general introduction to numismatics of the period, chapters on lead seals and clay bullae, and the catalogue part includes also important early bronze weights and countermarks on Umayyad coppers. AL-QAYSÎ (102) wrote a general outline of Umayyad and Abbasid copper coins with examples based largely on this work of Goussous and Shamma's adaption of Nicholas Lowick's work on 'Abbâsid copper coins.

Based on several new specimens SCHINDEL (109) could show that the fulûs with the name of Sulayman ibn 'Abd al-Malik bear the mint name ar-Ramla and were thus struck after the foundation of the new capital of Filastin.

A previously unpublished fals of Marwan ibn Muhammad, the last Umayyad caliph, is discussed by PAGHAVA (104) but not quite as early as the author suggests on the basis of a single specimen with the incomplete name of the governor.

More interesting early post reform coppers were commented on by GOODWIN (87), who wrote on a fals from Barqa, a mule of two reverses from Hims and a fals from Antâkiya which seems to be cast and is therefore rather Abbasid than Umayyad. NEBEHAY (97) discusses the iconographic content of the late Umayyad pictorial fulûs and suggests astral derivations.

Of considerable importance for our knowledge of the monetary circulation are finds connected with the earthquake in the jund al-Urdunn in 749. These allow a precisely dated view into the monetary circulation of al Urdunn, which were made known to a wider public first by dinar hoards from Pella published by Walmsley in 2001. Now AMITAI-PREISS (83) publishes no less than six dirham hoards and also mixed gold and silver hoards lost by victims of this earthquake in Beth Shean. A hoard of 68 fish type coppers of uncertain provenance, certainly related to the same earthquake of 749, is used for die studies and for metrological studies by SCHINDEL (110). Eighteen dies including 6 singletons indicate a very large mintage compared to earlier issues.

A catalogue of Umayyad and first and second phase 'Abbâsid dinars by al-QAYSÎ (100), not as complete as BERNARDI's, is the first in a series of three books, of which the second gives examples of silver coinage (101) by mint and the third of copper coins (102). These books indicate the popularisation of numismatics in Near Eastern countries during the last decade. JAFAR (94) contributes a note on a dinar of Hârûn ar-Rashîd of 170 H. with his name in the inner marginal legend. Two new related early donative dirhams were published, one minted for Zubayda in al-Luwayya on the Darb Zubayda in 181 H. by DZHAPARIDZE and NASTICH (86) and another dated 185



H. from Hadâ'iq Dhât Bahja by BRESCH (85). Abbâsid donatives are also the subject of an article by al-Qaysi (99, 102).

The contemporary European imitations of early 'Abbâsid dinars were discussed by RISPLING, based on the fresh find of a bronze gilt example found in Birka (106) which he attributes according to Lowick's studies to Britain, while ILISCH (92) concludes from old collection provenances that a mint in the South East of the Carolingian was producing the most prolific group of solidi mancusi.

A major 'Abbâsid dirham hoard from Sunik, t.p.q. 199 H., is included in a new volume on coin finds in Armenia by MOUSHEGHIAN E.A. (279).

With the expectation of a catalogue of Abbasid coins of the second period, 218-278 H., by BATES, not much was published in this field. TREADWELL (114) gives an overview of the minting activities of Samarra. The use of dies during the Samarra period is discussed by ILISCH (93), who suggests that the excessive use of worn out dies may have resulted from high payments for dies by mint farmers while from 279 H. onwards the transfer of dies from one mint to another with recut mint names was an attempt to solve the problem. Another feature discussed in this article is the reproduction of dies. As a result dirhams that appear to have been struck with a seemingly identical die exist.

A fals of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Yazîd continuing the type of the last Umayyad governor 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwân from Fustat is described by REIS, SCHINDEL and WELLENHOFER (105). The difficulty to separate undated 'Abbâsid from Umayyad fulûs on the basis of style is also addressed by SCHINDEL (111). An Egyptian fals found in Spain, east of Cordoba, was commented by RODRIGUEZ (107). KALININ and TREADWELL (95) wrote a brief note on a fals of Binkath 186 H. in the name of Sibâ' ibn Mas'ada.

### **North Africa and Muslim Sicily**

Only relatively few publications became known to the reviewer regarding North Africa. ELHADRI (122) summarizes the *status quo* of Moroccan numismatics. A survey of the holdings of coins in provincial museum of Algeria by DRIAS, and DUBABI (121) provides a number of hoards.

A rough account of the coinage of the mint of Sijilmâsa, starting point of the caravan route to Timbuktu and the gold sources of Mali and Niger, is given in an MA thesis by JALAL (126). ILISCH (124) reconstructs the composition of 24 of originally 30 coins from the Steckborn find and draws the attention to the dominance of the Ifriqiya mint in finds from the Eastern part of the Carolingian Empire, while the North African dirhams in contemporary Near Eastern hoards are dominated by the mint of al-'Abbâsiya, which seems to be located west of the Ifriqiya mint. Based on a careful check of all reported early dates of Aghlabid quarter dinars BATES (117) concludes that their minting did not commence before 264, the year when Syracuse was conquered by the Aghlabids where before the Byzantine solidi and tremisses were struck.

Undoubtedly the most important contribution to numismatics of the Maghrib is the corpus of Fatimid coins by NICOL (142). An analysis of the non-qoranic religious inscription of mainly late medieval North African coins is given by RAMADAN (128) and helps to understand the political background of anonymous coinages. The surviving dies for the minting of Moroccan coins in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century mint of Madrid are described by EPARCIA (123).

DELUCA (119) comments on two cast lead amulets with religious inscriptions and a casting mold from Entella, Sicily.

### **Egypt and Bilâd ash-Shâm**

Considerable progress was made on the post 'Abbâsid coinage of Egypt. The long awaited corpus of Ikhshîdîd coins by BACHARACH (131) was extended by the author to a general introduction to early medieval Islamic numismatics of handbook character. Simultaneously the monumental corpus of Fâtimid coinage by NICOL (142) came out. In consequence Egypt is the first Arabic country for which all medieval regional dynasties are covered by corpora. The metal composition of Fâtimid dies in the Israel Museum was found to be bronze by GITLER and PONTING (134). New important dinars in the name of the Fâtimid al-Hâkim, struck in Tarâblus in 416 H., long after the disappearance of the caliph, is discussed by LEUTHOLD (140).

In addition to the new corpora more numismatic material of Egyptian dynasties was published in another *sylloge* volume of the coins in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, by NICOL (143) and a catalogue of 155 Ayyûbid and Mamluk coins in the National Museum in Riyadh by AL-BARĀHĪM (132) presents the coins according to an Egyptian model. Also RAMADĀN'S careful catalogue of Islamic coins in the Greek-Roman Museum Alexandria (18) contains largely Ayyûbid and Mamluk coins. Compared to the information of the existing corpus works the collections offer only limited new data. Following a different concept of numismatics, MELOY (141) compares the evidence of the copper coins with the detailed reports of Ibn Iyâs on the copper policy of the last Mamluk sultans and defines their place in the monetary system. The result is a model for numismatic studies favoured by the plentiful literary evidence for this period. Shorter notes on Ayyûbid coins and their imitations by HEIDEMANN (136) and ILISCH (137) for an exhibition catalogue comment on the Venetian silver exports to Syria and a probably Armenian origin of imitative Saladin dinars.

In spite of strong numismatic activities in Egypt very little archeological publications on coin finds are to be noted as the holdings of Egyptian museums are not easily available to the numismatists in universities. Consequently more information on the monetary circulation is available from Israel and Jordan than from their neighbouring countries, such as from Tiberias by BERMAN (133). A Fâtimid dinar hoard of 14 coins, t.p.q. 416 H., from Tiberias is described by KOOL (138) in selection, and in full in Berman's catalogue of the excavation coins. Another Fâtimid dinar hoard was discovered in Florence and is published by ASOLATI (130). It contained five Fâtimid dinars, the earliest from Misr 466 H. Two gold fragments of the Fâtimid period, found in excavations in the citadel of Damascus, are discussed by HEIDEMANN (135). Two parcels from silver hoards of the early Burjî Mamluk period were studied by KORN (139) and by PHILLIPS (144).

### **Arabian Peninsula and the Yemen**

In an ongoing PhD project, Audrey Peli included a new catalogue of Yemeni coins from the ʿAbbâsid period to the Ayyûbid conquest, successfully finished in 2008. Otherwise, the number of articles on Yemeni numismatics was very limited during the period of this report. HEIDEMANN (146) commented on various coins, none new, in the context of a donation to the Jena collection and also an article by QAYSI (147) on the mint of Zabîd is limited to previously published materials.

ASH-SHARʿĀN (149) gives a very detailed account of a hoard of fifty lead coins dated 544 and 547 H. in the name of al-Hasan ibn ʿAbd-allah ibn ʿAli of the Eastern Arabian ʿAyûnid dynasty (469-636 H.), previously unknown in numismatics. The mints are Jazîrat Awâl and al-Khatt. The author gives a detailed account of the history of the dynasty, a full description of each individual coin and a detailed treatment of the inscriptions.

### **Ottoman Empire**

Steady progress was made with the project of SRECKOVIC (183) to list and date the akce coinage of the Ottoman period and the time from Sulayman I to Mustafa I, 926-1032, was covered in three new volumes.

Concerning one of the earliest silver coin types of Orhan with the posthumous name of the ʿAbbâsid al-Mustansir billâh BABACAN (151) reads a date 624 H. around the caliphal name of the early Ottoman coin type, which he explains as erroneous 724. These figures are however obviously copied from the original Saljuq dirham prototype for the Ottoman imitation which was dated 627 H. ERÜRETEN (160) clarifies some reading problems of the mint of Yenishehir (Larissa in Greece), active between 1003 and 1031 H., occasionally misidentified as Begshehir, on the basis of mint documents in the Başbakanlık Arşivi. EREK (159) writes two notes on the silver and gold coinage of Mustafa II, one on overstrikes on Dutch leuwendaalders the second on the relation of the Izmir mint to the Venetian sea war of 1695.

Two special studies on Ottoman copper coins were issued as monographs by KABAKLARLI, one on the coins of Tire (170), the other on the copper coins from mints in the Yemen (171). Each of them had been preceded by preliminary articles, such as one on the mint of Taʿizz (165) and two articles on the animal representations of the coins of Tire (167, 169). KABAKLARLI (164) furthermore solves the problem of the two mysterious copper mints Barrânî/Bârânî and "Tripolis", which was prominent among the coins found at the Athenian Agora excavation. Kabaklarli shows that both words are synonymous for the exterior (Constantinople extra muros was a distinct administrative unit.). The same author (168) also reviews the Ottoman coins of Cizre (Jazîra), mainly in copper, which had occasionally been misread as coins from Jidda, a mistake which also previously has been corrected.

Hoardings of Ottoman coins were systematically recorded mainly in Romania and published by BOLDUREANU, NICULITA and NICOLAE (153, 154) and VILCU (186, 187, 188), while NICOLAE (174-176) is concerned with the interpretation of the dense evidence in terms of monetary circulation and monetary policy. How detailed knowledge can be gathered from a careful recording of hoards is exemplified by a group of 9 die identical fake altmishliqs of 1171/year 9, which were found in excavation in Bucarest and studied by VILCU (187). This gives the occasion for an overview of contemporaneous hoards of Ottoman coins in Valachia. In another case a hoard from Ghinoiaica in Moldavia of 377 akches, concealed about 1507 and now studied by VILCU (186), could be used to confirm the chronology of varieties as proposed by NICOLAEI and SRECKOVIC. Such studies could serve as a model to numismatic activities in Turkey and the Near Eastern parts of the Ottoman Empire, when ultimately the fundamental recording is started. A single, but highly important large 17<sup>th</sup> century Turkish hoard found in Beçin with mixed contents of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman silver, but also various Christian European Talers and minor coins, is studied in a project of the Austrian Academy of Science. A first detailed report was issued by ÜNAL (184) and his Austrian co-operators. SCHINDEL (182), who co-operates in this project, also published a hoard group from the trade including 158 akches with a high representation of the mint of Edirne ending with Murâd IV 1623-40. A much later Western hoard found in Algeria is published by DRIAS and DUBABI (156) and includes 72 riyals from the mint of Tûnis with a date range from 1181-1233 H. Ottoman coins are found also outside the former Ottoman Empire: NOVAK and co-operators (178-180) record systematically finds of Ottoman coins found in the Czech Republic and neighbouring regions.

A number of publications concern regional studies of Ottoman coinage and coin circulation. Thus NICOLAE (174, 175) contributes a monograph and an extensive article on the early monetary circulation in Ottoman Romania. AS-SÂWÎ (181) provides a monetary history of Egypt during the Ottoman period, which is of particular value and importance because it uses both the documentary evidence available in Cairene archives and the coins. A special study of Ottoman coinage in Algeria was published by DRIAS (156a).

A very detailed account of the coinage of Egypt during the French occupation is given by IONIKOFF (161), which includes all the earlier issues under Selim III. IONIKOFF convincingly attributes the mint marks *alif-sin* to the governor Ismâ'il Pâshâ, *sad* to Sâlih, and *bâ* to Bernard. The short dates are explained not to be regnal dates, but the last digits of the actual Hijrî dates. Also an Egyptian MA thesis was written by 'ARAFÂ (150) on the same subject.

On the countermarks of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century on Ottoman copper coins WILSKI (189) has produced a handy abstract of his previous book including many additions. He also wrote a special article on the countermarks of LEMNOS (190) while BILGIN (152) attributes the countermark AN to Hagios Nikolaos in Gelibolu/Findikli.

### Pre-Ottoman Anatolia

The focus of research has shifted strongly from Rum Seljuq coins to the coinage of the Beylik states. As a result catalogues of the coins of nearly all Beylik states were published and the progress they bring is substantial. As far as the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century coins are self-explanatory by their inscriptions it seems that now a general overview of the material is possible. In many cases also the minor varieties of the basic types have been recorded. Obviously the barbarous Beylik issues of mainly Ilkhanid prototypes remain the most important problem. Nevertheless typological methods have been applied successfully by a number of Turkish numismatists. More emphasis is laid on mint indication, however barbarized and problematic they may be. What is still largely unused is the evidence of the distribution of finds. Even published find evidence of excavation coins is generally disregarded in the discussions on mint attributions. Another problem seems connected with the concept of Turkish identity on one side and a limited familiarity with the monetary history outside its own sphere. This seems to be the price of increasing specialisation. One consequence is a general rejection of the historical possibility that Turkish beyliks could employ western moneyers to produce coins of western type with Latin inscription (*gigliati*, *fiorini*) to supplement profitably the circulating coinage. Such coins attributed by scholars of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with a good knowledge of the international activity and the entrepreneur like attitude of late medieval European mintmasters are now attributed either to "colonies" of Western powers or as imports from outside the emirate (e.g. 203), and the Latin inscriptions stating the origin clearly remain uninterpreted. The increase of specialisation has more setbacks in Turkey, where medieval and modern numismatics has shifted almost completely from the museums to private collectors and to a lesser extent to private universities. Resulting from the language and script reforms of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the orientation towards Europe many numismatists lack a secure feeling for Arabic paleography as well as understanding for the history of the Islamic World outside Turkey. Thus in some articles (which have not been included in the bibliography) the mint of Wân was mistakenly read in mint names Sabzewâr, Gurzuwân and Dâwar. A similar paleographic uncertainty was shown in another case. On an unpublished two sided countermark with the Arabic name

*Muhammad* on one side and a Greek version MAXAMATHC on the other applied to a Danishmendid copper the Greek version remained unread and unrecognized although this was indicated on the ticket in the collection when the numismatist recorded the coin.

A tendency which Turkish and Egyptian numismatists share lies in the tendency to produce heavy and uncondensed books with a lot of redundant information. Most coin catalogues are not concerned with types of coins in their chronological sequence but intend rather the enumeration and illustration of as many individual coins as possible. Nevertheless Turkey is in its present production the most active and fruitful region of Islamic numismatics and will certainly soon overcome such initial problems. In fact the most recent catalogues have references to die identities among the material.

IZMIRLIER (204) deals with problems of Rûm Seljuq mint identifications. Some mints are abbreviated (Ard for Erzurum, Gümüş for Gümüşbâzâr, Shar for Ma'dinshahr, Sârûs is identified with Sarız near Kayseri). An interesting note is made by KARAKOC (207) who observes that the mint name Gümüş coexists for a number of years between 657-664 with Gümüşbâzâr. Therefore he suggests that is not a short form of the latter, but refers to Gümüşköy near Kütahya. ÖZDEN (210) discusses the specification *madînat ath-thaghr* on a Seljuq dirham from Antaliya of the same period. The transition of Rûm Saljuq to Beylik coinage in the area of Monteshe and elsewhere is addressed by two articles by PERK and ÖZTÜRK (217).

Several authors have addressed iconographic questions of the early Rûm Saljuq period copper coinage, such as the dragonslayer by PANCAROGLU (211). SHUKUROV (224) concludes that the use of popular Christian elements by the Danishmandid and contemporary Salduqid and Manguchakid coinage as signs of victory and success reflects the Islamic Christian syncretism of the Turkoman ruling class. Little was known so far about the iconography of late 13<sup>th</sup> century Saljuq coppers. Now SARIOGLU (221) publishes a copper fals of Mas'ûd II with the ruler as mounted archer while TARGAC (225) adds the first occurrence of a double headed eagle and other types of his coinage.

Based on narrative sources ÇAYIRDAĞ (192) provides a list with commentary of coins from Anatolia that have reportedly been struck, but have not yet turned up.

Ilkhanid numismatics of Anatolia was hardly commented on and clearly overshadowed by the late Ömer Diler's work on Ilkhanid coins (246) to be treated in the Iranian section. Only HINRICHS (198) lists the scanty Anatolian gold coinage of the Ilkhanate and finds that it was almost entirely restricted to the mints of Erzincan and Sivas.

The enormous progress of the Beylik numismatics will be reviewed from West to East. The name Qara 'Isa is read by IZMIRLIER (199) on a coin type of the Aydin or Monteshe Beylik and apparently without knowledge of the evidence of the Bergama excavation coins, Izmirlier attributes a copper type to the Qarasi.

After Ölczer's attempt of 1985, Ender's of 2000 IZMIRLIER contributes a third attempt to classify the coinage of the Aydin Beylik (203). Methodologically the attribution of 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century coins is largely based on the legends of coins and the author's interpretations of those rather than by style and typology. As a result a few questionable coins have been included such as his no. 35 a dirham of Abû Sa'id type C in which the ruler's name has been replaced by the central line of the religious side and consequently the author relates the Muhammad not to the prophet but to Mehmet Bey. But by and large the early coinage of the main mint Ayaslük is outlined better than in preceding publications. AKDOĞANLAR (191) discusses a dirham from Aydin with the inscription *allahuma s-sabr Omur Beg* and explains it as struck in commemoration of the amir's late father. TEOMAN (228) discusses a mangir of the Aydin Khidr ibn Muhammad and compares the similarity of the ornamental side with a well known anonymous coin from Ladik of similar design.

DILER (193) writes on a Hamîd dirham from Burghlû with the names of the Rûm Saljuq Mas'ûd III and the 'Abbâsid al-Musta'sim and SARIOĞLU (223) discusses new 2 dirhams of Husâm ad-din Ilyâs from Falakâbâd.

The coinage of the Northern Anatolian Jandarids is dealt with in two works by PERK and ÖZTÜRK, a separate publication on an early post Ilkhanid hoard (215) followed by an article on new later coins of the same dynasty (216). KARAKOC (207) gives a first review of the coinage of the Germiyânid dynasty, and more is furnished by PERK and ÖZTÜRK (212). While through these the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century coinage was fairly well known, a new

catalogue by ENDER, EREK and TEOMAN (195) presents for a first time a well documented full overview over the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century coinage of Kütahya.

As for new Karamanid material IZMIRLIER (201) found a new dirham of regional type of 699 H. from Manafghat. Two dirhams issued by Karamanid rulers in the name of the Mamluk sultans an-Nâsir Muhammad and an-Nâsir Hasan are presented by SARIOĞLU (222).

ÖZDEN (209) lists and comments on a large hoard of late Karamanid and Ottoman coins found in 1937.

IZMIRLIER (206) also introduces the previously unknown mint of Zile into Eretnid numismatics and more recently PERK and ÖZTÜRK (218) published a voluminous catalogue covering of the whole Eretnid and post Eretnid coinage.

Seven groups of anonymous 14<sup>th</sup> century coppers with representations of lions, are dealt with by IZMIRLIER (205), who confidently attributes them to various Beyliks, some on the basis of misreadings such as *al-‘izz ad-dâ’im* as Isfandiyâr. Coins of various Beylik states are concerned in two articles by TARGAC (226 and 227). Two articles by PERK and ÖZTÜRK (217) give an overview of the numerous countermarks applied by the Karamanids and their neighbours to Ilkhanid and local silver coins during the second quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, while one commonly found but mysterious mark is attributed to the Karamanids and read as “*bahâ*”.

ERTÜRK and ERÜRTEN (197) devote a book to a hoard group of 155 mostly anonymous mid 9<sup>th</sup> century H. coins from Erzincan and neighbouring mints struck during the second civil war of the Âq Quyunlû state have unusual rhyming legends in Turkish. More precisely attributable late medieval coins from Northern Mesopotamia of the early Âq Qûyunlû and contemporary Ayyûbids of Hisn-Kayfâ can be found in an article by PERK and ÖZTÜRK (217).

## **Jazira/Iraq**

Although the number of publications was relatively small several important works were issued. HEIDEMANN presents two major complexes of excavation coins, one from Raqqa (90), the other from Harran (230). Depending on the sites within those cities the first contains mainly Abbasid, the second mainly 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century coins. HEIDEMANN uses these to explore both the bearing of the coins for the local history of the finding place as well as to compare the excavation coins with related material from collections. In the case of Raqqa a corpus of coins from ar-Râfiqa and ar-Raqqa is included. The habilitation thesis of HEIDEMANN (229) discusses his thesis according to which the Diyar Mudar witnessed a period of decline from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the late 11<sup>th</sup> centuries under Beduin rule, after which the Saljuq conquest under Malikshah lead to better governance and economic resurrection. It makes full use of numismatic evidence, includes a careful corpus of the presently known Numayrid coins and the initial black dirham coinage of the crusader principality of Edessa. Apart from the coins he integrates the relevant texts of importance shedding light on the monetary history of the period.

The thesis of WHELAN (234), originally submitted in 1975 on the iconography of the Danishmandid, Artuqid and Zangid copper coins of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century was published only posthumously. It turns out to be a broadminded and erudite alternative to Spengler and Sayles’ attempt for a consequent astral interpretation. It presents not only the earlier history of typological derivation and interpretation, but it is a mine for comparative material both from ancient and Islamic as well as Christian contemporary art. In many cases the author does not decide for one out of several interpretations but leaves it to the reader. One of the more difficult representations is the subject of a special article by ÖZME (232), who notices the identity of symbolism in the four representations on 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century H. copper coins with lionriders holding a sword. On the astrological background of an identification as Mars in the house of Leo he links these not quite convincingly with representations of Sufis.

HINRICH (231) introduces two new dirhams of the Ayyûbids of Hisn-Kayfâ and gives a full account of the mints of Hisn and Si’ird under the Ilkhans. Coins of the last decade of this dynasty before the takeover of Hisn by the Âq Quyunlû sultans form a major part of a hoard found in the area of Bitlis which was studied by PERK and ÖZTÜRK (217).

## Iran and Afghanistan

The bearing of the numismatic evidence to the political and ideological history of the early phase of Southern Iranian independence from the Abbasid caliphate under the Saffârids is analysed by TOR (267). Coins from the North West of Iran in the 10<sup>th</sup> century under the Sâjids, their successors and the Sallârids are studied on the basis of new materials in three articles by VARDANYAN (269, 271, 288).

The voluminous corpus of Bûyid coins by TREADWELL is supplemented by the same author together with ASKARI (237) in a catalogue of the holdings of the National Museum of Iran in Tehran. Presenting a dinar in the names of two sons of the 'Iraqî Bûyid Bakhtiyâr, issued in Shîrâz 389 H., JAFAR (253) adds new rulers to the Buyid series.

GHOUCHANI (245) presents two dinar hoards of the Saljuq period from Rayy, altogether 622 coins, most strong in the production of the Sâmânid period, which include some intruding materials like an 18<sup>th</sup> century copper, but also extended studies on a variety of topics. Among these the continued naming of deposed caliphs, die cutters signatures, mules, bracteates and brockages are the most important. Two studies by ÖZGÜDENLİ focus on the early Seljuq Turkish powergroups outside the control of Tughril Bek based on the numismatic evidence (259) and on the transition of power from Chaghri Bek to his son Qarâ Arslân in Kirmân (260). Both are based on the remarkably well reconstructed numismatic evidence. HANNE (251) analyses the political historical data of Saljuq dinars of the civil war period 485-498 H. focusing on the mints of Baghdâd, Isfahân and Naysâbûr. A little corpus of Ismâ'îlî coinage of the Alamut period by HAMDAN and VARDANYAN (250) replaces after nearly half a century Miles' article on the the same subject by multiplying the material and extending the period of issues to the Mongol conquest of Alamut.

Various features found on Ghûrid dinars are discussed by KHAN (255) including the early laqab Shihâb ad-dîn and the early use of the title *as-sultân al-a'zam*, while his third assumption that Mu'izz ad-dîn was ruler of Ghazna is based on a dinar with the incorrect caliphal laqab al-Mustadî billâh (instead of Mustadî bi'amr illâh), which leads to the misreading al-Mustanjid billâh and thus to an earlier dating. Minor coins of the Ghûrids and Khwârizmshâhs circulating immediately before the Mongol invasion are to be found in an Afghan hoard published by NICOL (258).

The political and administrative history of the Mongols in Iran from the conquest period to Ghâzân Mahmûd's reform at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century as reflected by the coins is the topic of a dissertation by KOLBAS (256). The book is full of new ideas of how to translate coins into history but has unfortunately a tendency to give too much importance to coinage. Based on limited material as was available until the early 1990 many of her interpretations are no longer backed by present day material as laid out in Ömer DILER's catalogue of Ilkhanid coins (243). There is also a tendency to regard the initially regional Mongol coinages as a chronological series of monetary developments, which creates the image of stormy changes and dramatic shifts of economic activities. The early horseman coinage of 642 H. of Caucasia is regarded as a coinage of the Mongol administrator Arghûn Âqâ, while a more recent study by VARDANYAN (270) revealed that this was a rather decentralised coinage under the conqueror Bayjû. A critique of Kolbas regarding the earliest Mongol coins is also the starting point for WHALEY (365), who comments furthermore on the Mongolian script on Ghâzân Mahmûd's reform coins. Ilkhanid and other Mongol coins, mainly from Khurâsân and the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century are studied in a monograph by PETROV (263).

The voluminous work by DILER (243) on the Ilkhanid coinage, posthumously edited and published, presents useful listings of mints, dates and types taken from a wide variety of published sources and dealers lists. In a first part the mints and the known dates are presented, in a second part the rulers and their types are listed. The maps of mints for each ruler unfortunately contain numerous erroneous entries, e.g. a whole group of Eastern mints for Sâtî Beg, and the line drawings of types occasionally are inspired by doubtful readings of the author. It is an extraordinarily diligent work, but not a scholarly one with little interest in credits, e.g. who identified first a previously unpublished mint. References are mainly made to auction catalogues and dealers' lists, even when a scholarly publication exists. It is also generally difficult to say whether the author or his posthumous editor Johann Christoph HINRICHS added the information. No systematic attempt was made to incorporate the material from public collections and in general the representation of materials from mints in Turkey is better than from Eastern mints, especially for the copper coinage. The various coexisting denominations of silver have been disregarded. In spite of some setbacks this is a clear advance in the field of Ilkhanid numismatics.

LEBEDEV and KLOKOV (257) present a list of the foreign coins found in towns of the Golden Horde including Delhi, Mamluks and mainly Ilkhanid coins.

Relatively little was written on the post-Ilkhanid period in the East and only two articles are concerned with Muzaffarid coinage, one by GRACHEV (249), the other by SCHÜTTENHELM (264), who publishes a parcel of Muzaffarid silver dinars of Shâh Shujâ' which contained issues of fourteen different mints. Relatively little was published on modern Iran during the period of this report, so that only a long series of articles by GORON (246-248) furnishing new material to Safawid silver coinage of the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century can be mentioned as a major contribution.

Miles' monograph on the mint of Rayy of 1938 is still a model for mint monographs. In the period under discussion material for a similar reference book for the mint of Qumm were prepared by DAUWE (238-241) in a series of preliminary articles, to which KALININ and KLESHCHINOV (254) added a note on a further unpublished Ghaznavid dinar from that mint. At Cairo University a whole series of dissertations attempt to add similar mint monographs, such as HASAN (333) on Samarqand, SAYYID (108) on al-Basra and AL-KÛFA, and 'ABD AL-LATIF (235) on Hamadân. These still suffer from lack of resources and international co-operation. As long as European resources remain unavailable mint monographs by local researchers written on the spot are more successful and seem to provide more fresh material, such as TORABI (268) on the mint of Tabrîz or DOVUDI (304) for the mint of Khuttalân.

AMAN UR-RAHMAN (236) produced carefully a fully illustrated corpus of coins and countermarks of the founder of the Moghul dynasty of India. It includes largely coins minted outside India, such as from the mints of Badakhshân, Balkh, Ghazna, Kâbul, Qandahâr, Qunduz, Samarqand. The author rejects Lane Poole's attribution of a gold coin with the name of Sultan Muhammad, a vassal of the Safawid Shah Ismâ'il, to Bâbur and reattributes a number of Shii coins to the earlier Abû l-Qâsim Bâbur.

DESHAZO (242) proves that the mints in Afghanistan dated in solar regnal years while mints in Sind dated in lunar regnal years.

## Caucasia

As mentioned in the introduction the Volga Bulgar and Golden Horde numismatics are dealt with in the Russian section of this survey. However research on local Golden Horde mints and coin finds is also carried out in Moldavia and Romania and a short list of additional titles mainly by NICOLAE therefore follows the entries of this section (289-298).

The Khazar coins in the huge Spillings hoard from Gotland are discussed by RISPLING (285). They include the interesting imitation of an 'Abbâsid dirham of the caliph al-Mahdi with the additional legend *Mûsâ rasûl allâh*, which alludes to the Jewish preferences of the Khazar ruling class. The Caucasian coins in the oriental coin cabinet in Jena were catalogued together with the Eastern European Islamic coins by MAYER (278) within a *sylloge* volume with 1470 coins which consists mainly of Golden Horde coins. Although the Khazar and Volga Bulghar dirhams number only 65 this publication becomes an important catalogue because of Rispling's detailed general introduction into the imitative series with a review of hoards containing such coins. Among the Caucasian coins Georgia has a stronger representation in this collection than Armenia.

To the already known corpus of coins of the Ja'farid amirs of Tiflis MOLCHANOV (279) adds a new dirham dated 374 H., and TURKHIA and PAGHAVA (286) identify a group of black dirhams of Ja'far III ibn 'Alî, an 11<sup>th</sup> century amir. Georgian coinage can be regarded as relatively well researched and so it is no surprise that otherwise recent articles by PAGHAVA (281, 283) and PAGHAVA together with TURKHIA (282, 284, 287) deal mainly with new varieties and dates of already known types of coins.

Several studies by LOMOURI (277) on various Georgian hoards of Sasanian to 'Abbâsid, Ilkhanid, Juchid and Jalâirid silver appeared posthumously.

The series on coin finds in Armenia by MOUSHEGHIAN E.A. (279) is continued and a second volume on hoards includes a major 'Abbâsid dirham hoard from Sunik, t.p.q. 199 H., with attributions of 1191 out of a total of 1849 coins, otherwise the hoards date mostly to the 13<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Coinage of the troubled period at the end of the ʿAbbâsid autonomy is researched by AKOPYAN and VARDANYAN (273), who identify a new governor Muhammad ibn Ahmad for Armenia in 331 H. VARDANYAN (288) has solved the question how to interpret the marks on ʿAbbâsid dirhams from Amîniya of the 280s, which he addresses as the initials of regional governors.

LEBEDEV, MARKOV and KOIFMAN (276) deliver a very detailed and up to date monograph on the Shaddâdid dirham coinage of Ganja, based mainly on two large hoards furnishing material primarily for the periods 385-400 and 431-451 H.

Based on a critical catalogue of the coins from a longtime enigmatic mint of the end of the Ilkhanid and early post-Ilkhanid period read mostly as Alagîr and its representation in hoards AKOPYAN (274) arrives at a safe identification in the east of Armenia. The same author (275) also writes on some early Safawid and 19<sup>th</sup> century copper coins from Penâhâbâd, Qarabagh.

### Central Asia

ASHIROV (299) lists 103 hoards from the Tashkent district with rough indications of their contents. A similar list of hoards from the Bukharan Museum by KURBANOV (348) enumerates 22 hoards of the Islamic period. DOVUTOV (306) gives an overview of coin finds in Tadzhikistan.

For Samanid numismatics the most dramatic change in the availability of images results from the fully illustrated documentation of Estonian finds by LEIMUS (10) and also for the mints of Bukhârâ and Samarqand in the *sylloge* from the Tübingen collection (331), in which Boris KOCHNEV had authored the Sâmanid coins. Less spectacular, but completely unexpected is the discovery of a major collection of mainly Sâmanid and Golden Horde coins that was inherited by the Musei Capitolini in Rome in 1872 and is finally brought to public attention by D'OTTONE (303). A reconstruction of the career of the Sâmanid official Qatigîn/Khategîn based on numismatic and narrative sources is sketched by KOCHNEV (344). He also describes another early 10<sup>th</sup> century bronze coin hoard from the district of Samarqand (342). His disciple Atakhodzhaev (300) publishes two notes on the Sâmanid bronze coinage including a previously unknown copper coin of Nûh ibn Asad from Khwârizm. An attempt to extract the political historical contents of Samanid copper coinage from the Ferghâna valley by FEDOROV (323) follows the model of his historical reconstructions of Qarâkhanid regional history.

A numismatic history of the Qarâkhanid states by the late KOCHNEV (346) with a long introduction on the elements of numismatic information and the methodology was edited posthumously. A second volume with a catalogue of Qarâkhanid coins has not yet appeared.

KHUDYAKOV (338) comments on a few new silver coins from Shash and Ispijab 391 H.

DOVUDI (305) writes a small monograph on an important hoard of more than 3000 base silver dirhams found in Hisâr and dating to 411-435 H., nearly all from the mint of Chaghâniyân, and sheds light on the local history at the time of the struggle between the nascent Saljuq states and the Qarâkhanids and Ghaznawids. Of particular interest is the period between 418 and 424 H. when a condominium results in the sole mention of the ʿAbbâsid caliph without any local lord.

An obviously official bronze die of cylindrical form with the mint name Il-Ordû dated 40(6?) H., found in Âq-Beshim and published by FEDOROV (330) gives a clue to the identification of the archeological site.

FEDOROV (317) lists the numismatic evidence for the Qarâkhanid interlude in Tokhâristan 560-594 H. In numerous further articles he reconstructs the political history of Qarakhanid Central Asia region by region (308, 310, 311, 312, 319, 320, 321, 324, 326). Another series of articles by the same author presents new Qarâkhanid coin finds (318, 325, 328, 329). For the new *sylloge* publication of the coins from Bukhârâ and Samarqand in the Tübingen collection he authored the Qarâkhanid to Chagatayid coins.

KOCHNEV (341) publishes a hoard of 98 dinars, mainly Qarâkhanid, Khwârizmshahs and Ghûrid and three early Mongol period dinars, found in Uzbekistan, now in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow. Two similar dinar hoards of the same period from Burana are published by FEDOROV (327, 328).



IVANOV (335) lists a group of billon dirhams of 'Alâ ad-dîn Tekesh from Khwârizm acquired in Kunya Urgench, apparently coming from one hoard.

The initial phase of the Mongol conquest is covered by an article in which WHALEY (365) makes an interesting attempt to interpret early Mongol silver coinage as a consequence of the Qubchûr tax, however disregarding the narrow regional character of early Mongol coinages and the continuity of pre-Mongol to post-Mongol coinage in Ghazna. His conclusions remain open to discussion. Excavation coins from the Mongol capital Karakorum provided the discovery of an Arabic type bronze coin by HEIDEMANN (334) from the mint of Qara Qorum, dated 635 H., which turns out to be the first documented mention of the new city.

Coins from the newly discovered early Mongol mints of Khotan and Qabâq are presented by NASTICH, PETROV and BELYAYEV (353), as well as bilingual dirhams from Khotan with the Tibetan word *ma* in the centre of the otherwise Arabic coin type.

The Chagatayid coinage is researched with a special interest in the clan tamghas by BADARCH NYAMAA (355) and his interest is responded in further articles by PETROV (358), PETROV and BELYAYEV (360), Yih (367) and YIH and SCHÜTTENHELM (366).

FEDOROV (309, 316) reassigns a Chagatayid mint read by MARKOV and others as Kenjdeh to Kenjek North of Tarâz.

New attributions for the anonymous silver coins of 726-727 H. are proposed by FEDOROV (315), who also establishes 739 H. as a new date for the julus of Yesûntîmûr.

PETROV (357) publishes a mixed hoard of 224 Chagatayid dirhams, 5 Golden Horde dirhams and 3 gold tankas of the Sultanate of Delhi buried after 739 H. at Khorgos, Kazakhstan.

Two articles by KOCHNEV deal with the little known Chagatayid copper coinage of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the first (340) reports on coins from a dispersed hoard found in the region of Samarkand around 1900. He found 18 pieces from the mint of Âmû struck between 751 and 761 H. some of which have misplaced dates such as 567 and 657 for 756 H. He identifies the mint as Âmul of the Amû-darya at present day Chardjuy. The second (345) contains a date list of a hoard of 2159 copper coins buried after 768 H. mainly from Samarqand and Bukhârâ but also including coins from Kâshghar and Shapurghân. The barely documented later period of the Chagatayid khanate before Timur is documented in a new hoard from the Tashkend area, which PETROV (359) studies.

A hoard containing copper coins from the beginning to the end of the Timurid period found in Tirmidh and published by SHABAEV (362) includes several new countermarks. Also SHPENYOVA (363) devotes an article to two new countermarks of this series. Two silver coins in the name of the late Tîmûrid period Chagatayid Sultân Uways from Badakhshân are discussed by DOVUTOV (307).

With the help of ZHIRAVOV and KLESHCHINOV DAVIDOVICH (301) publishes 220 additional tenge of Muhammad Shaybânî to her corpus of Shaybanid gold and silver coins published in 1992 and a further general addendum by DAVIDOVICH and KLESHCHINOV alone (302). Some progress is also made with the later Shaybânid copper coinage of bar-type by GOLENDER (332). The last coins struck in Tâshkand were a billon tenge dated 1204 and a copper pul both in the name of the local dignitary Muhammad Yûnis Khoja 'Umar from the mint of Tâshkand, published by NASTICH (354).

NASTICH (351) discusses the question whether coins from Khoqand in the name of Malla Khan dated 1288 and 1289 H. are posthumous issues or coins of a second Malla Khan. Information from 19<sup>th</sup> century Russian travellers in Central Asia on money and prices was gathered and commented on by FEDOROV (322), who also wrote an article on the monetary circulation in the Central Asiatic emirates during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (314). A large scale die study was applied by KLESHCHINOV (339) to the post World War I bronze coinage of Khwârizm.

As for Eastern Turkestan in the modern period TUKHTIEV (364) discusses and confirms the attribution of the drop-shaped copper coins of Yârkand to Galdan Tseren of the Dzungarian kanate. The drop shape and drop design (almond motif) in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is also the subject of an article by YIH (370). The same author lists the varieties of the anonymous 5 fen coinage and proposes a typology (369).

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<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>INJ</i>	<i>Israel Numismatic Journal</i>
<i>INR</i>	<i>Israel Numismatic Research</i>
<i>JONS</i>	<i>Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society (continuation of ONSNL after no. 188)</i>
<i>MING</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien</i>
<i>MÖNG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>The Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>NNUM</i>	<i>Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad</i>
<i>NtsA</i>	<i>Numizmatika Tsentral'noy Azii</i>
<i>ONSNL</i>	<i>Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter</i>
<i>RINSA</i>	<i>Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini</i>
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique</i>
<i>VIISID</i>	<i>Vostochnoe Istoricheskoe Istochnikovedenie i Spetsial'nye Istoricheskie Distsipliny</i>

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## ÉTUDES NUMISMATIQUES KOUCHANES

*Osmund Bopearachchi*

Les études numismatiques sur les Kouchans parues entre 2002 et 2007 sont peu nombreuses, mais cela n'empêche pas un certain nombre d'entre elles d'être de très haut niveau et de nous permettre de mieux comprendre la formation de l'empire kouchan. Dans le précédent « *Survey* » nous avons mis l'accent sur la controverse provoquée par l'hypothèse avancée par CRIBB qui a attribué en bloc les monnayages dits de Sôter Mégas à Wima Takto, fils de Kujula Kadphisès et père de Wima Kadphisès, lui-même père de Kanishka. L'intéressé n'a toujours pas répondu aux critiques formulées par les numismates et historiens spécialistes de la question. Dans un article récent (8) il se soustrait délibérément à cette tâche en se contentant de nous offrir une 'Classe Room Lesson' sur la numismatique de l'Asie Centrale, qui n'est qu'une répétition de ce qu'il a déjà écrit à plusieurs reprises. Les deux chapitres « The Kushan empire and its early coinage » et « Imperial Kushan coinage and nomadic identity » que comporte cet article sont sans grand intérêt. Il ne fait état d'aucune donnée nouvelle. On attend toujours sa publication, annoncée il y a déjà plus de dix ans, du trésor monétaire qui serait composé de monnaies de Wima Takto. Au contraire MAC DOWALL (13) fait une recension utile des monnayages de l'Asie Centrale et du Gandhâra jusqu'à Kanishka Ier, mettant en évidence les principales hypothèses avancées par les savants concernant la chronologie kouchane. Il fait à nouveau une distinction très claire entre les émissions de Sôter Mégas et celles de Wima Takto.

La mise au point la plus scientifique sur l'apport des textes et des inscriptions sur l'hégémonie kouchane dans l'Asie Centrale et l'Inde du Nord-Ouest est celle de NEELIS (14). N'omettant aucune publication importante sur le sujet, l'auteur met en évidence les différentes hypothèses avancées par divers savants sur la migration des Scythes et des Kouchans vers les régions situées au pied des versants nord et sud de l'Hindu Kush. Même si l'auteur n'entre pas dans le détail des aspects numismatiques, son essai est un outil de travail indispensable pour les études kouchanes. Son étude est fondée sur les nombreuses contributions épigraphiques, littéraires et numismatiques publiées dans les actes du colloque : *Afghanistan, ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest* (1). Dans ce volume Richard Salomon (20) publie une inscription en kharoshthi découverte à Bajaur (Pakistan), où est nommée une « ère grecque » que l'on peut dater très précisément de 186/5 av. n. è. L'inscription est en effet datée de « la 27<sup>e</sup> année régnale de Vijayamitra qui est aussi la 73<sup>e</sup> année de l'ère d'Azès et l'année 201 de l'ère des Yonas (Grecs) ». Si l'on admet que l'ère d'Azès est l'équivalent de l'ère Vikrama, il en résulte que l'on doit placer le début de cette ère grecque en 186/185 av. n. è. Par ailleurs, Paul Bernard et Georges Rougemont (2), grâce à une inscription découverte vraisemblablement à Kuliab dans la Bactriane orientale, montrent que le fondateur de cette « ère grecque » en Inde fut Démétrios I. François Thierry (23) apporte en outre nombre de précisions dans son long article « Yuezhi et Kouchans. Pièges et dangers des sources chinoises » sur les mouvements des Yuezhi et de la formation de l'empire kouchan. S'appuyant également sur le travail de G. Fussman publié en 1998 dans le *Journal asiatique*, THIERRY (23) et NEELIS (14) montrent qu'il ne faut pas faire dire aux textes et aux inscriptions plus qu'ils ne disent.

A la lumière de ces contributions et grâce à la découverte sensationnelle d'un trésor monétaire à Peshawar, BOPEARACHCHI (6 & 7) aborde dans deux articles récents la question de l'identité et de la généalogie des souverains kouchans qui ont succédé à Kujula Kadphisès, le fondateur de l'empire kouchan. Ce trésor a révélé l'existence de types, dénominations et coins inédits du monnayage de Wima Kadphisès et Kanishka I. Ce trésor a fait connaître des pièces d'or émises par Wima Kadphisès en l'honneur de son père Wima Takto. Ces nouvelles découvertes apportent la preuve que Sôter Mégas ne peut en aucun cas être Wima Takto, le père de Wima Kadphisès. Tout se passe comme si Sôter Mégas avait été un usurpateur qui aurait interrompu pour une génération la succession régulière des descendants de Kujula Kadphisès, hypothèse déjà avancée par Gérard Fussman en 1998 et à laquelle Bopearachchi se rallie. Dans la chronologie qu'il présente en utilisant ces nouvelles données le règne de Kujula Kadphisès, fondateur de l'empire kouchan, se place en 40-90 ou 40-95 de n. è., le règne éphémère de Wima Takto en 90-95 ou 95-100 de n. è., celui de l'usurpateur Sôter Mégas en 92-110 ou 97-110 de n. è., celui de Wima Kadphisès en 100-127 ou 105 - 127 de n. è., et celui de Kanishka I en 127-150 de n. è. Cette hypothèse reste bien sûr ouverte à discussion, car la chronologie des Kouchans est loin d'être entièrement éclaircie, surtout celle des derniers rois de la dynastie.

Les numismates russes et ouzbeks sont crédités de plusieurs publications très utiles sur les découvertes des monnaies kouchanes dans les régions au nord de l'Oxus, notamment en Ouzbékistan. On doit à Edouard Rtveladze, l'un des meilleurs spécialistes des monnayages central-asiatiques, plusieurs articles qui mettent en évidence de nouvelles découvertes faites dans ces régions. Son article (17) sur la circulation monétaire dans l'ancien Tokharistan

fait état des trouvailles dans les régions au nord de l'Amou Darya jusqu'aux Portes de Fer. C'est avec intérêt qu'on constate grâce aux études de RTVELADZE et de GORIN (18) que le site de Kampyr Tepe (Ouzbékistan), qui occupait une position stratégique sur la rive Nord de l'Oxus, à l'Ouest de Termez, a livré plus de 500 bronzes de l'époque kouchane : 35 de Sôter Mégas, 51 de Wima Kadphisès, 200 de Kanishka I et 3 de Huvishka. Selon RTVELADZE (17) le site fut abandonné après Kanishka I à la suite d'une inondation qui ravagea la ville ancienne. GORIN (11) dresse un catalogue des monnaies de Wima Kadphisès trouvées à Kampyr Tepe. RTVELADZE (16) publie une monnaie inédite d'Héraios et fait une recension des monnaies kouchanes trouvées en Ouzbékistan. Le même auteur (15) regroupe dans une monographie ses propres articles consacrés à la numismatique de la Transoxiane à la période antique et au Haut Moyen Âge. SHEJKO et GORIN (21) ont dressé un catalogue simple, sans analyse, des trouvailles monétaires provenant du village de Munchak (région de Baisun, Surkhan Darya, Ouzbékistan). La monographie de DOVUDI (9) est consacrée à l'histoire numismatique du Tadjikistan, depuis le V s. av. n. è. jusqu'au XX s. de n. è.

LOESCHNER (12) publie une pièce de bronze légendée au nom de Kanishka I, représentant Nana au revers et au droit un souverain imberbe debout, en tenue nomade et coiffé d'un couvre-chef, un sceptre à la main g, faisant de la dr. une offrande au-dessus d'un petit autel. Le fait que le roi soit imberbe contrairement aux émissions habituelles de ce souverain ne doit pas faire douter qu'il s'agisse de Kanishka I nommé dans la légende ; si sa tenue est proche de celle de Wima Kadphisès, c'est peut-être qu'il s'agit de l'une des premières frappes du roi après qu'il eut succédé à son père Wima. L'article de Loeschner a un lien avec celui de ERRINGTON (10) sur le reliquaire de Kanishka de Shâh-ji-kî-Dheri que Spooner publia pour la première fois en 1908. A partir des monnaies trouvées à l'intérieur du reliquaire ERRINGTON montre que celui-ci fut déposé au cours d'un agrandissement du stûpa effectué pendant le règne de Huvishka. Cependant ERRINGTON admet que l'inscription et l'iconographie du reliquaire renvoient à Kanishka Ier, le fondateur légendaire du stûpa. LOESCHNER fait le rapprochement de l'image de Kanishka imberbe sur le reliquaire avec celle, également imberbe, gravée sur la pièce unique dont nous avons parlé (12). Il est nécessaire de préciser que Wima Kadphisès et Kanishka Ier sur leurs monnayages apparaissent toujours barbus et le fait que le souverain sur cette nouvelle pièce soit imberbe pose plus de problèmes qu'il n'en résout. La seule caractéristique commune entre la nouvelle pièce et les bronzes de Wima Kadphisès est que le souverain est vêtu d'une *chlamyde* attachée sur le devant par deux fibules rondes. Au contraire Kanishka sur le reliquaire porte une *chlamyde* jetée sur les épaules, sans attaches.

Des analyses métallurgiques faites sur les monnaies kouchanes ont permis de résoudre un certain nombre de problèmes épineux de ce monnayage. On a débattu pendant un quart de siècle sur la provenance de l'or kouchan. Une des hypothèses avancées par les spécialistes comme Göbl (1960) était de faire valoir que la quantité colossale d'or nécessaire aux émissions kouchanes provenait de la fonte des *aurei* romains. Les analyses par activation protonique effectuées au Centre Ernest Babelon d'Orléans sur un échantillonnage de monnaies kouchanes et romaines ont permis à BLET-LEMARQUAND (4) d'établir une fois pour toutes que les *aurei* romains ne sauraient en aucun cas être la source de l'or des émissions kouchanes. Les monnaies kouchanes, par leur très haute concentration en platine, se différencient en effet des monnaies romaines émises à partir d'Auguste jusqu'au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère. A l'occasion de la réalisation du catalogue des monnaies kouchanes conservées au Cabinet des Médailles de Paris et publiées dans le catalogue de l'exposition *De l'Indus à l'Oxus. Archéologie de l'Asie Centrale*, 63 pièces kouchanes d'or ont été analysées par activation protonique par BLET-LEMARQUAND (3). Ces analyses ont livré plusieurs observations sur le titre des monnaies d'or des trois premiers souverains kouchans à avoir frappé ce métal, à savoir Wima Kadphisès, Kanishka Ier et Huvishka. Leurs émissions contiennent entre 99,4% et 95,9 % d'or. A partir du souverain suivant, Vasudeva Ier, une baisse du titre s'amorce, les concentrations en or les plus élevées étant au maximum de 87,2%. Cette altération due à la présence accrue d'argent a tendance à augmenter jusqu'à Vasudeva III, le dernier roi kouchan de l'échantillonnage étudié. Ces analyses montrent que certaines monnaies de ce dernier qui sont de couleur blanche comme l'argent contiennent moins de 10% d'or. Dans son dernier article sur le sujet BLET-LEMARQUAND (4) fait une mise au point plus détaillée sur l'altération de l'or dans le monnayage kouchan. L'analyse effectuée sur une monnaie de Huvishka caractérisée par une légende corrompue a permis de mettre en doute son authenticité, car sa teneur en or de 91,5% est bien plus basse que celle des autres monnaies de ce même souverain (5).

Plusieurs monnaies kouchanes déjà connues ou inédites ont été publiées dans deux catalogues d'exposition. Une sélection de monnaies kouchanes conservées au Cabinet des Médailles a fait l'objet d'une publication exhaustive à l'occasion de l'exposition : *De l'Indus à l'Oxus. Archéologie de l'Asie* par SACHS (19). Une monnaie d'or anépigraphe (19, p.188), une monnaie d'or de Kanishka Ier avec une représentation du Bouddha sertie dans un médaillon en forme de fleur de lotus (19, p.189-90), et un statère d'or (19, p.181), sorti des mêmes coins qu'une pièce du musée britannique (GÖBL, 1984, 66) appartenant à une collection privée, sont parmi les pièces exceptionnelles de ce catalogue TANABE (2003) publie quelques pièces d'or kouchanes uniques et rares qui se



trouvent dans les collections japonaises dans le catalogue de l'exposition sur Alexandre le Grand qui a eu lieu à Tokyo et à Kobe.

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## LES MONNAYAGES SASSANIDES

Rika Gyselen

Au cours des années 2002-2007 sont parus deux volumes de la *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum* dont le projet avait été annoncé dans le *Survey* 1996-2001. L'objectif de ce *Catalogue des monnaies sassanides* est la publication intégrale des monnaies sassanides et arabo-sassanides dans les collections des Cabinets des Médailles de Berlin, Bruxelles, Paris et Vienne. Jusqu'à présent, deux volumes ont été publiés : 1) les monnayages des rois Ardashir Ier et Shapur Ier (ALRAM / GYSELEN 2003) et 2) ceux de Shapur II à Kavad Ier (SCHINDEL 2004). Les monnayages des autres rois sassanides (d'Ohrmazd Ier à Ohrmazd II, de Khusro Ier à Yazdgird III), ainsi que le monnayage omeyyade de type sassanide font l'objet de quatre autres volumes qui sont tous en préparation. Si l'objectif initial de la SNS était essentiellement de rendre largement accessible la documentation monétaire en format *sylloge* (= la description détaillée de chaque monnaie en face de la planche avec son illustration) l'état actuel des connaissances des monnayages des III<sup>e</sup> – V<sup>e</sup> siècles a rendu nécessaire une étude approfondie préalable pour parvenir à une classification typologique. À cette fin ont été intégrées de nombreuses autres monnaies dans la mesure où elles permettent de compléter l'image générale de la production monétaire sous un souverain. Dans de longues introductions, les auteurs ont explicité les raisons de leur classement du monnayage pour chaque souverain et essayé d'expliquer les différentes émissions dans le cadre des événements historiques lesquels sont connus grâce aux sources historiographiques. Le projet de la SNS bénéficie de la collaboration de divers spécialistes qui étudient la composition élémentaire des monnaies, ou l'aspect paléographique et dont les contributions sont présentées dans des chapitres séparés.

Le projet de la SNS s'est élargi à d'autres collections : celles des musées d'Israël sont sous presse (SCHINDEL, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Israel*), celles des musées de la Syrie en préparation.

Peut-être stimulé par le projet de la SNS, un intérêt grandissant pour éditer des collections s'est manifesté ces dernières années : des collections à Bologne et à Milan (GARIBOLDI 2003 et 2004), celles du musée de Shangai (43) et du musée national de Téhéran (SARKHOSH, ELAHE ASKARI, and PENDLETON, *Sasanian Coins in the National Museum of Iran, Volume I: Ardashir I- Kavad I*, Tehran, sous presse).

Il faut mentionner l'initiative de la collection *Moneta* qui continue de publier en français des collections conservées en Géorgie ou en Arménie (MOUSHEGHIAN, MOUSHEGHIAN, BRESC, DEPEYROT, GURNET 2003). KHURSHUDIAN, ZOHRAIAN 2002 répertorient une douzaine de trésors monétaires, ainsi que 34 trouvailles de monnaies isolées trouvées en Arménie. L'intérêt de ces collections est de comporter de très nombreuses monnaies dont l'origine archéologique est connue. C'est aussi le cas de nombreuses monnaies trouvées en Chine qui ont été publiées dans diverses contributions chinoises dont certaines ont été mentionnées par THIERRY, *RN* 2007, p. 319 : la revue *Shaanxi qiabi yanjiu lunwenji (Xi'an)* (Recueil d'articles d'Études Numismatiques du Shaanxi) a consacré en 2004 une contribution à la découverte de monnaies sassanides au Shaanxi et en Chine. On trouvera dans *Zhongguo qianbi* (Numismatique Chinoise), 2001-IV, une étude sur le monnayage du roi Peroz, ainsi qu'une sur les drahms de Khusro II découverts à Lyoyang. Le thème de 'La route de la soie' a été abordé dans plusieurs colloques en Chine dont celui d'Aksu en 2004 a déjà été publié : *Sichou zhi lu huobi yanjiu* (Études des monnaies de la Route de la Soie), Aksu, juillet 2004, publiées dans la revue *Xinjiang qianbi* (Numismatique du Xinjiang), 2004, III.

La drachme d'argent a toujours été considérée comme la monnaie de circulation par excellence, tandis que la monnaie d'or aurait surtout servi de moyen de propagande aux rois. Dans une étude sur le monnayage d'or, GARIBOLDI 2006 a mis en doute ce rôle du monnayage d'or en voulant trouver un rapport entre les émissions d'or et d'argent, les intégrant ainsi dans le système monétaire général. Cette idée a été contestée par SCHINDEL 2006 dans une étude essentiellement métrologique du monnayage d'or. Le corpus mis en œuvre dans sa démonstration a été agrandi par une petite centaine de monnaies d'or dont certains types étaient complètement inconnus (GYSELEN 2004). Cependant, d'une manière ou d'une autre, ces nouvelles monnaies s'intégraient dans le cadre de nos connaissances. Cela n'a pas été le cas d'une monnaie d'or à caractère de médaille qui célèbre la victoire de Shapur Ier sur Philippe l'Arabe (ALRAM, BLET-LEMARQUAND, SKJÆRVØ 2007). Des analyses iconographique, élémentaire et épigraphique ont souligné l'authenticité de cette médaille dont certains, cependant, continuent de douter. Très récemment Frantz GRENET (EPHE, CNRS, ENS) a trouvé un nouvel argument en faveur de son authenticité et a bien voulu l'exprimer en détail ici pour la première fois : " Sur la monnaie figurant Shapur Ier et Philippe l'Arabe, un détail peu visible au premier coup d'œil, mais incontestable, dissipe selon moi tous les doutes (s'il en existait encore) quant à l'authenticité. Au revers, le départ de la queue du cheval du roi est décoré par un ruban (comme il

est noté dans l'article, p. 21), mais à son tour ce ruban est attaché à un tube incurvé dont la fonction est de raidir la queue du cheval. Cette pièce de harnachement, qui est probablement d'origine centre-asiatique (on la trouve figurée notamment sur les plaques en os d'un kourgane d'Orlat près de Samarkand, d'appartenance "sarmato-alaine" et datant des environs du I<sup>e</sup> s. de n.è.), n'apparaît que deux fois dans l'art sassanide, à la période ancienne : - Sur le cheval d'Ardashir Ier à Naqsh-e Rostam ; - De nouveau sur le cheval royal, sur le relief de Rag-i Bibi (Afghanistan) qui est très probablement attribuable à Shâpur Ier, et dans ce cas le tube, redressé en courbe à l'arrière, est exactement identique à celui qu'on aperçoit sur la monnaie (Voir Grenet, et al., "The Sasanian relief at Rag-i Bibi (Northern Afghanistan)", in *After Alexander. Central Asia before Islam*, Cribb, and Herrmann (eds.), Oxford 2007, p. 249 et fig. 10). Le relief de Rag-i Bibi a été publié avant l'apparition de la pièce. Aucun faussaire n'aurait pu trouver cela".

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## VORISLAMISCHE NUMISMATIK MITTELASIENS

L.S. Baratova

Publikationen für vorislamische Numismatik des Mittelasiens spiegeln Hauptrichtungen der wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen in mittelasiatischen Republiken wieder. Die Probleme der Eigenprägung im einzelnen Fürstentümer sind aktuelle wissenschaftliche Niveaus bekommen, entsprechend den akkumulierten Münzmaterial so wie in monographische Form (4, 7, 8, 9), als auch in zahlreichen Artikeln, wie z.B. für Chorezm (38,47,48,49,72); Nord Tocharistan (41, 70); Sogdien (29, 31, 35, 46, 62, 69); Fergana (32, 37). Die intensive Phase ist bei der Forschung der alttürkischen Münzen (2, 5, 12, 27, 29, 33, 36) geblieben, in erste Reihe der Kupfermünzen aus alten Tschatsch (moderne Taschkent Gebiet) (1, 3, 7, 12 – 26, 61). Die allgemeine Probleme der Geldumlaufs in Mittelasiens bekommen weitere Entwicklung in (63, 66, 68, 70), so wie auch die Beiträge über den Sasanidischen Drachmen (27), deren Nachahmungen (10, 55, 56,57, 59) und Hephtaliten (6, 52, 67). Daneben sind traditionelle Richtungen, wie Registrierung der Münzfunde und Schatzfunde, auch behalten.

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#### Annexe

Nous avons cru devoir ajouter quelques travaux publiés hors des frontières de l'ex-URSS ou qui ne figuraient pas dans la bibliographie de Madame Baratova (François Thierry).

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## HUNS AND WESTERN TURKS IN CENTRAL ASIA AND NORTHWEST INDIA

Michael Alram

For the coinage of the “Iranian Huns” and their successors in Central Asia and north-western India, Göbl’s work published in 1967, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien* (Wiesbaden) remains unrivalled. In recent decades – not least because of the political unrest in Afghanistan and Pakistan – an enormous amount of new material has emerged that has decisively changed the situation described by Göbl. Here we will mention only the vast quantity of new copper coins that have been found, allegedly in Kashmir and neighbouring regions of Pakistan (KHAN [21] has provided an initial survey) and the Bactrian documents published by SIMS-WILLIAMS (36, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43) and found in northern Afghanistan. It was these new finds that in 2007 finally led a group of Viennese scholars under Michael ALRAM to launch a project supported by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) in Austria with the goal of completely reviewing the coinage of the so-called “Iranian Huns” and their successors from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD. The project is planned to last six years and should be completed by 2012.

A summarised, although in part outdated, overall view of research into the coinage and history of the Iranian Huns has been provided by ALRAM (2, 3) and SCHOTTKY (35). A richly illustrated summary of the history of Hunnic coinage, which includes a survey of the coin finds so far known along with the associated archaeological and literary evidence, can be found in ERRINGTON AND SARKOSH CURTIS (11). New aspects on the history of the Kidarites, Alchon, Hephthalites and Nezak Shahs has been provided by GRENET (14), who also submitted for discussion an altered chronological scheme for the Hunnic period in Central Asia and Gandhara. Deserving of special mention is the work of LA VAISSIÈRE (23, 24), who has studied in particular the literary and archaeological sources on the migration of the Huns. In his last study LA VAISSIÈRE (25) attempts to demonstrate that the invasion of Bactria by the Huns probably did not take place in individual waves – as suggested by Göbl – but rather in a single massive migratory movement that took place between ca. 350 and 370 AD, a scenario that is very much in line with the coinage. Subsequently, the individual clans settled in Sogdiana, Tokharistan and Bactria as well as in Gandhara and north-western India, ruling in part next to one another. In this context, reference must be made to a Brahmi inscription recently described by MELZER (29). It probably comes from the area of Talaqan to the east of Qunduz in northern Afghanistan (Tokharistan) and is dated with the year 68 of an unnamed era. According to MELZER this was perhaps the Laukika era, which would result in a date of A. D. 492/493. The inscription, which was written on the occasion of the erection of a stupa, was made during the rule of a certain Mehama, and Talaqan was part of his territory at that time. He bears the title of a *mahāṣāhi* and the inscription clearly identifies him as a contemporary of Khingila, Javukha and Toramana, whom it also names. These were Hunnic princes known to us from their coins and members of the clan of the Alkhan Huns. We also know that they ruled side by side in part. We meet a “Meyam, the king of the people of Kadag, the governor of the famous (and) prosperous king of kings Peroz” again in the Bactrian documents from Rob described by SIMS-WILLIAMS (42) and dating from the years 239 (= 461/462 AD; Document ea) and 252 (= 474/475 AD; Document ed) of the Bactrian era. Sims-Williams assigns the beginning of the Bactrian era to 223/224 AD. If this Meyam should be the person called *mahāṣāhi* Mehama in the Brahmi inscription, this shows in any case that the Hunnic tribes were allowed to settle in Bactria by the Sasanids, that their leaders held administrative positions in the Sasanian government, and that they recognised the sovereignty of the Sasanid king at least until 474/475 AD.

The development of early Alkhan coinage in the area of Kabul and Gandhara starting in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century has been subjected to new analysis by VONDROVEC (46). New types of Hephthalite coins have been presented by ALRAM (1, 6). The centre of Hephthalite drachm minting was in Balkh. Typologically they are in line with those of Peroz, beginning at the latest after the defeat of the Sasanid king in 484 AD. A special issue (Type 287A according to ALRAM [1]) bears on the obverse a waist-length portrait of a prince clad in a caftan and holding a drinking cup. The Bactrian legends have increasingly been subjected to the process of decay, but on the better specimens *ēbo* or *ēbo-dalo* (?) can be clearly read, identifying them as “Hephthalite”.

Up to now no coins have been found from the Turkish tribe of Khalaj, whom we encounter, for example, in the Bactrian documents studied by SIMS-WILLIAMS (36) (Document T). Recently, however, ALRAM AND LO MUZIO (5) have presented two copper coins bearing on the reverse the Bactrian legend *xalag/sano*, which according to N. Sims-Williams can be viewed as an adjectival derivative of the Bactrian *xalaso*, the name of the Khalaj. The Chinese, Arab and Persian sources on the Khalaj, who strengthened their rule south of the Hindu Kush starting in

the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century in the area of Kapisi / Kabul and Zabulistan, have been extensively examined by INABA (18).

A remarkable find of coins, of which LEE AND SIMS-WILLIAMS (26) have written, was made in Tang-i Safedak (Yakaolong district of Bamiyan Province, Afghanistan): together with a Bactrian inscription related to a Buddhist stupa, a stone box was discovered containing a golden ring, a gemstone as well as a book, allegedly with 17 coins between its pages. The coins were copper drachms of Type 243B (cf. VONDROVEC [47]), which bore the Bactrian inscription *sēro* on the obverse. This legend corresponds to the title *sērotorko* = “Ser of the Turks”, which is found on several Bactrian documents, one of them dating from the year 692/693 AD (SIMS-WILLIAMS [36], Document S). The inscription found in Tang-i Safedak is dated 492 in the Bactrian Era (= 714/715 AD), providing an important chronological indication for the coins.

An interesting ensemble, most likely part of a treasure trove, was discovered in Gharwal (Wardak Province, Afghanistan) and examined by VONDROVEC (47). From the total of eight coins in the find, five are of Type 242 (according to Göbl 1967) and bear on the obverse the Bactrian legend *sēro*. They were likely commissioned by the same ruler as the coins found in Tang-i Safedak. The Gharwal find also contained four gold bracteates, which in part derive directly from other coins in circulation but in part have other motifs, such as the *lupa Romana* known from Roman coinage, for example, and probably served as jewellery. Such bracteates are known to us from finds in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Tajikistan as well as Uzbekistan, and they were sometimes used as burial objects in China.

Tamghas play a special role in the coinage of Central Asia. They have been interpreted as symbols of clans or sovereignty and are found repeatedly in the coins of the Hunnic tribes as well. ILYASOV (17) has devoted profound study to them. Also indispensable to an understanding of the iconography of Hunnic coinage is the iconography of Gandhara sculpture, which was compiled by FACCENNA AND FILIGENZI (12). Mutual influences are repeatedly found there between the two art genres. Traditionally there are close connections between the images on coins and seals. Reference should be made in this regard to the studies by ALRAM (7), CALLIERI (8), CAZZOLI AND CERETI (9), LERNER (27) and SIMS-WILLIAMS (37, 41). Deserving particular mention is the description of a Hunnic ruler's seal (RAHMAN, GRENET AND SIMS-WILLIAMS [33]) that probably belonged to a Kidarite prince living in Samarkand who on the Bactrian legend calls himself “...lord Ularg, the king of the Huns, the great Kushan-shah, the Samarkandian, of the African (?) family (?)”.

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## SOUTH INDIA AND SRI LANKA

*Susmita Basu Majumdar and Rehan Ahamad*

### South India

Numismatic researches in South India and on the coins of this region have witnessed a steady growth in the past five years. Though most of the writings are in English there are some valuable contributions in vernacular languages which have not been taken into consideration. There are more than a hundred articles published in different journals, among which 133 have been enlisted in the reference list below. Besides the articles on the Satavahanas and other allied dynasties, articles published on coins from Maharashtra or neighbouring regions have not been taken into consideration. Another exception is the article by KULKARNI on the coins of a hitherto unknown Janapada namely Bhadravati (53). A Journal is published annually on South Indian coins entitled *Studies in South Indian Coins (SSIC)* which has made the studies and researches on South Indian coins more systematic and also brings forward new finds and fresh approaches. In 2002 RAMAN and SRINIVASAN were its editors (volume XII). From 2003-2006 (volumes XIII-XVI) the Journal was edited by SHARMA and SRINIVASAN. In 2007 volume XVII was edited by RAJA REDDY and SRINIVASAN. This Journal has given a boost to the numismatic researches on South Indian Coins. Some articles also include quantitative analysis of coins, both chemical analysis and elemental analysis using non destructive methods. Vijayanagar coins have received special attention in several articles. One of the articles by ORUGNTI (69) on metrology of the Vijayanagar gold and copper currency is a significant contribution. The author has discussed the issue of metrology in detail with the help of 11 tables. Different coin denominations have been discussed as well as their compositional analysis. Another similar attempt is an article by BABU (8), which discusses the metrology of the elusive 'kasu'. A presidential address at a conference of South Indian Numismatic Society by SATYAMURTHY (114) discusses at length the problems and progress in South Indian numismatic studies with special focus on the availability of coins for study, safety of coins and legal provisions. Among the articles on new coins hoards and otherwise known ones mention may be made of the article by KARUNADASS on coin hoards from Kerala (46) and the Puthina hoard of Persian Coins from Kerala and two more hoards from Kerala by AMMA (2 and 3) from Nadawayal, consisting of gold coins and Nelluwai of silver. SARASAN'S publications (109, 111, 105, 107, 112 and 106) on the Venad coins add to the information already provided by her in the book on the coins of the Venad Cheras. A considerable number of noteworthy articles can be noticed on quantitative analysis and metal compositions of South Indian coinage by using different methods chemical analysis as well as non destructive ones.

Apart from this some bibliographical lists also can be mentioned as a step further towards systematic study and augmenting the scope of further research on South Indian numismatics, such as the one by RAJA REDDY, and SURYANARAYANAN REDDY, (92), on Andhra coins, another on Tamil Nadu coins by SHANMUGAM (118). Apart from the bibliographical list RAJA REDDY'S article on *An overview of the Andhra region coins* is quite interesting. A similar article providing information about the recent coin finds from Karnataka by GIRIJAPATHY (32) is quite significant. An article by BABU (11) on some unexplored characteristics of the Vijayanagar and Mughal monetary systems quite well justifies the title. The summary would be incomplete without mention of works based on epigraphic data such as 'Coin terms in the Telugu Pallava inscriptions of Chittor district' by NEELARAJAKSHULU (67).

### Books on South Indian Coins

Among the books published on South Indian numismatics eight major works can be mentioned here. Most of them are in English except one in vernacular language, named Charitra Khajana Telegu (141), in which the author's aim is to create interest in coin heritage. They cover all the coins right from the Punch-marked coins to the British issues, including those from excavations and treasure trove. The illustrations of coins in this book are good. Another book on the coinage and history of the Alupas (140) also is an important addition. The Alupa dynasty ruled in the modern districts of Udupi and Mangalore and parts of Shimoga and Uttara Kannada districts in the state of Karnataka. The authors describe the history of the Alupas from the 5<sup>th</sup> century to 15<sup>th</sup> century AD, based primarily on the study of over one hundred and twenty epigraphs. The book also mentions in detail the only known copper plate grant of the Alupa dynasty, and over 175 coins issued by the dynasty have been covered, which are mainly in gold. The book illustrates for the first time, several silver taras and nearly 70 unpublished varieties of gold fanams. Of a total of eighty Gadayanans (so-called Pagodas), over 50 are published in this book for the first time. A Book by HARELI (137) on *Gold Fanams 1336-2000*, begins with an introductory chapter followed by a catalogue, select

bibliography, photo tables, and five appendices. The Catalogue is divided into 12 sub headings, each dealing with specific types of gold fanams, namely: Vira Raya Fanams, Ikkeri Fanams, Kali Fanams, Cobra Fanams, Tanjor Maratha Fanams, Kanthirava Fanams, Fanams with legends in Nagari script, Fanams with legends in Arabic or Persian script, Fanams with pseudo-Persian legends, Fanams with Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan, various unidentified Fanams and modern fakes and fabrications. Another book on the coins of Tamilnadu (136) focuses on the coins of the Cholas, Pandyas, Kongu Cheras, Madurai Sultan, Naykas of Madurai, Thanjavur and Gingee, the Banas of Perumbanappadi area, the Sethupatis of Ramanathapuram, the Maratha rulers of Thanjavur and Gingee, the Rajas of Sivaganga area, the Nawab of Arcot and some miscellaneous issues from different areas of Tamilnadu assignable to the period between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Another important publication is a book on Pallava coins by KRISHNAMURTHY (139), which discusses the Pallava issues in 13 chapters and two appendices. The first three chapters provide political and numismatic background. The fourth chapter gives a short introduction to Pallava coins in general. Next the author has examined the lead and copper coins in detail in two separate chapters. In the seventh chapter the Pallava coins with various symbols are examined. The eighth chapter is about Pallava coin moulds from Kachipuram excavation. Then he has examined the Pallava coins with lion symbol. The tenth chapter is interesting as it compares the lion type Pallava and Vishnukundin coins. Next follows a chapter on the Pallava influence on Dvaravati coins and medals. The last two chapters, which are more important, examine the coins of Mahendravarman (I) and Narasimhavarman (I) respectively. There are two appendices: the first one is a metallurgical study and the second deals with some miscellaneous coins in addition to the coins already discussed.

GANESH'S book on coins of Karnataka (135) attempts to record the coins of rulers of this region from 300 BC to the Wodeyar of Karnataka Mysore. The book starts with the description of the earliest coins, the punch marked coins and covers the coinage of Rashtrakutas, Western Gangas, Alupas Kalyani Chalukyas, Kalachuris, Kadambas, Yadavas of Devagiri, Hoysalas, Vijayanagar empire, Tipu Sultan and the Wodeyars of Mysore. There are sections on each dynasty. Each section has a brief history of the dynasty and a comment on the coinage. The description of the coins follows. KRISHNAMURTHY'S book (138) on Late Roman copper coins from south India deals with the finds from Karur, Madurai and Tirukkoilur in 17 chapters. These are Late Roman Emperors, Roman Trade with Tamilnadu (31 B.C. - A.D. 218), studies on the Late Roman copper coins from Madurai and Sri Lanka, mint and mint marks on the Late Roman coins found at Karur, Madurai and Tirukkoilur, portraits and legends on the Late Roman copper coins, *Gloria Exercitus*, *Felix Temporum Reparatio*, *Spes Reipublicae*, *Gloria Romanorum*, *Vota*, *Gloria Reipublicae*, *Victoria Avggg*, *Salvs Reipublicae*, *Virtus Exerciti*, *Concordia Avggg*, Monogram and lion Crouching. There are four appendices on *Venerandae Memoriae*, Chronology and Genealogy of important Roman emperors, List of Late Roman copper and bronze coins from Karur, Madurai and Tirukkoilur and metallurgical investigations on Late Roman or Indo-Roman Coins from Karur. The author focuses on the period after the death of Emperor Caracalla in A.D. 217, which was most critical in the history of Rome. The empire had almost collapsed. The commercial enterprises had received a set back and trade practically ceased to exist. This trend continued till the first half of the fourth century. But the second half of that century saw the revival of trade with Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka and this is attested by the large quality of Late Roman copper coins found at Karur and Madurai in Tamilnadu and in various places in Sri Lanka.

## Sri Lanka

There are two articles on the Roman and Byzantine coins found in Sri Lanka one by BOPEARACHCHI (160) and the other by KRISHNAMURTHY (162) on Late Roman copper coin imitations of c. 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. The article by BOPEARACHCHI deals with the contradiction raised by the narration by Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, in his Christian Topography (XI, 17-19) according to which Sopatros who having gone to the island of Taprobane (Sri Lanka) on business, and having been granted audience with the king at the same time as the Persian ambassador, convinced the king of the superiority of the Romans (here referring to the Byzantine empire) over the Persians by affecting a comparison of the coins of the two nations and the absence of significant numismatic discoveries made on the island to account for this event. He further surmises that Roman gold coin which may have entered the country as a result of trade may have been immediately melted down for making ornaments or for religious dedications. The recent archaeological discoveries made at Anuradhapura, the first ancient city of Sri Lanka has led BOPEARACHCHI to re-examine the hypothesis put forward by PARANAVITANE according to which the Roman solidus may have inspired the local gold coinage of Sri Lanka, with the Kalanda as standard, and fractional pieces of half, quarter and eighth which have been current from the 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. The author concludes that the finding of Roman and Byzantine gold coins in Sri Lanka is not just fiction but a reality. KRISHNAMURTHY in his article (162) mentions that he had the opportunity to examine nearly 3,250 Late Roman copper coins of the National Museum, Colombo. Most of the coins belong to Hatti Arachchi's collection and they may have come from various locations in Sri Lanka. The author published four coins and four imitations with good line-drawings. The first two coins belong

to the period from A.D. 330-337, and were minted in Antioch. The earliest coin belongs to the Emperor Constantine. The next two types of copper coins from the Cyzicus mint belonging to the period A.D. 402-423 were issued by Honorius.

In another article (161) BOPEARACHCHI discusses the new data concerning the chronology of ancient Sri Lankan coins which have been obtained by Sri Lankan and British archaeologists from the excavations conducted at Salgaha Watta 2 in the ancient citadel of Anuradhapura. The epigraphical and literary references make allusion to payments made by kings in thousands of karshapana on different occasions. It should be noted that the third structural period I of the Sri Lanka-British Excavations at Salgaha Watta 2 dated to between the third and second centuries BC brought to light three Punch-Marked coins. According to the calibrated dating obtained by the Sri Lanka-British Excavations at Salgaha Watta 2 in the ancient citadel of Anuradhapura, the gold coin of Lakshmi type found in the structural period C, D & E can be dated between the eighth and tenth centuries of our era. Likewise, the catalogue produced by BOPEARACHCHI based on the calibrated dating solves many problems regarding the chronology of ancient Sri Lankan coins.

SHANMUGAM (163) in this article has published the eleven types of Pandya copper coins which were collected from Mathoda, Kandarodai, Pallikuda and Virapandyanmunai. All are square or rectangular in shape. All the coins uniformly bear a stylized fish symbol on the reverse which was the dynastic symbol of the Sangam Pandyas. In his opinion the discovery of Sangam Pandya coins in Sri Lanka could suggest trade contacts between the two countries. The archaeological and literary evidences suggest a brisk trade between Sri Lanka and Tamilnadu from the Megalithic period. The coin finds further confirm the close trade contacts between these two countries. The same author in another article (164) discusses the coins reported from several sites in northern and southern parts of Sri Lanka and attributes them to the Sangam rulers of the Tamil country. He further discusses some coins with the stylized fish symbol similar to that on the Sangam Pandya coins and tries to draw a connection.

Among other publications may be mentioned a monograph on Sri Lankan coins by PUSPARATNAM unfortunately not available to the present authors. Another article by BOPEARACHCHI and RATNATUNGA, "An inscribed Abhisheka Lakshmi coin from Sri Lanka", [*News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society* 178 (Winter 2004), pp. 20-21]. Though short, it significantly deals with a lead coin in Tissamaharama (Sri Lanka), where locally issued inscribed coins began to surface in 1990. On the basis of the palaeography, these coins, including the one in question, is fixed between the second century B.C. and the second century A.D. Although coins depicting Gaja Lakshmi, popularly known as Lakshmi plaques are attested in large quantities in Sri Lanka, this is the first coin with the same iconography ever to be discovered with a Brahmi inscription, it reads: *gahapati-samanasa putasa daga*, "Of Daga ..., the son of the householder Samana".

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## SOUTH-EAST ASIA

*Michael Robinson*

There has been little activity in this area during the period of the Survey, and nothing from previous contributors to the field. Fortunately MIHAILOVS and KRISADAOLARN have begun publishing some useful papers on the early coinage of Burma and Thailand (1,2,3). These have the added merit of making available work carried out in Thailand and published in Thai, which will not be widely known.

The first millennium silver coinage of South-east Asia is very difficult to date accurately, since it is mostly symbolic with no legends. This has given rise to much disagreement amongst scholars, and in addition new types are regularly being discovered. Reference 1 illustrates a large number of coin types, mostly from Thailand, which are either new or not generally known. There is also some discussion of inscriptions (when present) and metallurgical analysis using the X-ray fluorescence technique. Interestingly, one coin has a high gold content on the surface, but its low density leads the authors to conclude that it is probably plated.

Reference (2) is a study of one particular type—the rising sun/srivatsa design. These silver coins are found all over South-east Asia and consist of a full unit of around 9 gm, and a quarter unit. A new variety is shown with a mark of six pellets instead of a swastika or cross with four pellets, the specimens of which are said to originate in Central Thailand.

Reference (3) discusses the silver coins with Bhadrapiṭha or Damaru symbol on obverse, and Srivatsa symbol on the reverse. This type was struck by the Pyu of Burma at Sriksetra and Halin. The full unit weighs around 10.1 to 11.6 gm, and halves and quarters are also known. New coins have been found weighing around 7.5 gm, which the authors claim is a distinct  $\frac{2}{3}$  unit = 64 rati, borrowed from early Chandra and Harikela coins.

These authors have also published further work too recent for this Survey, and a book is planned for publication in 2009. Also too recent to include is a new book on early Burmese coins, *Auspicious Symbols and Ancient Coins of Myanmar*, by Ko Than Htun. A discussion of these and hopefully other developments must await the next Survey.

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## CHINA

*Helen Wang, Zhou Weirong and François Thierry*

There have been significant developments in all areas of Chinese numismatics during the period 2002-2007. An extensive list is provided below and is arranged in the following sections:

- (1) Pre-Qin and Qin
- (2) Western Han, Xin Mang, Eastern Han
- (3) Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, Sui
- (4) Tang, Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms
- (5) Song
- (6) Liao, Western Xia, Jin
- (7) Yuan
- (8) Ming
- (9) Qing
- (10) Qing–Republic
- (11) Republic of China
- (12) Revolution, Resistance against Japanese, Civil War
- (13) People's Republic of China
- (14) Currency by region
- (15) The Silk Road and foreign coins in China
- (16) Production technology
- (17) Coin-shaped charms
- (18) Other

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## VIETNAM ET DE L'INDOCHINE

François Thierry

Alors que la période 1996-2001 avait été marquée par une production relativement abondante de travaux dans notre secteur, les années 2002-2007 ont vu une réduction du nombre des publications, réduction qui est compensée par une hausse sensible de la qualité. Grâce à l'apport de la contribution d'Emmanuel POISSON, le *Bibliographic Survey* peut indiquer, pour la première fois, une série importante de travaux de numismatique publiés au Vietnam ; l'abondance de la matière réunie par Emmanuel Poisson est un signe encourageant de la place de plus en plus importante que la numismatique occupe dans l'archéologie et les sciences humaines dans ce pays.

La principale publication dans le domaine de la numismatique du Vietnam ancien est sans conteste l'ouvrage d'Allan BARKER [1] qui présente une synthèse du petit monnayage officiel de cuivre : cette contribution majeure, malgré quelques minimes points contestables [21], devient la référence en la matière et remplacera avantageusement le Schroeder. On notera aussi quatre catalogues de collections publiques, deux au Vietnam [63, 78] et deux en France [19, 20]. Plusieurs travaux présentent des monnaies inédites ou mal datées, principalement de l'époque des Lê [2, 12, 13, 22, 51, 54, 65, 68, 74], ou des analyses permettant de différencier les monnayages vietnamiens des types chinois portant la même inscription [4, 5, 24]. On notera aussi plusieurs études générales sur le monnayage vietnamien, sa place dans les monnayages du monde sinisé et sur la circulation monétaire, [8, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 19, 25, 28, 48, 47, 69]. Enfin, on pourra regretter le relatif manque d'informations et de précisions sur les découvertes de monnaies vietnamiennes à l'extérieur du pays malgré quelques efforts louables [7, 9, 19, 23, 26] ; il semble que les archéologues et les chercheurs se focalisent avant tout sur les monnaies chinoises et japonaises. On notera cependant que la revue japonaise *Shutsudo senka* 出土钱貨 [Trouvailles monétaires] porte un intérêt particulier aux monnaies du Vietnam. En revanche, plusieurs travaux vietnamiens apportent des données nouvelles sur les trouvailles monétaires au Vietnam [29-34, 37, 42, 44-46, 49, 50, 57, 58, 60-62, 64, 71-73, 75, 76], sur la découverte de lingots [43] et sur la fabrication [39, 40].

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\* L'Indochine est le parent pauvre si l'on excepte plusieurs articles répétitifs et sans grand intérêt sur les Piastres de Commerce.

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## NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN JAPANESE NUMISMATIC HISTORY

*Shin'ichi Sakuraki*

Since the proceedings of the Madrid conference in 2004 did not contain any account of Japanese numismatic publications, here I shall attempt to give a summary account of numismatic research published in Japan during the last twelve years. In fact, over the last couple of decades there have been startling developments in the study of the numismatic history of Japan. This has not merely been a matter of more sophisticated use of the documentary archive but also a result of developments in archaeological research which have greatly facilitated the study of coins excavated in the course of archaeological investigations. I shall therefore focus on the ways in which archaeological finds have cast light upon the numismatic history of Japan.

Amongst the most striking archaeological finds of recent years has been the discovery, at the Saikudani site in Osaka Prefecture, of a set of eighth-century Wadō Kaichin coins still attached to the metal 'branches' from the mould – this is known as a 'coin tree' or *edazeni* in Japanese. And then there was the discovery of seventh-century Fuhonsen coins, together with moulds and remains of the casting process, at the Asukaike site in Nara Prefecture. There have been many medieval archaeological finds, too, such as the moulds for casting copper coins unearthed at the sites of the medieval settlements of Sakai and Hakata, which have told us much about the domestic production of imitation Chinese coins (Mochūsen) in Japan when no Japanese coinage was being produced. Furthermore, at the Muramatsu Shirane site in Ibaragi Prefecture a 'coin tree' of Eiraku Tsūhō coins was found which, along with other finds, has given us much information about the production of copper coins in Japan. Again, excavations carried out at the site of the Iwami silver mine in Shimane Prefecture, which from the middle of the sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth centuries was one of the largest producers of silver in the world, have confirmed that the silver smelting and refining process known as cupellation was in use there. Also, investigations at the copper smelting works at Nagahori in Osaka, which was the centre of the copper production and sales activities of the Sumitomo family in the Edo period (1600-1868), have made it possible to reconstruct the Sumitomo copper refining process. Fresh in the memory, too, is the discovery of some gold and silver Eiraku Tsūhō coins on the site of the former residence of the Mōri daimyo in Minato-ku, Tokyo.

There has also been a lot of progress made in bringing together the data on coin finds which have been made all over Japan, and there has been much more attention paid to examination of the coins themselves, for the accurate identification of the coins found is of course an indispensable part of processing the archaeological data. There can be no doubt that the introduction to Japan of Western numismatic research on single-finds has encouraged Japanese numismatists to develop data bases of single-finds in Japan and to recognise their importance.

The area of research in which the most startling developments have been made is that of ancient Japan. The oldest coins produced in Japan were the so-called Mumon-ginsen (silver coins without legend) produced in the second half of the seventh century. They were made by cutting and forming pieces of silver into round shapes and then making a round hole in the centre, and the constituent silver has a purity of above 95%. These coins have so far only been found at a dozen or so sites, sometimes cut into pieces, for example at the remains of the Ryōsenji in Shiga Prefecture. The find of Mumon-ginsen at the foundations of the Sūfukuji temple, which is also in Shiga Prefecture, has enabled us to date the coins found there to between 668 and the end of the seventh century. Judging by the fact that sometimes fragments of silver have been attached to the coins, it seems likely that they were supposed to weigh one quarter of a *ryō* (around 10g) and derived their value from their weight, unlike later cast copper coins but like early European silver coinage. If, as seems likely, these were the first coins produced in Japan, then it is clear that the earliest phase of coinage in Japan did not consist merely of imitations of Chinese cash coins but struck out in a different direction.

The discovery of Fuhonsen coins at the Asukaike site dramatically altered the long-standing belief that Wadō Kaichin coins were the oldest copper coins produced in Japan. They were found accompanied by casting equipment, including stirring paddles, and there was enough evidence both from the strata in which these finds were made and from the dates on wooden tablets found with them to be sure that the whole find dated from the late seventh century. It is not clear whether they were made before or after the Mumon-ginsen mentioned above, but they are currently considered in Japan to be the oldest coins produced by the government. One peculiarity of the Fuhonsen coins is that they are made of an alloy of copper and antimony. In numismatic books published in Japan since the seventeenth century, when coin-collecting began, the Fuhonsen have been treated not as coins but as talismanic charms. However, it is clear from the surviving slag that as many as ten thousand were cast at Asukaike



and this has given rise to the supposition that they were not charms but coins. This is still a matter for debate and no sure conclusions can be drawn. In 2007 a vessel containing nine jewels and nine Fuhonsen was found in the foundations of the palace buildings of Fujiwarakyō near Nara and this at least shows that coins were at this time certainly being used for non-monetary purposes. What is more, the form of the script on these Fuhonsen is quite different from that on the Fuhonsen found at Asukaiike, which demonstrates that Fuhonsen were cast on at least two separate occasions in different places. Similarly, the Saikudani site in Osaka Prefecture where the Wadō Kaichin coin tree was found is not a place that appears in the documentary sources as a place where coins were produced, but since it is a mis-cast item it appears likely that Saikudani was a site for the production of coins that simply does not appear in the extant historical sources.

In the tenth century the circulation of coins died out in Japan. In the middle of the twelfth century, however, coins began to be imported from China and then to circulate within Japan. Several dozen different varieties of coins issued by successive Chinese governments were imported, but most of them were Northern Song varieties, which were of course being produced in the greatest numbers. Apart from the Kai Yuan tong bao coins of the Tang dynasty, therefore, it was Northern Song coins like Huang Song yuan bao, Yuan Feng tong bao, Yuan You tong bao and Xi Ning yuan bao, and later Ming coins like Hong Wu tong bao and Yong Le tong bao, that dominated. As coins circulated in Japan in ever greater quantities it became more common for large quantities of them to be placed in wooden chests and buried, and careful analysis of such hoards gives us a good idea of the types of coin that were in circulation in Japan. For the most part it appears that larger varieties of Chinese coins did not circulate much in Japan; exceptionally, some larger coins worth two or ten *mon* have been found in Hakata, but otherwise they are rarely found in hoards and when they are it is as a rule only when the edges have been cut to reduce their size. Again, Chinese iron coins are not found in Japanese hoards either, showing that they, too, did not circulate in Japan. Chinese coins were usually used in strings of 97 tied together through the central hole, and ten such strings constituted a unit of currency called one *kanmon*.

As the middle ages progressed, the growth of manufacturing and trading activities made coins ever more indispensable, and the demand for coins in turn stimulated domestic production of imitation Chinese coins. In large cities like Kyoto, Kamakura, Hakata and Sakai evidence has emerged of casting operations there in the late medieval period. In sixteenth-century Sakai not only were imitation Chinese coins produced but also coins without a legend that are known as Mumonsen, and about 85% of the moulds that have been found were for the production of such Mumonsen.

The metal composition of these imitation Chinese coins (Mochūsen) has now been clarified. Chinese coins normally consisted of an alloy of copper, tin and lead, but tin was in short supply in Japan, so Mochūsen were either made of copper and lead or of copper on its own. A high proportion of copper reduces the malleability of the metal in the mould and this makes it difficult to produce a legend in relief. It is for this reason, therefore, that Mochūsen with poorly formed legends or Mumonsen without a legend were produced it seems at this time. Both types of coin were being produced in various parts of Japan in ever greater quantities by the time the sixteenth century was drawing to a close.

Over the last twelve years many monographs on Japanese numismatic history have been published in Japan, and the following is a representative list. Japanese names are given in usual Japanese order, with surnames preceding given names.

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22. HONDA HIROYUKI, *Sengoku Shokuhōki no kahei to kokudakasei* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, Tokyo, 2006). [Currency and the kokudaka system in the late sixteenth century].
23. SUZUKI KIMIO, *Kahei no chiikishi* (Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 2007). [The regional history of Japanese money].

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24. TAKAHASHI HIROOMI, *Genchō kahei seisaku seiritsu katei no kenkyū* (Tōyō Shoin, Tokyo, 2000). [A study of the formation of currency policy in the Yuan dynasty].
25. YAMADA KATSUYOSHI, *Kahei no chūgoku kodaishi* (Asahi Shinbunsha, Tokyo, 2000). [A history of the ancient coinage of China].
26. ICHIKO SHŌZŌ, *Shindai kaheishi kō* (Ōtori Shobō, Tokyo, 2004).
27. MIYAKE TOSHIHIKO, *Chūgoku no umerareta senka* (Dōseisha, Tokyo, 2005). [(Buried coins of China). A study of the coinage of the Qing dynasty].
28. MIYAZAWA TOMOYUKI, *Chūgoku dōsen no sekai – senka kara keizaishi e* (Shibunkau Shuppan, Kyoto, 2007). [The world of Chinese copper coins – from currency to economic history].

Most numismatic articles in Japan tend to be published in local history journals or general historical journals. The following two journals are devoted solely to research on coins.

29. *Shutsudo senka* 1-25 (1993-2008). [Excavated coins. The latest issue contains articles on coins excavated in the Ryukyu islands (Okinawa), on Vietnamese coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum and on Chinese coins as evidence of contacts between Sakhalin and the mainland].
30. *Shūshū* 1, 33-10 (1977-2008). [Collecting. A journal aimed mainly at collectors. In the current issue there is an article on the classification of Kan'ei Tsūhō].

It should also be mentioned that the Japan Numismatic Dealers Association publishes every year the *Nihon kahei catalogue*, which is a catalogue of Japanese coins and banknotes ancient and modern. Some special issues of other journals are also devoted to coins, such as the following:

31. *Ajia yūgaku* 18 (2000). [Studies in Asia. Special issue on 'The world of Song coinage – the international currency of East Asia'].
32. *Kōkōgaku* 78 (2002). [Archaeology. Special issue on 'The cutting edge of research on excavated coins'].
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34. *Okane no tamadebako – senka no rettō 2000 nenshi* (Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, Chiba, 1997). [Two thousand years of coinage in the Japanese archipelago].
35. *Maizōsen no monogatari – shutsudosen kara mita chūsei no sekai* (Kamikōzu Kaizuka Furusato Rekishi no Hiroba, Ibaragi, 1997). [Tales of buried coins – the medieval world as seen through excavated coins].
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# ÄTHIOPIEN IN DER ANTIKE UND NEUZEIT

*Wolfgang Hahn*

## Aksumitische Münzen

Die Bibliographie zur Münzkunde der aksumitischen Zeit wird auf der website [www.vincentwest.org.uk](http://www.vincentwest.org.uk) laufend aktualisiert, vielfach sogar mit kurzen Inhaltsbeschreibungen; auch die bedeutenderen Vorkommen im Münzhandel werden darin erfasst. Obwohl dieses informative Arbeitsinstrument leicht zugänglich ist, hat eine mangelhafte Rezeption der einschlägigen Fachliteratur zu einigen überflüssigen Publikationen von Nichtnumismatikern geführt. Nützlich als Einführung und gedacht für Äthiopisten, ist eine kurzgefasste Münz- und Geldgeschichte Äthiopiens im Überblick (11). Außerdem ist auf den Lexikoneinträge hinzuweisen, insbesondere „coinage“ in der *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (19).

Eine tiefgreifende, kritische Auseinandersetzung mit allen Aspekten der aksumitischen Numismatik liegt in einer umfangreichen, aber ungedruckten Pariser Dissertation vor (10). Ausgangspunkt ist dabei eine Katalogisierung der Münzbestände des Nationalmuseums in Addis Abeba, die zum allergrößten Teil aus den Fundmünzen der französischen Ausgrabungen der Jahre 1954-68 in Aksum, Matara und Adulis besteht. Damit hat sich auch die Materialbasis um über 800 Münzen vermehrt. Publikationen kleinerer Sammlungen sind ebenfalls zu verzeichnen: Oxford mit 65 Münzen, Cambridge mit 12 Münzen und eine Privatsammlung mit 41 Münzen (34).

Typologische Nachträge zum Zitierwerk von MUNRO-HAY (*Aksumite Coinage* 1995) sind in kleineren Notizen zu finden, die aber nur Beizeichen-, Legenden- oder auch nur Stempel-Varianten enthalten (22, 35). Derartige Addenda sind ebenfalls in der angegebenen website verarbeitet.

Eine stempelkritische Studie der Goldmünzen des frühen Königs Ousanas I hat neuerlich gezeigt, welche Möglichkeiten einer statistischer Auswertung beim derzeitigen Stand der Materialerfassung bestehen (36). Ein metrologischer Beitrag rekonstruiert den Münzfuss der aksumitischen Goldmünzen aus den Rechen- und Wägegewohnheiten des südsemistischen Kulturraumes in teilweiser Abstimmung mit römischen Goldmünzen (12). Weitere metallurgische Untersuchungen wurden an den enigmatischen (erfundenen?) Silbermünzen des Königs Mhdys (um 430) durchgeführt (27), bei denen die Echtheit weiterhin bezweifelt werden darf; außerdem an wenigen Kupfermünzen unterschiedlicher Prägezeit, ohne dass besondere Erkenntnisse gewonnen werden konnten (28). Technische, ikonographische und währungspolitische Aspekte der Teilvergoldung wurden neuerlich angesprochen (13, 28).

Die Interpretation der ideologische Komposition einzelner Münztypen hat Fortschritte gemacht, so bei der vielfach mit dem Kreuzschild kombinierten Bekehrungsdevise, deren Auftreten auf einigen, besonders häufigen Münztypen religionsgeschichtlich relevant ist (16). Die Kreuztypologie der Münzen fand Aufnahme in primär kulturgeschichtlich ausgerichtete Werke über das Kreuz in Äthiopien (5, 21, 24, 29). Zu den Münzaufschriften und zur Geldterminologie sind kritische Beiträge von linguistisch-philologischer Seite erschienen (2, 8).

Zum Fundmünzaufkommen gibt es Notizen aus den Grabungen der Universität Hamburg in Aksum 2001-03 und 2006 (17) und den italienisch-kanadischen Grabungen in Aksum 2002 (6). Zu den südarabischen und römischen Münzen im Geldumlauf von Aksum liegt eine neue Zusammenfassung vor (17), in der die älteren Notizen (3) ergänzt werden. Eine aksumitische Fundmünze wurde aus Berenike an der ägyptischen Küste des Roten Meeres gemeldet (32). Der Fundniederschlag aksumitischer Goldmünzen in Südindien kam auf einer Tagung über das Römische Geld im Orient zur Sprache (25).

Zur Forschungsgeschichte sind mehrere Artikel erschienen (9, 18, 37); dazu zählen auch die Nachrufe auf zwei Autoren, die durch zahlreiche - teils gemeinsame - Publikationen in der aksumitischen Numismatik einen Namen haben, nämlich MUNRO-HAY (23) und JUEL-JENSEN (23).

In ihrer größeren Breitenwirkung über die Fachliteratur hinausgehend sind Lexikonbeiträge zu den einzelnen Königen, die zumeist nur durch ihre Münzprägung bekannt sind (7, 19, 26).

Schließlich fanden auch wieder einige Münzen Aufnahme in Ausstellungen und wurden in deren Katalogen kommentiert (21, 24).

## Das moderne äthiopische Münz- und Geldwesen

Ein kurzgefasster Überblick informiert über die moderne äthiopische Münzgeschichte von 1889 bis 1945 (11). Einschlägige Lexikoneinträge in der *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (19, 30) sind ebenfalls allgemeiner Natur. Die Artikelserie zur Geschichte der Münzstätte Addis Abeba 1903-1936 wurde mit zwei Beiträgen über die Medaillen und über archivalische Nachrichten fortgesetzt (14). Auch aus der zeitgenössischen Reise- und Briefliteratur ließen sich Aufschlüsse zu bestimmten Anlässen von Jeton- und Medaillenprägungen gewinnen (15).

Die Rolle des Maria Theresien-Thalers in Äthiopien und seine Verbindung zur Schmuckherstellung ist neuerlich beleuchtet worden (20, 31); dazu gibt es auch einen Lexikoneintrag (33).

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## MONNAIES AFRICAINES

*Josette Rivallain, Jacques Schoonheydt*

L'étude des monnaies africaines dérouté les numismates classiques, car cette dernière fait appel à des mécanismes complexes, des connaissances et des méthodes d'approche bien différentes. La solution la plus radicale est de nier l'existence de monnaies en Afrique. Cette façon de tourner la page est bien appauvrissante, car se plonger dans un univers aux conceptions différentes est très enrichissant. Il est vrai que peu d'entre nous s'y consacrent actuellement, preuve en est la brièveté de la liste des nouvelles publications parues depuis 2002.

Deux parutions principales sont caractéristiques du regard porté actuellement sur les phénomènes monétaires africains : il s'agit de l'ouvrage de GUYER (1) et de la publication en cours du colloque organisé en 2007 à Londres, au British Museum, sous la direction de CRIBB et EAGLETON: *Money in Africa* (8).

D'autres explorent des pistes plus anciennes car la liste des monnaies africaines identifiables en Afrique est très longue, compliquée par celle des produits introduits par les non Africains, Européens ou non, afin de mieux s'insérer dans les circuits commerçants et politiques des différentes régions du continent : SCHOONHEYDT poursuit un très méticuleux dépouillement des sources muséales et archivistiques belges (4, 5) et cherche à décoder le fonctionnement d'ensemble de cette diversité monétaire apparente (6).

La publication de GUYER apparaît très novatrice : dans son approche, car elle recourt au regard des économistes, des anthropologues et des historiens, et dans sa vision globale du problème monétaire en Afrique tel que l'on peut l'aborder dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances. Elle explicite l'ancienneté des fonctionnements monétaires africains leur logique dans les différentes structures politiques à travers le temps, leur lien avec l'histoire des différentes régions, insiste sur la constance des pratiques financières informelles qui perdurent jusqu'à nos jours. En effet, la monnaie est avant tout normée par et grâce aux relations sociales et par la confiance établie entre les partenaires qui en usent. F. A. Iroko l'avait bien explicité dans sa thèse (non éditée, soutenue en 1988, quand il montrait que les cauris servaient de monnaie dans le sud du Bénin, au XVIII<sup>e</sup> et au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles, autour du royaume d'Abomey, avec un système de comptage, la longueur d'enfilage du coquillage, et de prêt bancaire authentifié par l'apposition de la main sur un support précis).

En fait, l'approche européenne des monnaies africaines s'établit selon les critères d'une politique mercantiliste étalonnée, au départ, sur les métaux précieux : l'or, et continuant de privilégier les supports métalliques, toute forme d'alliage confondue : thaler de Marie-thérèse, manilles, par exemple, cherchant à établir des sphères d'échanges cloisonnés avec des hiérarchies, des appels à la moralité, et passant à côté de la richesse des critères sociaux effectifs.

GUYER, et cet aspect est à souligner, réalise bien que les sociétés africaines, dans lesquelles la notion d'état souverain hiérarchisé à l'excès est étrangère, se sont dotées de possibilités de créer des échanges entre des partenaires très variés, pouvant ne rien avoir en commun : codes sociaux, interdits moraux, et économiques, mais autorisant des échanges à grande distance à travers la coexistence durable de plusieurs monnaies utilisées en fonction du genre, de la nature des transactions, de la destination de l'épargne, et peu à travers l'aspect physique de chacune des formes des monnaies. Ce système repose sur un système très souple de ces de relations sociales acceptées par les différents partenaires, prêt à saisir les nouvelles logiques qui se présentent, à les assimiler, à en tirer le meilleur profit. Cette approche de la monnaie en Afrique nous met au contact direct avec une analyse des réalités vécues, que l'on retrouve également dans l'étude des mots désignant le comptage et les opérations bancaires traditionnelles (avec des mots empruntés à de multiples langues), dans un univers où les institutions étatiques sont historiquement faibles et où les relations sociales constituent les mailles du tissu culturel des différentes populations.

De nos jours, la confiance dans les banques reste très relative, le règlement en espèce étant préféré à tout autre. Le recours aux systèmes bancaires alternatifs établis sur des normes culturelles construites localement requiert, de loin, la confiance du plus grand nombre : le système des tontines est très connu pour cela ; mais ces systèmes alternatifs sont en concurrence avec d'autres institutions, ce qui engendre des tensions. Aussi les grandes banques africaines développent-elles de nouveaux contacts entre la monnaie et ses publics, à travers des projets de création de musées monétaires, comme pour renforcer le processus de confiance qu'entretient le système bancaire avec sa clientèle, et renforcer la reconnaissance d'identités nationales et régionales. Dans ce domaine d'approche théorique, le concours d'économistes chevronnés : J. M. Servet, J. Coussy, C. Fisiy, est très précieux, mais ce volet

théorique ne doit pas masquer l'apport, à une échelle apparemment plus modeste, d'études ponctuelles éclairant les multiples facettes des monnaies africaines ainsi que de leur histoire.

Il faut rester conscient que l'étude des monnaies africaines est intimement liée à l'avancée de celle du passé du continent et, dans ce domaine, de nombreuses recherches restent à réaliser ; il ne faut pas non plus perdre de vue que le continent africain ne constitue pas un bloc culturel uniforme. Yandesa Mavuzi a consacré une publication à l'approche politico-historique et numismatique de cet immense ensemble humain qu'est la République démocratique du Congo. A travers billets de banque et pièces de monnaies il nous décrypte les symboles qui y sont associés et les grandes étapes de l'histoire de son pays (7).

Un tableau très large des monnaies africaines, de 800 A.D. à nos jours a été proposé en 2007 lors du colloque cité plus haut, organisé au British Museum, et en cours de publication (8): des lingots du commerce transsahariens, aux modestes paiements pratiqués sur les marchés à l'époque précoloniale, aux monnaies ayant eu largement cours au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans d'importantes régions : perles en pâte de verre, bouteilles d'alcool, cauris (PALLAVER, HEAP, EAGLETON). L'impact de l'introduction et de l'usage des monnaies coloniales sont examinés à la lueur de la survivance des monnaies plus anciennes, tant en Afrique occidentale qu'orientale.

Un très intéressant volet est consacré aux mots désignant la monnaie, aux systèmes de comptage, à leurs liens avec des formes d'identité nationale, de groupes sociaux liés au commerce ainsi qu'aux usages religieux. Tout ceci concourt à rendre très vivantes ces études placées sous le signe de l'ancienneté des monnaies en Afrique. Le volet le plus neuf, sans doute, aborde la monnaie actuelle en tant qu'instrument bancaire, le souci des dirigeants africains de disposer d'une monnaie véritablement africaine, avec également l'autre face, qui en sont les contrefaçons. Ces présentations font suite aux travaux engagés lors de l'exposition organisée par CRIBB au British Museum sur les monnaies africaines en 2005.

La poursuite de l'approche des monnaies africaines, de façon individuelle ou globalement reste indispensable car chacune présente une histoire et explicite une part du fonctionnement général de l'ensemble. Il reste encore plus aisé d'étudier les substituts introduits par des étrangers à l'Afrique, mais impliqués dans les circuits d'échanges à longue distance, tel le Thaler de Marie-Thérèse qui, commandé par le gouvernement turc, pour payer ses achats avec l'Abyssinie, a dépassé ce cadre et intégré la vie non seulement commerciale mais sociale et religieuse de nombreuses régions (3).

Des produits importés en Afrique occidentale à l'époque précoloniale, puis par les gouvernements coloniaux, sont plus particulièrement examinés ici comme les bouteilles de gin dans le sud du Nigeria (2) et placées dans leur contexte, produits substitués à d'autres plus anciens dont le contrôle échappait aux arrivants qui souhaitaient développer de nouveaux circuits marchands. De nos jours, la bouteille de gin est le viatique à ne pas oublier pour être accueilli par les chefs des régions touchées par ces bouteilles. Les gouvernements coloniaux ont pris la relève de ces pratiques et établis des listes d'objets à importer en Afrique car ils y étaient acceptés sur place et permettaient en retour des transactions de qualité SCHOONHEYT l'a clairement explicité à travers les documents des archives du Cabinet des Médailles de Bruxelles (4).

La démarche qui a suivi ce mouvement consista à imposer la monnaie des colons aux colonies. Cela ne se fit pas un seul jour, et SCHOONHEYT analyse ce mécanisme échelonné sur vingt ans (5) dans l'Etat Indépendant du Congo. En 1885, le roi Léopold II se donna pour mission d'introduire la civilisation et le commerce au centre de l'Afrique ; il adopta un système monétaire légal pour l'Etat indépendant du Congo, par décret du 7 juillet 1887.

A partir de là débuta une longue aventure, bien proche de la substitution des monnaies locales par des produits importés faisant office de, mais rapportant des bénéfices à des commerçants étrangers, souvent, mais pas toujours, aux dépens des interlocuteurs locaux. D'autant qu'il fallait une masse imposante de numéraire et que ce dernier fut progressivement frappé, d'abord à Bruxelles. Et de là, encore fallait-il l'acheminer sur place. Pendant le quart de siècle que dura cette aventure, des monnaies reconnues furent sélectionnées et étalonnées au mieux, en attendant l'usage possible de la monnaie officielle : fils de cuivre (*mitako*), perles en pâte de verre, cauris, outils en fer, manilles, sel, étoffes, croisettes restent bien connus.

En 1909 fut créée la Banque du Congo Belge, chargée d'introduire le numéraire libellé en francs. Alors le coffre fort de l'Agence du Katanga était une cantine placée sous le lit de camp du directeur de l'agence qui vivait dans une case (5).



Cet épisode souligne la difficulté de substituer une monnaie à une autre en Afrique sur une grande échelle. L'étude, menée à partir d'un rapport officiel remis au roi Léopold II, devrait être complétée par des enquêtes sur place, qui manquent encore trop souvent, afin de détailler le mécanisme de reconnaissance et d'acceptation sur place par les différentes régions concernées.

Toutes ces études exposent le dynamisme de la monnaie en Afrique et de ses fonctionnements mis au point hors de systèmes étatiques statique dont ce continent de s'est jamais doté dans le passé.

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## OCEANIA (ETHNOGRAPHIC)

Walter R. Bloom

As in previous years almost all of the research on the ethnographic currency of Oceania has been based in Germany, and in particular connected with the Museum of History of Money in Cologne under the directorship of Mr Thomas LAUTZ. The repository of this work is *Der Primitivgeldsammler*, the journal of EUCOPRIMO (European Union to Search for, Collect and Preserve Primitive and Curious Money; see [www.eucoprino.com](http://www.eucoprino.com)). There are however a few exceptions, including the publication (3), which deals with the exchange of shell valuables in the Massim region of Papua New Guinea based on a field based examination of the background of Kula in the south-western Pacific [this book is reviewed in (9)] and (15) which covers a similar area of Papua New Guinea. Susanne KUEHLING's PhD thesis, which precedes this latter work, has been reviewed in (10).

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## MEDALS

## INTRODUCTION

*Philip Attwood*

### Introduction

The general picture as regards medals is of continuing research on a wide range of fronts, in spite of occasional laments of a slackening of interest or a paucity of serious research in particular countries. Contributions range from ambitious multi-volume works to articles on individual medallists and medals. Only a few publications can be mentioned in this brief introduction, and constraints of space mean that even important works have been omitted.

The range of publishers remains broad, with museums and numismatic societies being particularly important. Those countries with thriving medallic organisations, such as the Finnish Guild of Medallic Art, the British Art Medal Society and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Medaillenkunst, have an added advantage in the possibilities that such bodies give for publication. The number of individuals whose names appear more than once in the pages below indicate the depth of engagement of various researchers, whilst other entries show that scholars in other branches of history and art history continue to recognise the historical and art-historical value of medals. The growth in the contextualisation of medals that has taken place in recent years shows no sign of diminishing.

The catalogue and the corpus are the essential foundations on which further studies are built. Papal studies benefited significantly from this approach during this period, through the various volumes of MODESTI's *Corpus Numismatum Omnium Romanorum Pontificum* (12-14) and a further volume from MISELLI, on *Il papato dal 1605 al 1669 attraverso le medaglie* (11). Papal medals have been much discussed in the past, but this new research is important for separating out the various series and the restitutions and restrikes that have been such a feature of papal medal production. DIAKOV's seven-volume *Medals of the Russian Empire (1672-1917)* (5) offers a similarly useful introduction to what had previously been a difficult area for western scholars. Significant advances were seen in the cataloguing of specific collections, as with VANNEL and TODERI's four-volume *Medaglie italiane del Museo Nazionale del Bargello* (21), which covers the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, and CANO's *Catálogo de medallas españolas. Museo Nacional del Prado* (4), which takes in the sixteenth to the twentieth. An important but relatively unknown section of the holdings of museums in Britain is the subject of the present author's *Italian medals c. 1530-1600 in British public collections* (2), whilst the late POLLARD's *Renaissance medals* catalogues the medal collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, expanding greatly the older catalogue of that collection and including a much broader range of medals than its title suggests (15).

A number of conference proceedings allowed certain subjects to be covered in depth. A publication of this type that makes a significant contribution to the study of Renaissance medals is SATZINGER's *Die Renaissance-Medaille in Italien und Deutschland* (17). Less focussed are the regular congresses held by the Fédération Internationale de la Médaille d'Art, the slightly longer name recently adopted FIDEM, which are normally held biennially but latterly (and it is to be hoped temporarily) have occurred at three-year intervals. Those held during the years under discussion took place in Paris in 2002, Seixal in 2004, and Colorado Springs in 2007. FIDEM's periodical, *Médailles*, publishes many of the talks, which are given by a broad range of academics, collectors, artists and others and cover both historical and contemporary subjects, varying from scholarly papers to more discursive addresses.

Dynasties of makers are a notable feature of medallic history, and here major advances were made during this period, with such works as EISLER's two-volume *The Dassiers of Geneva: 18<sup>th</sup>-century European medallists* (6). An earlier family of medal-engravers is the subject of SMOLDEREN's *Les Waterloos: graveurs bruxellois de médailles et de sceaux (XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (18). Important publications on individual medallists include BANNICKE's treatment of Johann Christian Koch (3), STEGUWEIT's books on Raimund Faltz and Hilde Broër (19, 20), and RASMUSSEN's *Harald Salomon – en dansk medaljør og billedhugger* (16). Thematic studies include works on masonic medals, noted below under both Romania and Great Britain, a rich but previously somewhat neglected area. The complex nature of calendar medals is elucidated by ACKERMANN (1), who brings to the subject her knowledge of scientific instruments in a demonstration of the value of sharing academic expertise across disciplines.

Exhibition catalogues are another way in which new research is presented, new connections made, and new medals brought to public attention. The impressive number of exhibitions that featured French medals in 2002-7 are

listed separately in the section on France below, whilst, in her introduction to the Portuguese section, FIGUEIREDO makes it clear how much the contemporary Portuguese medal scene relies on exhibitions to publicise and memorialise its activities. The catalogues of the exhibitions that accompanied the FIDEM congresses of Paris, Seixal and Colorado Springs performed this role on a global scale, and the world of contemporary medals would be immeasurably poorer without these exhibitions and publications.

Many of the articles listed below appeared in specifically numismatic journals. With the exception of the British Art Medal Society's journal *The Medal*, these concentrate almost exclusively on the medals and medallists of their own countries. By contrast, the international basis of *The Medal* meant that it was an appropriate home for LEAVITT BOURNE's article on the Iranian sculptor Parviz Tanavoli. The introduction of the art medal into a new country is always an event worthy of note and it is to be hoped that an Iranian school of medal-making may now take root; Tanavoli has since introduced his students to medal work. Medal production has spread far since the first works of the Italian Renaissance, and FIDEM is to be congratulated for its endeavours to expand the range still further.

As is noted by BLOOM and STAHL in the discussions of the medals of Oceania and of USA and Canada respectively, sales catalogues also serve as important sources of information. Websites now also play a similar role, and GIMENO has included a number of Spanish sites below. In her introduction to Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxembourg, SCHARLOO raises the question of the transient nature of artists' websites, potentially an invaluable resource for future researchers but one that is at risk of being lost forever. This is perhaps another area in which FIDEM could engage.

SCHARLOO also refers to Utrecht's new Geldmuseum and the role of medals within it. The modern tendency to re-brand numismatic collections and displays as 'Money Museums' has serious implications for medal studies, implications that as yet appear not to have been fully addressed. It is to be hoped that the excellent medal exhibitions and accompanying catalogues produced by such institutions as Stockholm's Royal Coin Cabinet (listed here by Marie-Astrid Voisin) will continue. A recent heartening development has been the designation in some countries of centres of medallic activity. Bergen has become an important focus for medal studies in Norway and Seixal is now a vibrant centre for contemporary medals in Portugal, hosting international biennial exhibitions and competitions as well as FIDEM 2004.

The division of medallic research into modern nation states, as is traditional in the *Survey*, is not ideal, for history does not lend itself readily to such demarcations. The many works that impinge on the medallic histories of more than one country are repeated in the lists that follow here, sometimes in several places. Moreover, the international content of the FIDEM exhibitions of contemporary medals also fits uneasily into this format. However, it is not easy to think of an arrangement that would present the information in a more accessible manner.

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## DENMARK

*Else Rasmussen*

This survey covers all publications of major importance on medals and a few presentations of new medals. General information about new Danish medals can be found in either *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad* or *Numismatisk Rapport*.

The year 2005 was characterised by articles and exhibitions on the bicentenary of the birth of Hans Christian Andersen. LEHMANN (12) wrote an article on all Andersen medals from the period 1875-2005. Based on an analysis of the motifs of all sixty-three medals, she aimed to show how the author had been presented at different times. WISÉHN wrote about the childhood of Andersen, the portraits of the author, and medals related to his fairytales (19). RASMUSSEN (18) wrote about Andersen and his fairytales on medals in an article published in connection with an exhibition at the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Copenhagen.

MØLLER (14) discussed the creation of two coronation medals from 1840, made by the well-known Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen. NIELSEN (15) wrote an interesting article about a medal from 1834 commemorating equal rights for the indigenous and Danish inhabitants of the Virgin Islands, in which he discussed the process of creating the medal.

Two larger works about two Danish medallists appeared. The first was by MEYER (24), who wrote about the medals of Jan Petersen, medallist at the Danish Royal Mint from 1986 to 1998; the book includes a complete list of all his medals. RASMUSSEN (3) wrote a book about the medallist and sculptor Harald Salomon, the most important Danish medallist of the nineteenth century; again, there is a catalogue of all Salomon's medals.

SALAÜN and TURCKHEIM-PEY (7) wrote about two previously unknown examples of the Danish 'Køge Bugt' medal, both in collections in France; the medal is one of the largest medals ever struck. JENSEN (1) published an article about national symbols on coins and medals, and in 2005 the same author (2) wrote about medal dies from the Royal Danish Mint and how they came to the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in Copenhagen. MÄRCHER (9) wrote an article about the die-engraver and medallist Abraham Heylbuth and his works for the Altona mint in 1800.

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## SWEDEN

*Marie-Astrid Voisin*

The two main institutions to have published studies relating to Swedish medallic art between 2002 and 2007 are the Royal Coin Cabinet and the Swedish Numismatic Society.

The Royal Coin Cabinet published seven catalogues to accompany exhibitions (3-5, 9, 11-12, 16, 94), with topics ranging from movie stars (3) to Saint Birgitta (16).

Two contemporary artists have been the subjects of an exhibition and catalogue. In 2003 the Swedish artist Ernst Nordin had a retrospective exhibition with the medals he had produced since 1966. Other artwork such as sculptures and watercolours were also a part of the exhibition (9). A catalogue raisonné with a total of seventy-eight medals and eight coins was a part of the publication, which was fully illustrated in colour. The British artist Ron Dutton was introduced to the Swedish public in 2004. The catalogue accompanying the exhibition is composed of an interview, or rather a conversation, with the artist conducted by VOISIN (11) and a reflection on his artistic life by the artist. Three Swedish artists exhibited at the Royal Coin Cabinet in the summer of 2005 and a catalogue was published for that occasion (94). An article illustrating the exhibition was written for *The Medal* (85). Three art medal artists were the subject of articles in *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*: Ludeek Havelka with his exhibition in Stockholm (70), Richárd Török who made a medal of the Swedish Children's writer Astrid Lindgren (97), and Carl Milles and his medal for the Association of Swedish Professional Photographers (46).

The history of the medal collection of the Royal Coin Cabinet was published in *The Medal* by VOISIN (13). The Cabinet's long history began in 1572 with a dispute between Sweden and Denmark about the use of the national symbol of the three crowns. The collection started with a small number of coins but very soon medals were included. Great royal collectors such as Queen Christina, Charles XI, Queen Lovisa Ulrika and Gustav III have increased the cabinet's collection of medals. In 1796 the collection was moved to the newly opened Royal Museum and was supervised by a keeper of medals. The collection has since then been housed in several different premises in Stockholm and been taken care of by keepers and curators. Today the Royal Coin Cabinet has moved back to its, almost, original location and the collection continues to grow.

A major general work on the collection of medical medals of the Swedish Society of Medicine was published in 2007 by LAGERQVIST and NORDLIND (1). The Society received its first medal in 1844 and today the collection contains a total of six hundred medals. The medals issued by the Society itself total eleven. The first twenty pages include an introduction to the Swedish Society of Medicine, a short history of the medal, an introduction to the different techniques of medal production, a short history of the collection, and a list of the artists who made the medals. The catalogue raisonné is divided into five categories: persons with a connection with medicine, the medals of the Swedish Society of Medicine, inoculation medals, and medals with a connection to medical science.

In 2002 and 2003 the National Museum held two large exhibitions involving seventeenth-century silver objects. For these VOISIN presented two articles on the treasures of Gustav Adolf, their history and significance, and a description of the objects in the exhibition (7, 8, 10). HEMMINGSSON wrote a detailed article in the Swedish numismatic journal about Queen Christina's medal dies from her time in Rome after her abdication from the Swedish throne (22).

The eighteenth century and in particular Gustav III and his time were dealt with in LAGERQVIST's articles about the medals of the battles of Fredrikshamn and Svenskund (31) and the medal for the christening of crown prince Gustav Adolf given to his godfathers (32). CARLSON's article raised the issued of bravery medals from the peace of Wäralä in 1790 (27). PRYTZ analysed the work of the artist and interior architect Louis Masreliez and his influence on the medal designs (33). I. WISEHN presented a plaster medallion from the Royal Coin Cabinet's collection which had been given to the Swedish sculptor Johan Tobias Sergel (35). VOISIN's article in *The Medal* (34) introduced a new acquisition for the Royal Coin Cabinet in the form of a drawing for a medal by Bouchardon concerning the alliance between Sweden and France of 1738. I. WISEHN wrote about a rare British medal of the siege of Gibraltar (36) by the artist Lewis Pingo.

Internationally, the contemporary medals in Sweden were discussed in the FIDEM catalogues (69, 93, 96). Participation in FIDEM (91) and other congresses such as BAMS (92) was recalled in *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift*. A research trip to the Vatican and its medal collection have been the subject of a series of articles (14, 15).

The themes of boats (65), submarines (56) and airplanes (57, 60) on medals were discussed in several articles. The theme of music was presented in an article about a medal for constructing violins by GOLABIEWSKI-LANNBY (49) and one for the commemoration of Amadeus Mozart by E. WISEHN (101).

Great Swedish personalities such as Saint Birgitta (16, 73), Dag Hammarskjöld (18, 88), Harry Martinson (53) and Carl Linnaeus (102) were the subjects of catalogues and articles due to various commemorations.

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## FINLAND

*Tuukka Talvio*

Interest in medallic art in Finland seems to have abated somewhat during recent years. This is shown by the relatively short list of publications in this *Survey*.

Until 1809 Finland was part of Sweden and from 1809 to 1917 it belonged to the Russian empire. This is why the book published by the National Museum in Helsinki on medals and medallic art in Finland begins with Swedish medals of the sixteenth century (28). The new catalogue of Russian medals by DIAKOV also includes numerous medals that are either connected with Finland or were issued in Finland in the nineteenth century (3). The catalogue is very well illustrated, but the listings and descriptions of Finnish material are incomplete. CHEPURNOV's work on Russian award medals, on the other hand, contains information on medals awarded to Finns that was previously unavailable in Finland (2). The same is true of LAGERQVIST's article on Swedish award medals connected with the war in Finland of 1788-90 (13).

Most of the publications mentioned below were published in the yearbook of the Guild of Medallic Art in Finland, *Mitalitaiteen vuosikirja – Årsbok för medaljkonst*, which in addition to news of exhibitions and competitions contains articles, normally in Finnish but with Swedish and English summaries.

Ever since the publication of the catalogues of Finnish medals by BOSTRÖM (posthumously) in 1932-36 (1) and LAITAKARI in 1969 (14), the idea of a new catalogue comprising all medals issued in Finland after 1968 has sometimes been discussed, but the idea has been dismissed as too impracticable. Now the emphasis is on the publication of catalogues listing the works of individual artists. *Mitalitaiteen vuosikirja* started a series that began with Kauko Räsänen in 2001 and was continued with fully illustrated presentations of the works of Toivo Jaatinen (6) and Heikki Häiväoja (5, 7, 16, 21). There were also shorter articles on Vilho Härkönen (19), Laila Pullinen (18) and Jussi Vikainen (38). Publications dealing with specific themes, for example, medals issued by municipalities (12), have also been encouraged.

Information on several sculptors who have made medals is now available in the ten volumes of *Kansallisbiografia*, the new Finnish dictionary of national biography. Unfortunately, the articles do not as a rule contain adequate information on their medals, with the exception of C.M. Mellgren, a Swedish medallist who moved to Finland in 1838 (23).

During the last few years, medals have been issued in Finland to commemorate the anniversaries of several historical individuals. There were reports on the various medal competitions in *Mitalitaiteen vuosikirja*, which also published articles on the earlier medals of the same people. In 2002, the theme was Elias Lönnrot, compiler of the *Kalevala* (20); in 2004, the poet J.L. Runeberg (8); in 2006, the statesman and philosopher J.W. Snellman (10, 26), and in 2007 the church reformer Michael Agricola (4, 17, 27).

There were relatively few articles on individual medals or groups of medals, but some were published in *Numismaattinen Aikakauslehti*, the newsletter of the Finnish Numismatic Society (9, 11, 15, 22, 24, 25, 29).

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## NORWAY

*Anette Sættem*

One of the main contributions to the field of Norwegian medals during the period 2002-7 was a catalogue of Norwegian medals issued between 1804 and 1905, published by the brothers K. KVIST and M. KVIST (23), covering 129 works. The period between 1814 and c.1880 previously represented a gap between Georg Galster's significant work on official Danish and Norwegian medals that covers the period to 1814 (published in 1936), and Støren and Holst's publication beginning in the 1880s (published 1937) – the latter only containing the works of the Norwegian medal-engraver Ivar Throndsen.

A publication on Fridtjof Nansen's private collection of medals and orders, describing both foreign and Norwegian medals and coins portraying Nansen, was produced by ANTONSEN (4). The catalogue contains 106 objects, 84 of which belong to Nansen's private collection, which was donated to the numismatic collection of the Museum of Cultural Heritage, University of Oslo, in July 1930. Hans Holst published a list of the donated objects in *NNUM* (1939), no. 3.

In 2003, ØVERLAND (30) published a very useful catalogue of Norwegian tokens. The former study within this field is *Norges Transportpoletter* from 1987 (by E. Schibby and G. Thesen), but this includes only tokens related to transportation. In 1995 the work of G.A. Saether, *Kreditmerker, Sundbåtpoletter og andre numismatiske objekter fra Møre og Romsdal*, was published, but, as the name indicates, this deals only with tokens from the county of Møre og Romsdal in the western part of Norway.

Once again the journal of the Norwegian Numismatic Society, *Norsk Numismatisk Tidsskrift (NNF–Nytt)*, published a range of articles by different authors: ANTONSEN (5, 6), BREKKE (7), IGELTORP (10), JOHANNESSEN (11), K. KVIST (12, 15-22), M. KVIST (24-26), REICHEL (27) and TROSDAHL (29). The Nordic *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad (NNUM)* contains two Norwegian contributions on medals in this period, by K. KVIST (13) and SKAARE (28).

In the course of this period a profound interest in medals developed in Bergen. VON ACHEN (1-3) published two articles on the collection of medals in Bergen Museum in addition to his analysis of a religious medal from 1630 at the *Congreso Internacional de Numismática* in Madrid 2003. HELDAAS SELAND (8, 9) published an article on devotional medals in *Instruments of Devotion. The Practices and Objects of Religious Piety from the Late Middle Ages to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*. She also wrote an article for the yearbook of Bergen Museum on the Miraculous Medals in the museum's collection.

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## GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

*Philip Attwood*

Although a number of books published during this period threw light on various individual aspects of British medallic history, there was no significant survey of the subject as a whole. Edward Hawkins' Medallic illustrations of the history of Great Britain and Ireland and Laurence Brown's three-volume British historical medals remain the standard sources. The British Art Medal Society's journal, *The Medal*, was the principal vehicle for articles relating to British medals throughout this period, with important contributions to the subject also appearing in the British Numismatic Society's *British Numismatic Journal*, Spink's *Numismatic Circular* and elsewhere. The British Numismatic Society's centenary in 2003 provided the opportunity for a summary of the society's longstanding contribution to medallic research by BROWN (5), whilst the twentieth anniversary of the British Art Medal Society was marked by a celebratory book (37) and its twenty-fifth by the publication of various documents relating to its early years (39). The BNS centenary and BAMS twenty-fifth anniversaries were the occasion for new medals, both by Danuta Solowiej, the stories behind which were published in the respective societies' journals (52, 54).

One under-researched area that saw some welcome new publications was that of masonic medals. Books by SOLT DENNIS (16) and HARRIS (10) provide useful introductions to the subject, while an article by ROYLE (15) concentrated on the medals related specifically to London's Freemasons Hall. Another area ripe for research was that of calendar medals. ACKERMANN's catalogue of 120 calendar medals from the British Museum's collection (1) is a ground-breaking survey of this material, which is as relevant to the history of science as it is to that of medals. The majority of the medals included are British, but France, Germany and the Netherlands are among other countries represented. HOOK (11) provided a valuable technical addendum to this important work. Another area of study now particularly well served is British India, with PUDDISTER's new edition of his 1987 book (14) greatly expanding the original publication.

No new studies devoted specifically to early British medals appeared during this period, although a metal-detectorist's find in Switzerland of an Elizabethan pass from London is not without interest (17). BARBER's analysis of various medals depicting London (3) took the seventeenth century as its starting point. GEORGE (18, 24) added significantly to earlier work by Antony Griffiths, publishing two studies of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century advertisements for medals. Two important studies of Jacobite medals by GUTHRIE (25, 26) added immeasurably to Noel Woolf's pioneering work on this subject, while the coronation medals of George III were the subject of a detailed study by SNOWMAN (28). EIMER, whose study of the Pingo family of medallists appeared in 1998, contributed a section on medals to an exhibition catalogue devoted to James 'Athenian' Stuart (23), as well as writing a short piece on the Pingos that contained valuable new information (22).

DYKES (20, 21, 32) published a number of important works on the medals and tokens of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries, an area in which SYMONS (29, 36) was also active. The Victorian period received less attention than has been customary in recent years. Notable exceptions were a set of previously unknown and very revealing letters concerning Queen Victoria's golden jubilee medal, addressed by Frederic Leighton to Edgar Boehm, published by STOCKER (35) and a medal by Leonard Wyon published by PAGAN (34).

Monographs on various twentieth-century medallists appeared: Sophia Rosamond Praeger, an Irish sculptor who had studied under Alphonse Legros at London's Slade School of Art, by MCBRINN (46); Charles Doman, by PICKUP (48); Percy Metcalfe, by FORRESTER (43), the latter concentrating on the wide range of non-numismatic media in which the artist worked; and Eric Kennington, by BLACK (40). Gilbert Ledward's medallic work is considered in the broader context of his larger sculpture by MORIARTY (47). The achievements of two artists who were partners in life were also remembered through publications. The life of John Lobban, who died in 1996, is recalled in *The British Columbia medals of John Lobban*, where this series of Canada-inspired medals is reproduced in its entirety (38), whilst Avril Vaughan, who died in 2006, was the subject of a tribute by family and friends that appeared in *The Medal* (44).

Contemporary artists who were the subjects of studies include Rob Wood (75), Ron Dutton (67), Stuart Frost (59), Andrew Griffiths (68), and Jane McAdam Freud (72). POWELL (73) wrote on the use of photography in her artistic practice and collaborated with GUNSTON and SOLOWIEJ on a piece discussing their experiences as

medallists (60). An article by LEAVITT BOURNE (70) on the Iranian sculptor Parviz Tanavoli should perhaps not be included in the British section of the *Survey*, but may be justified, in part at least, by the discussion it contained of a medal by Tanavoli issued by the British Art Medal Society. Other articles focussed on individual medal commissions, which resulted in works by John Maine for the British Museum (51), Felicity Powell for the Victoria and Albert Museum (76), and Linda Crook for the Worshipful Company of Founders (66). A private individual, COMFORT (55), recounted his experience of initiating and seeing through to completion a medal by Malcolm Appleby.

Various educational projects relating to medals were also discussed. DUTTON (57, 58) wrote on his workshops for schoolchildren, and MCADAM FREUD (71) on a bronze-casting course given by David Reid for practising artists. RATCLIFFE (74) gave an account of her year as the recipient of the first British Art Medal Society 'new medallist' award, which enabled her, as an artist recently graduated from college, to devote a substantial amount of time to medal-making, spending time in the medal collections of the British and Victoria and Albert Museums, in Bulgaria, where she studied under Bogomil Nikolov, and in the Royal Mint's engraving department. Summaries of the various lectures and events that formed part of successive British Art Medal Society weekend conferences were also published (53, 56, 61, 64, 77, 78).

The reception of medals, an aspect of medal history that often goes unnoticed, was the subject of two articles. The former Olympic medallist RADFORD (49) described his attitude to the various medals he received during his career as an athlete, and LEAVITT BOURNE (45) provided an account of the medals presented to the NATO commander Sir William Scotter by military sources in Italy, the Netherlands, Germany and France. This is the sort of information that can so easily be lost and it is this that will make these two articles particularly valuable to future researchers.

Finally, mention should be made of a major publication not listed below, which includes a number of medallists within its remit. The Oxford dictionary of national biography was published by Oxford University Press in 2004, since when supplements have appeared. It is also available online and is a vital resource for anyone interested in the individuals who have contributed to British history.

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## BELGIUM, THE NETHERLANDS AND LUXEMBOURG

*Marjan Scharloo*

Important institutional changes in The Netherlands have left a clear mark in the period 2002-7. The infrastructure of medallic studies in Belgium and Luxembourg remained stable. The merging of the three great Dutch numismatic collections – the Royal Coin Cabinet, the Mint Museum and the Dutch National Bank – into one *Geldmuseum* in Utrecht took place after a long period of preparation. The new museum opened its doors in 2007 and it is busy defining its new role both as an attractive museum for the general public and as a centre of knowledge for scholars. Meanwhile, in 2003 the Museum Beelden aan Zee in Scheveningen founded the Sculpture Institute. Its aim is to study modern and contemporary international sculpture, including art medals made by sculptors. Most of the Rijksmuseum closed in 2003 for a period that will seemingly last ten years, which gives it the opportunity to make large parts of the collection accessible via the internet, including the medal collection. It is the first large collection of Netherlandish medals that can be inspected on line.

It is to be expected that the growing accessibility of collections and archives via the internet will have a profound and refreshing effect on future research, both in terms of academic problems and the means to solve them. Interdisciplinary approaches will be much easier and in this way it will help place the medal in its (art) historical context. This trend can be already discerned in many of the publications that appeared during the last few years, where medal catalogues mingle with studies that look more at the meaning and the function of medals or treat the medals as part of the entire oeuvre of an artist. In some cases publications have therefore been included here that do not specifically include medals, but which are so close to the subject that they will need to be consulted when studying a certain period or subject. In order to study medals properly, it seems only logical to survey its adjoining arts as well.

### Renaissance

Pride of place goes, of course, to ATTWOOD (1) who described in his monumental work many portrait medals of the Habsburg family and other prominent figures who were actively involved in the history of The Netherlands in the sixteenth century.

Despite its promising title, the dissertation of HARWELL (8) is a disappointment. Old-fashioned ideas about the development of the Renaissance and its Gothic 'opposition' in countries north of the Alps do not provide any new insight into the reception and the use of medals by members of the Habsburg family. Also, contrary to its promise, the catalogue raisonné does not indicate all known specimens of the medals described. This publication is a great contrast to ROOBAERT (10), who wrote a fascinating article about the ceremonies surrounding the throwing of medallic pieces into assembled crowds by members of the Habsburg family and at gatherings of the knights of the Golden Fleece. These objects were produced in the Southern Netherlands, mainly in Antwerp. Extraordinary amounts were given away in the cities and towns of The Netherlands, indicating their relative importance in the eyes of their contemporaries. The paper reveals many new details about the ceremonies, which were intended to increase the loyalty of the subjects and to enhance the image of the lord.

TRAVERSI (17) discussed nine portrait medals owned by Margaret of Austria, which throw light on her role as a commissioner of the most important Flemish and Italian artists of her time. Her activities as a collector and a commissioner have been largely ignored because, according to the author, she was overshadowed by more powerful members of her family.

The 2003 Rijksmuseum exhibition on Hendrick Goltzius, who was involved in the production of engraved medals, was accompanied by an imposing catalogue in which SCHAPELHOUMAN (15) wrote about the artist's portrait drawings, engravings and his only surviving medal. The entries bring together a wealth of information, indispensable for future students of the engraved medal. VOIGTMANN (18) wrote a short paper specifically devoted to Goltzius and the engraved medal and RUYVEN-ZEMAN (12) studied the works of the four Wierix engravers from Antwerp and their relation to the work of Goltzius.

SATZINGER (13) edited a goldmine of inspiration for studying sixteenth-century medals, consisting of eleven papers. The various subjects have much in common with the history of the medal in the Southern Netherlands, with its close ties both with Germany and Italy; the rise of the portrait medal and portrait sculpture,

coins as medals and architecture on medals are just a few of the subjects covered. One article is dedicated to designs of medals for Cardinal Granvelle.

The production of tokens for religious institutions by various well-established goldsmiths in Brussels were studied by ROOBAERT (11). This interesting article, based on primary sources, makes clear that the use of religious tokens increased during the period of the Counter-reformation. The presence of the court during much of the sixteenth century stimulated a demand for products made by the goldsmiths, who produced these tokens as a by-product, no doubt to increase their chances of a better after-life.

Some papers shed new light on aspects on the iconography of the Eighty Years' War. LEM (7), VAN BEEK (2), SAWYER (14), GROENVELT (6), GIESKES (5) and VAN DER POLS (9) described medals commemorating important historical events, including the beheading of Philippe de Montmorency, the siege of Leiden and the emergence of the half-moon medal. SMOLDEREN (16) discussed a portrait medal of the philosopher Lipsius and VAN BEEK (3) resolved some questions concerning the coat of arms of Maurice of Nassau. The city of Lille was part of the Southern Netherlands until 1668, when it was occupied by Louis XIV; CARTIER (4) published an extensive study of goldsmiths active between the fourteenth century and 1800 with biographical data, underlining the city's role as a production centre of much more than regional importance.

### **Seventeenth-century medals**

The tradition of medals and other objects as official gifts from kings and other authorities is the subject of papers by BIEMOND (21), BECKER (19) and SANDERS (33, 34). The giving of official rewards had two sides: on the one hand it honoured the recipient, but on the other hand it underlined the status and magnanimity of the giver. The line between medals and other precious gifts, such as specially commissioned cups and plates in precious metals, was a thin one and therefore it is important to study the habit of giving in a wider context than just medals.

SCHOLTEN (37) published an important article on a series of sculptures of the Amsterdam burgomasters made by Quellinius around the middle of the seventeenth century, when Amsterdam was at the pinnacle of its power. This series is exceptional because commissions for portrait sculptures and portrait medals of burghers were not at all common in the Republic, unlike painted portraits. He demonstrates that the commissioners looked back to the example of the Roman Republic. Scholten also provides fresh archival evidence concerning the involvement of Arrondeaux in the production of De Witt medals after their downfall. In marked contrast to these official portraits, an engraved portrait medal of a man in an informal pose by an obscure Amsterdam artist was noted by VOIGTMAN (42); the piece was acquired by the Royal Coin Cabinet.

Emblem books from The Netherlands were a rich source of inspiration for north European medallists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and MCKEOWN (25) studied Dadler's medals in this respect. Not all commissioners are known, leading the author to the conclusion that at least some of the artists must also have had access to emblem books. SANDERS (35) published on the involvement of artist Romeyn de Hooghe in the design of the centenary medal of the Dutch East India Company in 1702.

A small book with an introduction to the medals of Louis XIV and a description of some well-chosen examples by the various artists who engraved the dies, such as Roettiërs and Smeltzing, was published by TURCKHEIM-PEY (40). The life of king and stadholder William III was the subject of a small exhibition and catalogue compiled by SANDERS (34). SANDERS (36) also wrote about the controversy surrounding a funerary medal for William III.

VAN DER MEER (26-30) published five articles on Nicolas Chevalier, one of the more colourful personalities of the medallic world of around 1700. In the course of her long career the author collected much information on this medallist, dealer and collector, which she made now accessible for future researchers.

GEORGE (22, 23) described some advertisements for new medals from The Netherlands in London newspapers. The international trade in medals is a fascinating but rather obscure subject. With new technologies and the massive digitalisation of old newspapers currently taking place in some national libraries, this line of research offers promise for the future.

PETERS (31) described the remaining grave monuments of Dutch East India staff in India, with much biographical information and some funerary medals. VAN DER MEER (26) traced the possible commissioner of a

painting with a medal of 1602 commemorating the seizure of a Portuguese East Indiaman. The Rijksmuseum's acquisition of medals was recorded by VAN DER HAM (24); the medals from the Dutch Republic are especially noteworthy. VAN DER WIS (43) described the medallic badges of the civic guard of the city of Groningen, making use of new archival information.

The Waterloos family was active in Brussels during the entire seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Together they produced 68 medals, of which 45 were made by Adrien Waterloos (1591-1681). SMOLDEREN (38) published an extensive catalogue of all their medals and seals, carefully describing them and giving information from the archives along with lists of all the examples of each that he had studied. It is clear that making medals was not their primary source of income. A change of the ruler usually led to lavish ceremonies in the Southern Netherlands, and SMOLDEREN (39) recorded the involvement of Sybrecht Waterloos in the funerary procession of prince Albert. BERGHAUS (22) investigated the numismatic sources that acted as inspiration for the entry of Prince Ferdinand in Antwerp and the related prints.

### **Eighteenth-century medals**

One of the most important battles of the war of the Spanish Succession was fought near Ramillies in 1706, where the French were thoroughly defeated by Marlborough. This victory resulted in the issue of a large number of medals, which are described by GUBIN (46).

In a book by PROKISCH (49) on the coins and medals of the German Order, a small section is devoted to pieces from the Southern Netherlands. SMOLDEREN (53) compared the image of the church of St Peter in Ghent on a medal made to commemorate its construction with the façade of the building in 1719 as depicted in a print, showing that the final façade was a modified version of the original design. The medals of the Academy of Fine Arts, in Ghent from 1748 until 1830, were the subject of a study by TAYMANS (54).

A rare catalogue of the medals produced by Holtzhey, father and son, was reprinted, together with information from Johan George's account book, kept between 1777 and 1784, and other useful material gathered by SANDERS (50). VAN DER MEER (47) described the rare funerary medals made by the Holtzhey family to commemorate deaths in the family.

The acquisition of an image engraved in mother-of-pearl by the National Maritime Museum led to fresh research by SCHOKKENBROEK (52) on the artist responsible, the somewhat obscure engraver and medallist J.C. Konsé, who lived in Amsterdam. VAN DER POLS (48) surveyed the medals and badges of the northern Netherlands during the revolutionary years between 1780 and 1813. Some traditions have survived from the eighteenth century, such as the presentation medals of the City of Delft, which were described by ARKESTEIJN (44). The ambassadors from Kandy visiting Colombo in Sri Lanka and the medallic presents involved were the subject of a fascinating paper by SANDERS (51).

BELIEN (45) published his reconstruction of the oldest private collection still in existence in The Netherlands. Pieter Teyler's collection was completed in 1778, and led an obscure life until the mid-nineteenth century when the first curator made an inventory of all the numismatic objects. On the basis of circumstantial evidence it is now thought that the pieces owned by Teyler have been identified.

### **Nineteenth-century medals**

VAN DER BEEK (56) found new information about the designs of the pieces distributed at the coronation ceremony of William I, the first king of the United Netherlands. The new king had to have a royal silversmith, and NYS (78) edited an exhibition catalogue of the objects made by Joseph Dutalis, who continued working in Brussels after the separation of the two Netherlands, all in all serving three different regimes with his workshop. NYS (79) also published on the first Belgian trophies for horse-racing. TEN BOKUM (59) wrote the first monograph on the Ghent company Bourdon, which produced silverware and also some medals. The silversmiths of Bruges were the subject of a study by DIEVOET (64).

VAN DE VIJVER (85, 86) published on the curriculum and prize medals issued until 1830 at the Academy of Fine Arts in Louvain and the School of Architecture in Sint-Niklaas. In Malines an exhibition and catalogue, edited by HUSKEN (72), were dedicated to a generation of sculptors whose work spread far beyond the boundaries of the city. The best known artist is Louis Royer, the sculptor of many portraits of William I.



VAN HEESCH (70) compiled an amusing survey of the 'orangist' and 'revolutionary' medals issued during the official visit of William to a part of his new kingdom that was already restless and that he would lose the following year. VAN HEESCH (71) also described the medals which were issued during the Revolution in 1830, giving many interesting details. During this period the Belgians suffered from 'medalomania' according to a hostile source, which explains the impressive amount of medals issued on this occasion. GODEFROID (69) traced the development of the *gaillarde* from a symbol of the Belgian revolution to a symbol of the Walloon movement.

The Flemish sculptor Frans van Havermaet worked in a romantic and dignified style. BOEL (58) described the oeuvre of this artist, whose importance is most visible in the county of Waas. TAYMANS (82) investigated the decision-making process around a statue of the industrial spy Lieven Bauwens in Ghent, and NUIJTENS (77) described the medals of the Flemish composer Peter Benoit. Prime minister De Trooz received many medals during his long career, and his collection was discussed by VANDAMME (83). VAN ACKER (55) did the same with the collection of the town of Veurne. DE SMET (80) wrote about Belgian railway medals.

Art Nouveau artist Devreese, who designed more than four hundred medals, was the subject of articles by BUCHET (61) and VANDAMME (84). LEBLANX (74) discussed the medals made by the French artist Charpentier in Brussels, also in an Art Nouveau style. Religious medals from various locations were the subjects of articles by BULCK (62), EECKHOUDT (65-68), TAYMANS (81) and VAN DE WALLE (87). VAN DER MEER (75, 76) published a catalogue of twenty chiselled portrait plaquettes by the Amsterdam silversmith Lanting. Although chiselled medals went out of fashion after 1670, Lanting was encouraged by Dutch numismatists to revive this technique, underlining the obsession of that time with the glorious arts of the Golden Age.

A study by VAN BENTHEM (57) covered a new field. The company of Bennewitz en Bonebakker was active in Amsterdam during the first half of the nineteenth century, mainly producing large silver objects, including the royal crown. This extensive catalogue gives a clear insight into the large amount of out-sourcing and division of labour, and shows how a silversmith's company operated after the closure of the guilds.

A monograph on the sculptor and medallist Pier Pander, written by BROERSMA (60), is a very welcome study. There are not many nineteenth-century artists whose medals have been discussed in the context of their other work. Pander worked in a symbolist style, influenced by antiquity, and was relatively famous in his own time. A contemporary of Pander was the sculptor and medallist Bart van Hove, who worked in a more robust and modern style. His life and atelier were described by BURGERS (63) and JONKMAN (73).

## **Twentieth-century medals**

BUCHET (98) published his long-awaited book on the Société hollandaise-belge des amis de la Médaille d'Art and the Société royale 'Les amis de la Médaille d'Art', in which as much information as possible was brought together. It is an indispensable base for future analyses of the position of the medal in society during the first half of the twentieth century.

VANDAMME (132-134) published three articles on various aspects of the Belgian sculptor Armand Bonnetain, who trained in the first decade of the twentieth century, and DEMEY (99) published on the medals of his contemporary colleague Geo Verbanck.

The work of Arthur Dupon was the subject of an exhibition and a small catalogue by an unknown author (88). Jean Stampe was the subject of a number of medals published by ERBEKE (102), and FAES (103) brought together the medals commemorating the international water exhibition in 1939 in Liège. VANDAMME (135, 136) made an inventory of the medal collection of Prince Charles, Earl of Flanders, and he also wrote about the medals of Queen Elisabeth and the artist Ferdinand Vanderplancke. For Vanderplancke, VAN ACKER (55) should also be consulted.

DE SMET (123) published the medals and plaquettes of the artist Georges Aglane de Nivelles. BALTEAU (91) produced a beautiful and extensive catalogue of the work of the well-known Romanian-Belgian artist Ianchelevici, and VANDAMME (131) published a short paper about the Yugoslavian-Belgian artist Aguste Bija. BRUTIN (97) was responsible for an illustrated book on the work of Jean Desmarests, which contains many illustrations but little information, and STAUTEMANS (124) issued a new book containing an autobiography of Francine Somers.

BAR (92) wrote the first survey on the sensitive subject of Belgian medallic souvenirs of the Second World War, which shows that much research remains to be done in this area. SCHUYTSE (121) wrote an obituary of Henri Lannoye. André de Moffarts, who was not an artist by training, created a very small group of medals, which were described by NIJSSEN (118).

The medal collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Ghent was discussed by TAYMANS (125, 126). The collection was founded by a director who was aiming to create a collection of international contemporary art medals around 1900, but when he resigned in 1921 it went into a long winter sleep. TAYMANS (127) also wrote about a medal to commemorate a special exhibition in Ghent. The human image on Belgian medals was the subject of an exhibition and catalogue by SCHUYTSE (122).

The commissioning of medals from well-known artists by the Utrecht Fair began in the first decades of the twentieth century but ceased when the Fair lost its independence; VAN DER MEER MOHR (113) wrote a useful overview of this commissioning body. DE BOER (95) described the centenary of the De Ruyter medal, inaugurated in 1907 to honour persons who were of great value for Dutch shipping. BELIEN (93) described the short but glorious history of the prize medals of the so-called Teyler Initiative, awarded in the 1990s for the encouragement of sustainable growth.

VAN DER HAM (104) published on the acquisition of twentieth-century Dutch medals by the Rijksmuseum, which recently changed its policy so as to collect more objects illustrative of the twentieth century. ADAM (89, 90) compiled the first catalogue of the work of the prolific medallist J.C. Wienecke in the form of an unpublished thesis. It is to be hoped that this catalogue will be made accessible to a wider public soon, since Wienecke's medals are so celebrated.

The work of a number of Dutch artists who were active for several decades in the second half of the twentieth century was recorded in some beautifully illustrated catalogues that are often the first systematic compilations of scarce information gathered from widespread sources. In most cases the subjects are still alive, which can limit the amount of critical discussion possible, but in the future some of the following publications will no doubt function as primary sources for understanding the reception of the work of the artists in their own lifetime. DUPPEN (100) wrote about Piet van Heerden, VAN DIJK (101) about Cor Hund, LUYT (111) about Jan Noyons, LOCHER (112) about Jan Snoeck, SOUDIJN (119) about Jos Reniers, TILANUS (128, 129) about Piet Esser and Theo van de Vathorst, and THOBEN (130) about Frank Letterie. Shorter illustrated publications focussing on specific aspects of the work were published by VAN BERCKEL (94) about Nynke Schepers, by BRINKGREVE (96) about Barbara de Clerq, by ERENSTEIN (145) and VANDERSTEEN (137) about Eric Claus, by KORTHALS (110) about P  p   Gr  goire, by NIEUWENDAM (114) about Eddy Gheress, and by ZON (138) about Miep Maarse.

KONING (105-109) continued to publish articles about modern artists that included lists of their work. During this period he wrote about Eric Claus, Carla Klein, Theo van de Vathorst and Nynke Schepers, and about a wedding medal by Geer Steyn. SOUDIJN (120) published the first overview of the work of Niko de Wit. Obituaries of Willem Vis were written by NIEUWENDAM (115) and NIJLAND (116). The other NIJLAND (117) wrote a thought provoking paper about the shape of the neck on portrait medals.

## Contemporary medals

The line between twentieth-century medals and contemporary medals is not yet clearly drawn. For this survey the choice has been made to include here only medals made in the twenty-first century. Artists whose recent work was included in catalogues encompassing their entire career can be found in the previous section.

DUPONT (140, 141) continued the successful series of small catalogues of Belgian medals issued during a certain year. Unfortunately, the series seems to have stopped after 2002. The best source of information about recent Belgian medals is the magazine *Flash M  dailles*, issued by the society, Promotion of the Medal. DUPONT (142-144) wrote the Belgian contributions to the three last FIDEM catalogues. Recent Luxembourg medals were described by REINERT (154). VOIGTMANN (163-165) compiled the Dutch contributions to the FIDEM exhibitions.

SCHEFFERS (155) announced a portrait medal of Logie by Marit Hertzdahl-Hartman and NIEUWENDAM (151) reported on a medal made by Willem Vis and Paul Huybrechts together. TEEUWISSE (160) wrote a small book about a project of Eric Claus to commemorate Johan Cruyff, the most famous Dutch soccer

player ever. His recent works on the Commedia dell'Arte were the subject of a publication by ERENSTEIN (145). Recent medals by Jos Reniers were discussed by SOUDIJN (156-158) and KONING (146), whilst MIERAS (148) wrote about her own medals. VOUTE (166) described a new medal by the Rotterdam artist Silvia B. for the *Bataafsch Genootschap der Proefondervindelijke Wijsbegeerte*, founded in 1769. An article about the first medal by the artist Jeroen Henneman was presented by TEDING VAN BERKHOUT (159), who is an artist herself. TILANUS (161) discussed Elisabeth Varga's recent portrait medal of Prince Claus, and KONING (147) wrote about Riki Mijling's *Gateless Gate* medal. Elly Baltus's recent work was discussed by NIEUWENDAM (149).

BOONSTRA (139) described the traditional contest in medal design for the students of the School of Jewellers in Schoonhoven. The 'Over the edge' project, aimed at exploring new possibilities of the medal, both in terms of material and meaning, was recorded by VOIGTMANN (162). The work of seven artists who crossed the existing formal boundaries of the present-day medal provoked praise from NIEUWENDAM (150) and contempt from NIJLAND (152). POSTMA (153) recorded the contributions to a small symposium that explored the boundaries of the contemporary art medal. Almost all modern artists have their own websites, which show the greatest possible variety of images and information. It is to be hoped that some institution will soon start to take care of these very fragile sources of information.

### **Tokens and pilgrim badges**

The wonderful catalogue of pilgrims' badges in medieval Flanders by KOLDEWIJ (167) is a milestone in the treatment of the subject. The author brings together many different types of documents and objects, enabling him to place the badges firmly in the context from which they have come. The result is a moving testimony of the mentality of the late Middle Ages, both religious and secular. PELSDONK (170) reported the find of a casting form and a die for religious medals.

VAN LAERE (168) contributed to the systematic study of lead seals from Tongeren, whereas PELSDONK (169) studied lead-like tokens and their use in the Northern Netherlands from the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century. ROELANDT (171) and ROOBAERT (172) studied the jetons of various financial offices in the late Middle Ages and the sixteenth century in the Southern Netherlands.

### **General and thematic**

An extremely large work about sculpture and sculptors in Belgium (sometimes also from other countries) was published by ENGELN (175). The many volumes are primarily composed of images from other sources with very little effort to provide biographical information or literature. The series clearly dates from the pre-computer age and nowadays would have been set up as a website. All the volumes of the *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde* and the *Tijdschrift voor Munt- en Penningkunde* were digitalized on a DVD, which makes them much more accessible for research purposes.

The connections between the art of the silversmith and the production of coins and medals are very close. This is illustrated once again by the catalogue by NYS (177) describing the situation in Antwerp. For several centuries an impressive amount of economic activity, the presence of a mint and a favourable climate for commissions all contributed to make Antwerp a centre of medal-making. VREEKEN (181) published a lavish catalogue of silver objects with hallmarks of Antwerp's great rival, Amsterdam. This contains a useful biographical section with many familiar names. The medals from the guild of St Michael in Ghent were the subject of a publication by TAYMANS (180). SERFAS (179) made a survey of the universities and academies in Belgium in the Habsburg era. In two extensive articles ACKERMAN (173, 174) discussed the collection of often little-understood calendar medals in the British Museum, which contains some objects from the Netherlands. The article is a most useful contribution to a neglected field of knowledge in numismatics.

SANDERS (178) published a catalogue of medals connected with members of the House of Orange. A selection of fifty medals is described in detail, with information derived from many new archival sources. It is fitting to finish this survey with the monumental work by ZELM VAN ELDIK (182) on orders and decorations of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. It is the result of many decades of research, sometimes gathered from sources that no longer exist. Since medals and decorations are so closely connected, the book contains much useful information for the study of the medal in The Netherlands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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## FRANCE

*Sylvie de Turckheim-Pey*

De janvier 2002 à décembre 2007 l'intérêt pour la médaille et les jetons français s'est manifesté aussi bien par des articles dans des revues et bulletins spécialisés que par des catalogues et des participations ponctuelles à des expositions.

Mais l'événement bibliographique est sans nul doute la publication du *Catalogue des fonds d'archives de la Monnaie de Paris*, tome III, par DARNIS (1). Chercheurs et historiens ainsi que collectionneurs et amateurs savants, y trouveront réponse à la majorité des causes historiques et artistiques à l'origine de ces petits monuments de l'art numismatique. Reflets des progrès et mutations des techniques, et des courants artistiques, ils figurent en bonne place parmi les besoins de la société.

### Médailles

Sans méconnaître ni sous-estimer les origines de la médaille française proche alors de la numismatique monétaire, les auteurs ont particulièrement salué l'iconographie royale, princière ou impériale de la Renaissance (2-9) en insistant comme par le passé, sur l'influence et la présence de la mythologie prépondérante en ces années du grand réveil de l'humanisme (7) que les graveurs de l'art classique eurent soin de prolonger (11, 18).

Durant le premier quart du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle l'influence de l'Italie qui domine les arts de cour en France, fut célébrée par une riche exposition présentée à Paris et à Montréal, entièrement dédiée aux arts sous Louis XIII. Dans ce 'moment d'exubérance', les graveurs de médailles occupent, avec l'appui du pouvoir, une place remarquable entre l'orfèvrerie et la petite sculpture (14, 15).

Poursuivant le désir de mettre en place une histoire métallique ponctuée des principaux événements du règne de Louis XIV et en réponse au vœu de l'Académie des Inscriptions créée par Colbert en 1663, les graveurs et dessinateurs choisis par les académiciens se virent confier cette mission honorifique (17). Aux côtés des artistes français, on fit appel à quelques étrangers dont les styles animaient cet aspect de l'art avec originalité, néanmoins retenue selon le désir de Colbert: 'du détail en tout'.

A la Série historique puis à la Grande Histoire succéda la Série uniforme, riche de 286 médailles tout à la gloire du souverain. Ce fut l'occasion pour Jean Anisson, directeur de l'Imprimerie royale, de faire remettre au roi le 9 janvier 1702 l'ouvrage mémorable des *Médailles*... dont les descriptions et commentaires imprimés empruntaient pour la première fois le 'romain du roi' dont le tricentenaire fut superbement célébré à Lyon en 2002 comme 'caractère d'Etat' (20).

En ce même temps, l'art de la collection connaît une période faste et les amateurs savants rivalisent de science 'médallique' (13) tandis que des personnages d'importance font volontiers l'objet de frappes mémorables (10, 12).

Qu'elles soient signées (22, 27) ou non (23-26), les médailles événementielles suscitent toujours, par leur iconographie, l'intérêt des curieux tandis que la monographie consacrée au collectionneur-numismate extravagant Vattemare nous invite à un voyage inattendu (21). On sera aussi reconnaissant à notre confrère suisse de l'édition du catalogue abondamment illustré consacré à la dynastie 'européenne' des Dasser (19).

Si les articles et catalogues dévolus à la médaille du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle sont inférieurs en nombre, la part du lion revient aux deux siècles suivants comme si les documents d'archives se révélaient dorénavant accessibles. Ainsi nous assistons à un défilé iconographique d'un genre artistique nouveau selon les recommandations de Vivant Denon.

Napoléon et Champollion ouvrent le cortège (42, 49) suivis par le catalogue exhaustif des médailles de Napoléon (53). A leur suite, le duc de Blacas prêtera son effigie à la médaille comme à la glyptique (39) tandis qu'un survol historique précisera les relations entre la France et le Wurtemberg (41), et enfin, qu'un aspect de la franc-maçonnerie nous sera présenté avec Decazes, ministre de Louis XVIII (33).

Au tournant du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle la médaille connaît en France un renouveau qui lui vaut une place de premier plan dans la petite sculpture, les arts décoratifs et appliqués. Les synthèses proposées par trois spécialistes, et non des moindres, comblent avec maestria une regrettable lacune (29, 36), s'appuyant sur les documents d'archives complétés par une iconographie abondante et de qualité. Il s'agit là de deux outils de référence qui viennent judicieusement compléter l'ouvrage de J.-P. Collignon, *La médaille française au XIX<sup>e</sup> et l'histoire*; l'art de la médaille fait par ailleurs l'objet d'un requiem (46).

Avec la médaille, les jeux de l'esprit n'échappent pas (28) et les inventions s'animent autour et au-delà d'elle (34, 35). Deux fontes sont mises à l'honneur (30, 51) tandis que la médaille reprend sa place traditionnelle dans les célébrations et aides au souvenir (31, 32, 37, 40, 50).

En conclusion, il convient d'attirer à nouveau l'attention sur le rayonnement artistique et la présence infatigable de la FIDEM (Fédération Internationale de la Médaille d'art) qui ne cesse de promouvoir et d'encourager les artistes contemporains en les réunissant en congrès mondiaux (44, 45, 47, 48, 52) à l'image des congrès des numismates dont il font également partie (43).

## Jetons

Le jeton continue à susciter l'intérêt du grand public tant son emploi est varié. Non porteur à l'origine de valeur faciale, le jeton demeure l'unique outil à compter à l'usage de la Chambre des comptes puis des Cours des comptes régionales. Sept siècles de présence dans le système comptable méritait bien la reconnaissance de Napoléon en 1802 en créant la Cour des comptes dont le bicentenaire fut célébré avec la Monnaie de Paris (85).

Le besoin d'identification ou de reconnaissance pour les municipalités, les Académies, les princes puis les Sociétés industrielles donne lieu à une multitude de frappes de jetons dont les ateliers monétaires tirent profit (78, 80, 82, 86) complétant la série des jetons utilisés soit comme 'bon pour' (79, 83, 84) soit comme jetons de jeux (77, 81).

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## PORTUGAL

Maria Rosa Figueiredo

Si analizamos con atención la bibliografía sobre Medallística publicada en Portugal durante los últimos cinco años, concluimos con claridad que la mayor parte de los actos relacionados con la medalla de arte se han dado fundamentalmente a nivel de exposiciones, siendo tres los protagonistas de esta actividad.

En primer lugar, ‘Volte Face – Medalha Contemporânea’, un grupo de artistas integrado por profesores, alumnos y ex alumnos de la Facultad de Bellas Artes de la Universidad de Lisboa (1, 59, 60, 75, 76). El ejercicio continuado de la enseñanza de la medallística a nivel universitario produce estos frutos. El grupo se constituyó como Sección de Investigación del Centro de Estudios de Bellas Artes de aquella Facultad, y tiene por misión investigar técnicas y procesos de vanguardia, promoviendo la medalla portuguesa como objeto plástico e independiente del restrictivo concepto conmemorativo. Se encuentra liderado por el profesor João Duarte que, junto al resto de sus componentes, no ahorra esfuerzos para promover y divulgar continuamente la medallística portuguesa a través de exposiciones, publicaciones, conferencias y *workshops* tanto en Lisboa como en el resto de Portugal y en el extranjero. Como ejemplo de esto último, es importante citar la colaboración establecida con The University of the Arts de Filadelfia y con su profesora Mashiko – *New Ideas in Medallistic Sculpture* – que se convirtió en un evento anual, al que se han ido adhiriendo oportunamente otras universidades internacionales (64-69).

Los otros dos protagonistas que señalaba al principio son dos Ayuntamientos portugueses: el Ayuntamiento Municipal de Seixal y el Ayuntamiento de Sintra. Es de destacar el primero que tiene un importante proyecto en cartera – el Centro Internacional de Medalla Contemporánea, Seixal – con iniciativas de largo alcance, como la organización del XXIX Congreso Internacional de la FIDEM en 2004 (33) y de la bienal Internacional de Medalla Contemporánea – Seixal, en sus ediciones II (2002), III (2004) y IV (2006), en lo que respecta al periodo abarcado por este estudio (40, 41). Sin embargo, es importante señalar que estas realizaciones fueron posibles gracias al apoyo del ‘Volte Face – Medalha Contemporânea’, que actuó como estructura de soporte. También fue fundamental la contribución de la Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, que imprimió gratuitamente los respectivos catálogos.

El esfuerzo permanente del Ayuntamiento de Sintra, que ha contado igualmente con el apoyo de ‘Volte Face – Medalha Contemporânea’, auténtico ángel tutelar de las iniciativas medallísticas en Portugal, se ha concretizado en la organización de las Bienales de Medalla Contemporánea, Premio Dorita de Castel-Branco, abiertas a artistas portugueses o extranjeros residentes en Portugal. En relación al periodo que nos interesa, se han realizado la II (2003), III (2005) y IV ediciones (2007) (42-44).

Debemos constatar con cierta tristeza que, aún habiendo realizado continuos esfuerzos para captar el interés de la comunicación social respecto a las referidas iniciativas, llamando la atención sobre el elevado nivel y reconocimiento alcanzado por la medalla de arte portuguesa a nivel internacional (sobre todo el Grand Prix da FIDEM, atribuido al escultor portugués Hélder Batista en el XXX Congreso realizado en Colorado Springs, EE.UU, en septiembre de 2007), los resultados para darles la audiencia que merecen han sido hasta ahora insignificantes.

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## ESPAÑA

*Javier Gimeno*

El interés de la bibliografía por la medalla española confirma su tendencia a afianzarse. No sólo por el número de publicaciones, dato por sí solo impreciso, sino por otros factores indicativos de la consolidación de determinadas líneas o tendencias, que se yuxtapone a la dinámica de aportación individual. El esfuerzo institucional de catalogación es quizá la nota conjunta más destacable y representa un volumen considerable de documentación. Destaca también la publicación de algunas monografías importantes. Paralelamente, los medios y soportes electrónicos favorecen nuevas vías de difusión de un material difícilmente accesible de otro modo. Asimismo, puede observarse una cierta independización de la bibliografía respecto de los acontecimientos culturales que, si bien mantienen su importancia, dejan paso a otras perspectivas. Por último, el asentamiento progresivo de la medalla actual española en el ámbito internacional coadyuva indirectamente a la revitalización del interés.

Es de señalar asimismo una diversificación, manifiesta sobre todo en la presencia gradual de temas afines o colaterales, u objetos asimilables a la medalla o al ámbito numismático a través de la medalla, que buscan su lugar en una bibliografía orientada a contextos múltiples.

### Generalidades

Las reflexiones generales sobre la medalla se limitan a los opúsculos de carácter divulgativo de VILLENA (90) o CRUSAFONT (26) y, en otra dimensión, a la personal y sugerente interpretación de PORTA (72), accesible ahora en Internet.

### Catálogos de colecciones

En el panorama general, la aportación más notable viene dada por un gran despliegue de obra catalográfica que da a conocer los fondos de importantes colecciones museográficas o institucionales. Destaca en primer lugar un núcleo integrado por los catálogos de las colecciones de ‘medallas españolas’ del Museo del Prado, la Real Academia de la Historia y el Patrimonio Nacional, catálogos de gran aparato editorial, cuyas evidentes analogías de objeto y contenido aconsejan una consideración conjunta. CANO (19) sistematiza la colección del Prado atendiendo a la cronología de los medallistas e incluye una introducción histórica y una muy útil aportación documental, sobre todo archivística. ALMAGRO-GORBEA, PÉREZ ALCORTA y MONEO (5) clasifican la de la Real Academia de la Historia por reinados – con secciones en apéndices – y aportan un estudio estadístico de su composición y, sobre todo, unos índices inmejorables. El catálogo del Patrimonio Nacional, coordinado por RUIZ TRAPERO (77), es quizá el más parco en documentación y elemental en sus comentarios. Obviando la reflexión que inevitablemente suscita su homología, o su valoración en el conjunto de las colecciones españolas, es indiscutible la valiosa aportación documental que las tres ediciones representan.

Bajo diferente óptica, PEÑALBA y ÁLVAREZ (69) catalogan la colección medallística del Museo Naval de Madrid. Con menores pretensiones, y menor fundamento bibliográfico y documental, su cariz temático y su sistematización acorde al mismo le imprimen un indudable interés propio.

La Fundación Lázaro Galdiano (37) ofrece acceso, en su página web, al inventario de sus colecciones, entre ellas la de medallas. Iniciativa pionera y encomiable, incluye un dispositivo de búsqueda sin duda mejorable, pero bien estructurado y útil. El inventario, de IRIGOYEN y MUÑOZ (50), del patrimonio de la Facultad de Bellas Artes de Madrid, presentado en CD-ROM con dispositivo de búsqueda, incluye un reducido pero interesante conjunto de modelos de medallas.

Esta labor catalogadora induce diversas publicaciones ‘subsidiarias’. La web del Museo del Prado incluye un resumen de CANO (20) sobre la colección medallística. Pero el mayor esfuerzo editorial corresponde a la Real Academia de la Historia. RUMEU DE ARMAS (78) describe sucintamente la colección de medallas en una síntesis general y, en un volumen dedicado a su patrimonio, PÉREZ ALCORTA (84) comenta algunas de las más significativas. MARTÍN, CEPAS y CANTO (58) compilan un catálogo de los fondos archivísticos del gabinete numario, de uso complejo pero útil para el conocimiento de la colección.

Fuera del ámbito de las colecciones en sentido estricto, CRUSAFONT (29) recopila un nutrido conjunto de medallas de todo tipo relacionadas con lo catalán en sentido expansivo. ROVIRA (76) reúne las dedicadas al ferrocarril de Mataró, y LORENZO (53) las relacionadas con la isla de La Palma.

## **Siglos XV a XVII**

Es ocioso justificar una vez más la inclusión de una medalla no propiamente española, respaldada por su vinculación al mundo hispánico y una consolidada tradición bibliográfica. En contrapartida, es difícil delimitar en el periodo reseñado la proyección propiamente hispánica, no sólo por la parcialidad inevitable al abordar determinadas cuestiones – en primer lugar los propios medallistas – sino por cuanto afloran nuevos aspectos que contribuyen a diluir unas líneas ya de por sí inestables. Las posibles omisiones o, al contrario, intromisiones que el lector pudiera percibir son en todo caso debidas a ello y no intencionadas.

La medalla de Carlos V cuenta con la importante revisión de CUPPERI (32), que replantea las fases cronológicas, revisa algunas atribuciones y analiza la iconografía y simbología en relación con la idea imperial. MANCINI (55) incide más brevemente en la misma temática. La exposición dedicada a Fernando I de Austria incluye ejemplares medallísticos relacionados con los vínculos dinásticos del emperador, comentados por HAAG y WINTER (36). Más individualmente, PÉREZ DE TUDELA (70) sitúa la medalla dedicada a Granvela en 1571 en el contexto de la retratística pictórica del cardenal.

La medalla de este momento se valora también como factor de realidades o fenómenos afines. Horcajo (49) estudia la imagen de Carlos V y Felipe II en obras de joyería e incide en la autoría de medallistas como Leoni, Trezzo, Fontana o Deschler y en la vinculación de ambas ramas artísticas. Coppel (24), a partir de la afición coleccionista del príncipe Carlos, escudriña su relación con Pompeo Leoni a través de la medalla. Traversi (85) analiza la figura de Margarita de Austria – hija de Carlos V – en relación con el valor de la medalla como factor cultural.

La monografía de SMOLDEREN (81) sobre los Waterloos documenta buen número de medallas dedicadas a Felipe IV, Carlos II y diversos personajes de la realeza y la diplomacia española. El mismo SMOLDEREN (82) estudia en particular la medalla de los funerales del Archiduque Alberto en 1622. CRUSAFONT (30) analiza las circunstancias de la medalla de Smeltzing dedicada a Miguel de Molinos en el contexto de la cuestión religiosa en 1687-1693. GEORGE (40) destaca nuevos aspectos de propaganda medallística de la Guerra de Sucesión española, y VERDEJO (87) recoge algunas medallas referentes a la acción naval de Vigo de 1702.

Relación sólo colateral con el mundo hispánico e interés desigual presentan los trabajos de ASENJO (7) sobre la composición en las medallas de Pisanello, RIESCO (75) sobre los motivos de dos medallas de Alejandro VI, y PEÑALBA (68) sobre una medalla de Leopoldo I de Austria.

## **Siglos XVIII y XIX**

El exhaustivo estudio de VILLENA (89) sobre la medalla de la España ilustrada viene a llenar un vacío y constituye un referente indispensable para un ciclo esencial de la medallística española. También VILLENA (88) documenta la participación de Campomanes y la erudición ilustrada en la elaboración de las medallas madrileñas de proclamación de Carlos III y Carlos IV. Con motivo del bicentenario de Campomanes, ALMAGRO-GORBEA (18) ilustra algunas conocidas medallas.

La bibliografía sobre el siglo XIX se centra en aspectos o ejemplares concretos. SANAHUJA (79) documenta la labor de Manuel Peleguer y otros grabadores en la ‘ceca del Principado’ durante la Guerra de la Independencia y las medallas acuñadas en la misma. WATTENBERG (91) reseña la donación medallística de Félix Sagau a la Academia de Bellas Artes vallisoletana en 1842, y ARIAS (6) estudia un ejercicio medallístico de Gabino Velázquez presentado a premio de la madrileña en 1831. ALMAGRO-GORBEA (4) documenta pormenorizadamente la realización de la medalla de premio de la Real Academia de la Historia. ABAD (1) recopila diversas medallas, mayoritariamente decimonónicas, vinculadas más o menos explícitamente a la figura de Calderón de la Barca, y CASTRO (22) reseña la venta de una colección en la que predomina la medalla del siglo XIX. Época modernista y primera mitad del siglo XX

La monografía de MARÍN (57) sobre la obra medallística de Eusebi Arnau, ampliamente documentada, proporciona un nuevo referente para la medalla del modernismo catalán. Un grupo de medallas de Arnau motiva

asimismo el artículo de CASANOVA (21). GIMENO (45) estudia la incidencia del modernismo en la medalla madrileña a través de las figuras de Bartolomé Maura, Mariano Benlliure y Miguel Blay. CRUSAFONT (27) comenta la medalla de este último dedicada a Pi y Margall. Respecto al mundo de los editores, VÉLEZ (86) actualiza sus aportaciones sobre Masriera. En otro aspecto, CRUSAFONT (28) presenta una estadística del uso de la lengua catalana en las leyendas medallísticas entre 1850 y 1939. Justo es aludir aquí al trabajo de CHAO (23) sobre las medallas argentinas vinculadas a diversos episodios y ambos bandos de la guerra civil española.

DE LA CUADRA (31) comenta las medallas, esencialmente de este periodo, recogidas en el inventario de IRIGOYEN y MUÑOZ (50). GARCÍA SAMPER (39) ilustra cinco ejemplares del Museo local ‘Gratiniano Baches’.

### **Medalla actual**

La bibliografía de este apartado sigue impulsada, en gran medida, por exposiciones y acontecimientos afines, con notable presencia del ámbito de las Bellas Artes. Las exposiciones internacionales de la FIDEM – GIMENO (41, 44, 47) – siguen ofreciendo el panorama más actualizado del arte medallístico. La más reciente –2007– incluye una sección retrospectiva con una selección de medallas de Fernando Jesús.

Los Encuentros’ del Puerto de Santa María dedican dos de sus ediciones a Manolo Prieto y Fernando Jesús, ambos decisivos en la medalla del siglo XX. GIMENO (43) analiza la obra medallística de Prieto y su significado en el ámbito español y universal en relación con su formación artística. Mayor presencia adquiere la medalla en el volumen dedicado a Fernando Jesús: PÉREZ MULET (71) resume su biografía e influencias, ABAD (2) enumera su producción medallística acuñada en relación con sus fabricantes, GIMENO (46) analiza su proceso conceptual y creativo entre las corrientes renovadoras de la medalla del siglo XX y HENARES (48) sitúa su obra escultórica en la lógica de la modernidad. Resultado del interés portuense es asimismo la Fundación Manolo Prieto, cuya web dedica una amplia sección a la medalla (38).

Dos exposiciones antológicas de Juan Luis Vassallo (61, 62) reservan sendos apartados a su obra medallística, largo tiempo ausente de la bibliografía. El catálogo de dibujos de Julio López Hernández (34) recoge un importante conjunto de bocetos ilustrativos de la creación medallística. Con otra perspectiva, SUBIRACHS (83) y BONAMUSA y NUBIOLA (16) complementan el elenco de medallas de Subirachs, y OLANO (65, 66) dedica breves síntesis a la medalla catalana actual y a Ramón Ferrán con motivo del homenaje a este último. La web del Museo monográfico Enrique Giner, de Nules, presenta las medallas de ese artista (64).

Las generaciones más recientes de medallistas se ven representadas sobre todo en los catálogos de la FIDEM (41, 44, 47). En el volumen monográfico sobre Ana Hernando, GIMENO (42) comenta su prometedora trayectoria medallística. La exposición de grabadores de la Casa de la Moneda (33) refleja las realizaciones actuales de ésta, orientadas sustancialmente a la moneda de colección.

No faltan las noticias referidas a ejemplares concretos, de interés desigual. BALAGUER (8, 10, 13) ilustra diversas medallas del *Institut d’Estudis Catalans*. BONAMUSA y NUBIOLA (15), FALCÓ (35), MECHÓ (60) y SANAHUJA (80) reseñan distintas medallas referidas a otros tantos acontecimientos.

La óptica del artista queda patente en la reflexión de PORTA (72) basada en su propia obra. MARTÍN, AGUILAR Y NAVARRO (59) se centran en cuestiones técnicas de la realización de medallas.

### **Medalla de proclamación, medalla de devoción y objetos afines**

El interés tradicional por la medalla de proclamación y jura se reafirma con actualizaciones significativas. BARRERA (14) esclarece, con documentación archivística, la cuestión propuesta desde Herrera de las medallas de proclamación de Felipe III en Sevilla. Ya se ha mencionado el estudio de VILLENA (88) sobre las de Carlos III y Carlos IV en Madrid. MARCOS (56) señala algunos documentos referentes a ambas, y CORREA (25) y QUESADA (73) describen las ceremonias de las de Carlos III en Buenos Aires y Luján respectivamente.

La medalla devocional cuenta con los trabajos de BALAGUER, que completa su catálogo de medalla montserratina (9) e inicia el estudio de las insignias de peregrinación (11,12). BURGUET (17) estudia las llamadas ‘medallas de Santa Elena’.

A ello se une un interés emergente por objetos de morfología medallística. LOZANO y ROS (54) catalogan las condecoraciones militares del Museo Naval de Madrid, y JIMÉNEZ plantea el estudio de las abotonaduras oficiales de Carlos III (52) y de Isabel II (51), que relaciona con modelos medallísticos.

## Erudición e historiografía

Cabe destacar por último un incipiente interés de tipo historiográfico sobre diversas formas de erudición vinculadas con la medalla en mayor o menor medida, que complementa en cierto modo el interés por el coleccionismo. El humanismo erudito centra los trabajos de RALLO (74), de orden teórico y filológico, sobre Antonio Agustín, y MORTE (63) sobre el manuscrito del Conde de Guimerá, que ilustra entre otras cosas la medalla con su retrato. ORTIZ (67) documenta el interés por la medalla y la presencia de grabadores en la Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País en el siglo XVIII. Por último, ABASCAL y CEBRIÁN (3) publican una biografía de Adolfo Herrera, pionero de la investigación medallística en España, y un inventario de su legado en la Real Academia de la Historia.

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## ITALIA

Armando Bernardelli

Il quinquennio dal 2002 al 2007 è stato un periodo che ha visto la pubblicazione di numerose ed importanti opere. La varietà e la complessità del panorama editoriale sviluppatosi in questo lasso di tempo potrà essere seguita nell'elencazione puntuale delle pubblicazioni alla fine di questo contributo, mentre il commento ai testi principali proposto di seguito, attraverso il quale si tenterà di illustrare le principali linee di indagine seguite nel periodo considerato, è diviso tra una prima parte dedicata alla produzione più specificatamente catalogica e una seconda parte comprendente i più significativi interventi su singoli temi e periodi, impostata secondo un ordine cronologico.

I cataloghi editi durante questo periodo annoverano numerose opere che rivestiranno a lungo un ruolo di riferimento sia per la vastità e l'importanza del materiale considerato che per l'accuratezza della sua catalogazione. Per quanto riguarda le medaglie papali, tra le pubblicazioni di maggiore rilievo spiccano i quattro volumi del *Corpus Numismatum Omnium Romanorum Pontificum* (C.N.O.R.P.) (104-106, 143). Quest'opera, che attualmente arriva a Paolo V e di cui si auspica la continuazione, si colloca come un punto di riferimento imprescindibile per lo studio della medaglia papale: 1017 esemplari sono illustrati e ampiamente commentati in relazione alle vicende storiche e artistiche che ne hanno determinato la produzione. Da segnalare il fatto che accanto agli esemplari originali vengono proposte anche le schede delle riproduzioni successive, ad esempio delle riconiazioni come quelle degli Hamerani o del Mazio, fornendo così un prezioso panorama della medaglia originale e delle sue successive riproposizioni. Il I volume del C.N.O.R.P. (104) riveste inoltre una particolare valenza anche per i capitoli introduttivi dedicati alle varie serie di restituzione in relazione alle quali viene fornita una utilissima griglia tipologica degli esemplari conosciuti dal Modesti.

Alla classificazione delle medaglie papali contribuiscono, con la stessa alta qualità del C.N.O.R.P., i volumi dedicati alla medaglia 'annuale' pontificia fino a Clemente XIII (1758-1769) (31), alle medaglie delle Sedi Vacanti dal 1549 al 1798 (9), alle medaglie e decorazioni di Gregorio XVI (181). Al periodo 1605-1669 è dedicata l'ultima opera di MISELLI (153), mentre un'ampia monografia (155) riguarda Urbano VIII le cui medaglie, elencate in un catalogo dettagliato e completo, vengono prese in considerazione sotto i diversi aspetti legati alla commissione, alla produzione, al carattere artistico e propagandistico. Alla così detta medaglia della 'lavanda dei piedi' è stato dedicato un approfondito articolo nel quale se ne illustra l'evoluzione storica e tipologica (32).

Si segnala, tra i repertori di collezioni, il catalogo delle medaglie papali appartenenti alle raccolte numismatiche dei Musei Civici di Vicenza (7) che testimonia l'importanza della riscoperta di questo medagliere e, più in generale, la necessità dello studio dei fondi numismatici italiani meno conosciuti; infatti, i ben 1047 esemplari descritti e fotografati, che vanno dalle produzioni di restituzione a Pio XI (1922-1939), costituiscono un insieme di materiale all'interno del quale, accanto a copie ed esemplari comuni, si sono reperite medaglie inedite e molto rare, ed inoltre ben 35 esemplari di questa raccolta contribuiscono ad integrare quella griglia delle serie di restituzione, proposta nel I volume del C.N.O.R.P., in relazione alla quale lo stesso Modesti aveva sottolineato come la ricerca fosse ben lungi dall'essere terminata, prevedendo che l'apporto di ulteriori elementi sarebbe giunto proprio da nuove indagini, come infatti è accaduto con la pubblicazione del catalogo vicentino.

Non mancano ponderose 'storie metalliche' che ripercorrono le vicende del papato (2, 3); mentre, in occasione del cinquecentesimo anniversario della fondazione della Basilica di San Pietro, si sono ricostruite le evoluzioni delle fasi architettoniche della fabbrica attraverso le medaglie, con esemplari che costituiscono in alcuni casi documenti unici dei cambiamenti e delle variazioni avvenute in uno dei cantieri più ricchi di storia (4). Si rivela di particolare interesse per la produzione degli Hamerani la pubblicazione di un repertorio di 630 medaglie devozionali della famosa famiglia di incisori conservato al museo francescano di Roma (161).

Non sono state solo le medaglie papali ad essere oggetto di importanti opere catalogiche. Il materiale di una tra le più importanti collezioni del mondo, quella del Museo Nazionale del Bargello, tra il 2003 e il 2007 è stato ricatalogato ed edito in quattro volumi. Nel I volume (136), dedicato ai secoli XV e XVI (rispettivamente con 398 e 1073 esemplari) alcune precedenti attribuzioni sono state rivedute e corrette, ma soprattutto rispetto alla storica pubblicazione del POLLARD (*Medaglie italiane del Rinascimento nel Museo Nazionale del Bargello*, Firenze 1984-5) vi sono in più 73 esemplari mai schedati in precedenza e un nucleo di 407 medaglie proveniente dai fondi del Museo Archeologico. Il II e il III volume (157, 173), dedicati rispettivamente ai secoli XVII (con 1236 medaglie) e



XVIII (con 966), sono ordinati per luogo di produzione e per autore in ordine cronologico, grazie alla qualità e alla quantità degli esemplari offrono un terreno privilegiato per l'osservazione dell'evoluzione artistica dei singoli incisori e per uno sguardo d'insieme della produzione medagliistica italiana del Seicento e del Settecento. Il IV ed ultimo volume (209) raccoglie 1110 medaglie del XIX secolo che vanno a costituire una importante storia metallica del Risorgimento fino all'Unità d'Italia.

Alle medaglie rinascimentali della National Gallery of Art di Washington sono dedicati due volumi (115) il primo dei quali, il più corposo, è interamente dedicato all'Italia con 569 esemplari schedati; il pregio dell'opera, oltre che nella sua natura di catalogo, risiede anche nei capitoli introduttivi dove si affrontano i grandi temi della produzione medagliistica tra i quali anche quelli della contraffazione, della copia delle medaglie, della riproduzione antica e moderna, della composizione metallica (di cui alla fine in appendice si forniscono i dati percentuali globali); uno specifico capitolo, in fine, è dedicato alla medaglia-ritratto in Italia.

Le medaglie italiane dal 1530 al 1600 nelle collezioni pubbliche britanniche costituiscono l'oggetto di un'altra prestigiosa pubblicazione (45). Nei due volumi che la compongono si raccolgono ben 1258 esemplari, il catalogo è diviso per aree geografiche con una sezione per medaglie non attribuite e di problematica individuazione quanto a luogo di produzione. Anche in questo caso l'importanza dell'opera, già garantita dalla qualità del catalogo, si lega anche ai paragrafi introduttivi, è sufficiente elencarli in rapida successione per capire come quest'opera debba essere considerata un punto di riferimento imprescindibile per la medagliistica italiana del XVI secolo: 'The medal in sixteenth-century Italy'; 'Medal making in sixteenth century Italy'; 'The functions of medals in sixteenth-century Italy'; 'The diffusion of the Italian medal in sixteenth-century Europe'; 'Sixteenth-century medals since the sixteenth century'. Al XX secolo è dedicato il VI volume sulle medaglie delle Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche di Milano (237).

Tra i cataloghi d'asta ricoprono un posto particolare i tre volumi che raccolgono la collezione Voltolina (56, 147, 164), una raccolta di notevole valore storico ed i cui lotti pubblicati costituiscono un valido punto di riferimento bibliografico, soprattutto per il materiale di epoca rinascimentale e per quello legato alle vicende della Serenissima, basti pensare che proprio su questo materiale Piero Voltolina impostò la sua monumentale opera, *La storia di Venezia attraverso le medaglie* (Venezia 1998). Merita di essere menzionato anche il catalogo d'asta che raccoglie la collezione Casolari comprendente 424 medaglie in oro create tra il 1884 e il 1946; la sua importanza consiste nel costituire uno dei cataloghi più completi delle medaglie d'oro afferenti al periodo del ventennio fascista le quali costituiscono il nucleo più consistente della raccolta e sulle quali ancora la bibliografia non è esaustiva (224).

Altri repertori convergono su singole figure di personaggi: è il caso ad esempio della collezione DONATI che raccoglie ben 763 medaglie dedicate al sommo poeta (16); meno corposa ma egualmente completa l'opera dedicata a Gabriele d'Annunzio di cui si ripercorrono storia e gesta attraverso 143 medaglie (245). Quanto agli artisti, va segnalata un'interessante monografia su Valerio Belli che offre un catalogo quanto più completo possibile della sua produzione anche come medaglista (69), mentre l'attività e le creazioni di tre incisori attivi a cavallo tra XVIII e XIX secolo, vengono descritte in tre distinte monografie molto accurate e di grande utilità (200-202); si tratta di Luigi Cossa (1781-1867) con 68 medaglie prodotte dalla zecca di Milano, Francesco Putinati (1775-1848) con 125 esemplari, e Luigi Manfredini (1771-1840) con 90. A Francesco Striore, ultimo incisore della zecca di Venezia, viene invece riservato un articolo che illustra le oltre 30 medaglie da lui coniate fra il 1838 e il 1876 e che ne costituisce un primo catalogo di riferimento (192).

Importanti repertori sono derivati da ricerche connotate da un'impostazione di carattere storico, sono così apparse in pochi anni notevoli storie metalliche che, oltre a quelle già citate per lo Stato Pontificio, sono dedicate a precisi periodi e regni della storia d'Italia: Regno delle due Sicilie (176, 177), Regno di Sardegna (203), Regno Lombardo Veneto (204), avventura napoleonica in Italia (178, 182, 205-208); si tratta di volumi che possono essere considerati un punto di riferimento fondamentale per lo studio delle medaglie di questi periodi, per quanto si debba rilevare, per alcuni, un difetto nella limitatissima tiratura con la quale sono stati editi. Nella stessa ottica, l'intento di recuperare le memorie della città di Torino dal 1706 al 1970 attraverso le medaglie e i gettoni si risolve nei due volumi di un catalogo eterogeneo ma completo degli esemplari, ben 419, afferenti a quella città (37). Dedicato invece ad un tema di altro genere è il catalogo della collezione JOHNSON che comprende 276 medaglie dedicate alle Ferrovie dal 1826 al 1989 (214).

A conclusione di questa sezione devono essere menzionati un conciso ma utile repertorio dei medaglisti e degli incisori italiani dal Rinascimento ad oggi (23), e la seconda edizione aggiornata al 2004 del *Numismatis in Libris* che continua ad essere un utilissimo repertorio per gli studiosi di medaglistica (30), e in fine, la raccolta degli scritti di numismatica e di medaglistica di PANVINI ROSATI (34).

## Secoli XV-XVI

Inevitabilmente le grandi questioni che circondano la nascita e l'affermazione della medaglia hanno caratterizzato le coordinate lungo le quali si è sviluppata la ricerca relativa a questo periodo. Le origini della medaglia, le sue funzioni, la sua elaborazione, i messaggi, le simbologie, le tecniche produttive, la committenza, gli artisti e le fonti di ispirazione, sono aspetti che ricorrono in vario modo e a vario titolo pressoché in tutti i contributi, anche in quelli dedicati tematiche precise e peculiari, ed è anche per questo che risulta difficile illustrare omogeneamente il complesso quadro che ne deriva.

Per quanto riguarda le funzioni e le origini, che abbiamo visto affrontate anche in alcuni repertori catalogici, PERALE ritiene di poter indicare alla base della medaglia rinascimentale altre componenti che, contestualmente a quelle tradizionalmente riconosciute, avrebbero potuto stimolarne la nascita (112): oltre al legame con la numismatica romana e con l'arte sontuaria propria dei cammei e delle gemme incise, egli propone infatti di considerare anche altre categorie di oggetti, quali gli amuleti di tradizione romana (come le *bullae*) assieme alle placchette pagano-mistiche o paleocristiane e alle tessere in uso nel medioevo, come componenti in grado di aver contribuito alla genesi della medaglia; e, dopo averne collocato la funzione tra tradizione, recupero dell'antico e nuove esigenze sociali di autoaffermazione, riconosce a questa nuova creazione un carattere doppiamente innovativo sia in relazione alla riproducibilità dell'arte e alla replica dell'originale anche antico, sia nell'accelerazione del processo di laicizzazione dell'arte attraverso il trasferimento dell'attenzione artistica dall'astrazione del soggetto sacro alla vita contemporanea degli uomini e delle donne.

Anche GASPAROTTO (78), dopo aver indicato nell'ambiente preumanista veneto del Trecento e nelle produzioni carraresi le premesse più significative che avrebbero portato alla creazione pisanelliana, ribadisce che la medaglia nasce da un milieu vasto e multiforme quale risultato di premesse e stimoli di vario genere tra cui l'interesse per gli oggetti di piccolo formato, spesso preziosi e raffinati, da parte di committenze già interessate al collezionismo delle monete antiche e che erano in grado di apprezzare non solo la resa fisiognomica ma anche la complessità simbolica dei rovesci, come testimonia anche il patrimonio di gioielli e di altri piccoli oggetti preziosi di Nicolò III (134). A tal proposito è interessante anche l'annotazione di un contributo pur non legato alla medaglistica (137) che individua nell'ambito della corte viscontea, in qualche modo in anticipo rispetto a Ferrara, la possibilità che oggetti come le miniature sui codici e gli smalti en ronde - bosse abbiano potuto avere una certa influenza nello sviluppo della medaglia.

Oltre ai legami con quegli oggetti che materialmente potrebbero aver ispirato la creazione fisica della medaglia, i temi più costantemente ricorrenti sono quelli legati alle origini culturali, alla funzione e all'evoluzione di questa creazione. Alle medaglie carraresi, riconosciute come le prime nel senso moderno del termine, sono dedicati alcuni contributi che ne illustrano le vicende; in uno in particolare (84) si sottolinea che accanto alle emissioni 'padovane', nate da una precisa volontà di commemorare una dinastia e il recupero della città di Padova, quasi contemporaneamente anche Venezia si sperimentava una produzione medaglistica da parte dei fratelli Da Sesto di diversa ispirazione quanto a scopi e committenza e probabilmente legata ad un circuito molto più ristretto di persone. Inoltre, dopo aver evidenziato lo stretto legame delle prime medaglie carraresi con le monete romane antiche, vengono prese in considerazione anche le serie di restituzione più tarde e meno conosciute.

GREGORI riesce, in pochissime pagine, a delineare l'orizzonte culturale e le suggestioni ideologiche che hanno determinato la nascita e lo sviluppo delle medaglie intese come una delle più rappresentative manifestazioni dell'Umanesimo; la stessa cultura che riconosceva alle monete antiche la funzione di tramite privilegiato con il mondo classico, di cui costituiscono effettivamente un'impareggiabile galleria di immagini e simboli, parimenti trasferiva alle medaglie la funzione di nuovi testimoni di un'epoca, di persone, di eventi degni di essere ricordati anche dopo la loro fine, sulla scorta di quanto esplicitamente dichiarava Filarete spiegando il senso del sotterramento delle medaglie nelle fondamenta di altri simboli del potere, i palazzi (85).

Un titolo, l'arte della medaglia e l'esaltazione del signore (138), riassume una delle funzioni principali riconosciute alla medaglia, funzione che si esplica attraverso un linguaggio celebrativo, basato su una complessa

serie di apparati, figurativi e non, adoperati dai committenti per la comunicazione di messaggi di diverso tipo, politici, diplomatici, personali (62). Chiaramente questo sistema polisemico, come è definito in un contributo sulle imprese rinascimentali significativamente per gran parte dedicato alle medaglie (127), non è immediatamente traducibile e comprensibile; in questo senso MARTINI, prendendo in considerazione il ritratto sulle medaglie della corte estense, nella sua componente artistica ma anche simbolica, in relazione ai rovesci si dichiara cauto sulla possibilità di individuare facilmente il significato comunicativo di certe figure-simbolo la cui scelta potrebbe essere stata determinata da fattori peculiari anche casuali a noi sconosciuti (101).

La funzione mediatica della medaglia riguarda anche il mondo femminile; con diversi accenti e caratteristiche, le grandi donne del Rinascimento sono ampiamente ricorse a questo mezzo per rappresentare sé stesse ed i codici di valori ad esse relativi: nel caso di Cecilia Gonzaga si è analizzato il ritratto pisanelliano alla luce della commistione tra l'idea classica della castità e la tradizione cavalleresca medievale (92), in relazione ad Isabella d'Este se ne è sottolineata la figura importantissima a livello di committenza nella corte mantovana (81); Caterina Sforza offre un interessante esempio di calcolata scelta figurativa che la vede adottare, come donna di potere, aspetti iconografici "maschili" nelle sue medaglie (67); a Margherita d'Austria viene dedicato un corposo articolo che prende in considerazione una serie di medaglie per le quali non solo si tenta di proporre nuovi dati per una loro più chiara interpretazione, ma attraverso le quali si delinea anche l'importanza della figura di Margherita come committente nel contesto di tre delle più grandi famiglie di potere delle quali essa fu membro di primo livello: gli Asburgo, i Medici e i Farnese. In questo ambiente Margherita fu capace di far rappresentare le proprie virtù dinastiche e personali in quella categoria di oggetti, le medaglie appunto, che riteneva di grande importanza e di cui ne custodiva vari esemplari afferenti agli esponenti della cerchia familiare tra i suoi oggetti personali (132, 133).

Ed a proposito di committenza, che chiaramente è sempre comunque un argomento si potrebbe dire inevitabile nella trattazione delle medaglie rinascimentali e non, a questo tema è stato dedicato un convegno svoltosi a Udine tra l'8 e l'11 Giugno 1984 ed i cui atti sono apparsi nel 2002 raccogliendo interventi che riguardano soprattutto il XVI secolo (ma anche il XIX e il XX) (20). Parallelo a quello della committenza, il filone di indagine sugli aspetti 'commerciali' della produzione di medaglie viene affrontato in un articolo ricco di spunti (76) nel quale, esaminando l'opera e la documentazione d'archivio di Niccolò Fiorentino, si ipotizza che l'artista si sia appoggiato, per la realizzazione delle medaglie, anche a botteghe esterne alla sua; inoltre il maestro sarebbe intervenuto esclusivamente nella creazione dei ritratti, delegando ad altri la quella dei rovesci che appaiono stilisticamente inferiori e più standardizzati; l'insieme di queste osservazioni, assieme ad altri rilievi tecnici sulle capacità produttive delle botteghe, inducono a ritenere che Niccolò Fiorentino fosse pronto a soddisfare sia le richieste più specifiche dei suoi importanti committenti sia che fosse in grado di produrre oggetti già pronti per un mercato meno esigente, e che, in conclusione, si possa affermare sia stato uno dei primi artisti a poter vivere esclusivamente del lavoro di medaglista a pochi anni dalla nascita di questo nuovo oggetto. Il fatto che la medaglia dovesse aver alimentato un certo ciclo produttivo e commerciale viene implicitamente confermato dall'interesse, diffuso in certi ambiti di alto livello, nel possedere questi oggetti sia per motivi di studio che per collezionismo, come viene sottolineato in un contributo dedicato al particolare aspetto delle modalità della loro esposizione negli studi degli umanisti o negli ambienti di rappresentanza dei colti e ricchi collezionisti e al significato che tale ostentazione poteva avere (129).

Il convegno tenutosi a Bonn il 24 e 25 Ottobre 2004, dedicato alla medaglia rinascimentale in Italia e in Germania (121), ben riflette la difficoltà di tracciare un filo conduttore omogeneo nell'affrontare questo tipo di ricerche: gli atti di questo convegno si compongono di sette contributi riguardanti le medaglie italiane e quattro riguardanti quelle tedesche che spaziano su vari argomenti conferendo alla importante raccolta un carattere miscelaneo. I contributi dedicati alle medaglie italiane rinascimentali, in estrema sintesi, iniziano con la considerazione di una serie di esemplari di Giovanni Boldù del 1457 per illustrare, assieme ad altri documenti, le diverse espressioni culturali di alcune corti dell'Italia del Nord alla metà del XIV secolo; si prosegue con una rassegna di medaglie a soggetto religioso del XV secolo, di Antonio Marescotti, Matteo de Pasti, Andrea Guacialotti e Sperandio, che dimostrano come non tutte le medaglie rinascimentali abbiano un carattere secolare (88); quindi (122) si sottolinea come nelle medaglie con soggetto architettonico del XV e XVI secolo l'architetto spesso risulti importante quanto il committente dell'edificio; ma è il loro aspetto documentario e archeologico di reperti interrati nelle fondazioni degli edifici a farne assumere un'importanza, con scontato gioco di parole, fondamentale (su questo aspetto si veda anche (47). Benvenuto Cellini costituisce l'oggetto di un intervento che si focalizza sia sulla sua preparazione tecnica che sulla sua cultura in relazione all'eredità archeologica e letteraria del mondo antico nell'ambito della Roma della metà del XVI secolo (93). La medaglia nella quale Leone Leoni immortalò l'amico Michelangelo nelle vesti di un pellegrino viene accostata all'affresco in Vaticano nel quale lo stesso Michelangelo

rappresentò Paolo sulla via di Damasco, una ripresa probabilmente facilitata anche dalle strette relazioni di Leone Leoni con il grande artista (123). Viene poi analizzato un catalogo di medaglie cardinalizie dal 1455 al 1600 in base al quale si offrono diversi dati statistici che indicano tra le altre cose un parallelismo con le emissioni dei pontefici e la preminenza italiana nella loro committenza (117). Alcuni dei temi affrontati nel convegno di Bonn sono stati oggetto anche di altri contributi: la medaglia di Leone Leoni per Michelangelo nelle vesti di pellegrino è stata commentata anche da altri (89), allo stesso modo l'opera di Benvenuto Cellini come incisore di conii per monete e medaglista è stata approfonditamente studiata (46), anche con particolare riguardo alla rivalità con Giovanni Bernardi (90).

Tornando ad un tema preciso, quello delle connessioni tra la medaglia rinascimentale e la tradizione iconografica antica, che, come altre importanti tematiche, ricorre in vario modo all'interno di diversi contributi, questo soggetto è indagato in un articolo che passa rapidamente in rassegna le coordinate secondo le quali artisti e committenti hanno rielaborato schemi tratti dell'antichità classica per adattarli alle esigenze di rappresentazione loro contemporanee in due periodi ben distinti: il Rinascimento e l'epoca neoclassica (21). Più puntualmente Luigi Beschi sottolinea il fatto che la medaglia offre un terreno particolarmente sensibile alle sollecitazioni della tradizione classica, in particolar modo della numismatica e della glittica, tuttavia, in alcuni casi esistono derivazioni iconografiche dalla scultura antica; esse sono presenti già in Pisanello e in altri artisti formati in ambienti come Mantova, Venezia, Firenze e Roma dove la riscoperta dell'antico era favorita dal clima culturale. Diversi sono gli esempi indicati da Beschi, ma egli insiste soprattutto su quello famosissimo e di grande fortuna delle tre Grazie nude, e su quello di un ritratto che compare al rovescio di una medaglia anepigrafe dedicata probabilmente a Giovanni Medici (1543-1562); l'interpretazione di questo ritratto è finora stata unanimemente messa in relazione ad una testa di Giove, mentre Beschi invece è riuscito ad identificarne l'origine in una produzione pseudoantica di un busto raffigurante probabilmente Euripide. Beschi arriva ad attribuire la paternità della medaglia a Giuliano Giugni detto il Rosso su commissione di Cosimo I, il quale avrebbe dettato la scelta del busto di Euripide per sottolineare l'amore di Giovanni per lo studio degli autori latini e greci (51).

CUPPERI sottolinea, comunque, l'importanza del dato numismatico, dimostrando che alcune invenzioni rinascimentali non sono pienamente comprensibili se si prescinde dal loro riferimento alla monetazione antica, e lo testimonia prendendo in considerazione due medaglie di Vittoria Colonna Marchesa di Pescara la cui composizione iconografica viene decifrata con nuove proposte interpretative proprio alla luce del confronto con le monete antiche individuando abilmente, nel caso specifico, un raffinato gioco di rimandi tra iconografie desunte da monete romane e la legenda delle medaglie attorno al nome/concetto di Victoria (63). CASCIONE rileva come nelle medaglie commissionate da Carlo V a Leone Leoni, il riferimento all'antichità romana sia più marcato rispetto alle monete contemporanee vere e proprie, ipotizzando che alla base di questa scelta ci fosse probabilmente il tentativo di presentarsi come un *primus inter pares* disposto al dialogo con le élites di potere dei singoli regni e principati; nello stesso tempo scorge, nella scelta di evitare l'uso di simboli cristiani nelle medaglie, un invito al rispetto delle proprie specifiche sfere di influenza invitando a riconoscere a sé stesso la *potestas* temporale e al pontefice l'*auctoritas* spirituale. Lo studioso, però giunge a chiedersi anche se si tratti di un cosciente progetto o se si sia di fronte solo a cliché standardizzati, e in ogni caso in che grado i sudditi potessero eventualmente riuscire a recepire il messaggio (57). Le medaglie di Carlo V hanno interessato anche Walter Cupperi il quale, ribadendo che le origini del linguaggio celebrativo delle medaglie vanno rintracciate soprattutto nelle monete antiche, sottolinea a sua volta la rilevanza dei riferimenti numismatici nell'opera di Leone Leoni. In questo contributo inoltre vengono attribuite a Alfonso Lombardi attraverso confronti stilistici con altre opere e documenti d'archivio, alcune medaglie di Carlo V di non chiara paternità (62).

Sempre a CUPPERI va dato merito di aver contribuito ad ulteriori precisazioni (64), lo studioso, attraverso approfondite argomentazioni di carattere stilistico, restituisce ad Annibale Fontana la paternità di alcune medaglie: si tratta nel primo caso di un esemplare raffigurante Alfonso II d'Avalos già attribuito Leone Leoni, attribuzione che avrebbe generato altre erronee individuazioni; Cupperi infatti rileva che tra i microritratti attribuiti al grande artista aretino Leoni ve ne sono alcuni che invece possono e debbono essere ricondotti al ticinese Fontana, evidenziando come metodo di lavoro la necessità dell'indagine autoptica dal momento che attraverso la sola immagine fotografica non è possibile cogliere l'essenza tecnica ed artistica che distingue e caratterizza le esecuzioni di Fontana. Le due altre medaglie che propone di trasferire dal catalogo di Leone a quello di Fontana annoverano un esemplare raffigurante il provveditore fiscale Bernardo Spina (attivo tra 1543 e il 1553), e una medaglia variamente discussa nell'attribuzione e rappresentante un profilo di Cristo al D/ e una crocifissione al R/ che già lo Hill aveva indicato come uno dei più bei ritratti cinquecenteschi raffiguranti il Cristo.

Alla medaglia come fonte di ispirazione in altri settori artistici sono invece dedicati un articolo sulle fonti numismatiche nelle opere del pittore Andrea Bellunello (111), e un contributo dedicato all'influenza della medaglia sulla scultura funeraria cinquecentesca centroitaliana (60) che trova espressione nella tomba del duca di Urbino Francesco I della Rovere nella chiesa di Santa Chiara a Urbino e nella cappella del Monte nella chiesa di San Pietro in Montorio a Roma. Le medaglie sono utilizzate anche come elementi identificativi nella ricerca storico artistica; è il caso del riconoscimento in Marco Mantua Benavides di un personaggio ritratto in un dipinto del San Francisco Art Museums (66).

Tra i temi specifici, BESCHI dedica alcune interessanti note tecniche ed esegetiche alla medaglia più famosa, quella nella quale Pisanello raffigura Giovanni VIII Paleologo: oltre al catalogo degli esemplari elencati, che va considerato attualmente come il più completo, la sua indagine individua in alcuni disegni pisanelliani del Louvre e di Chicago degli studi preparatori per la medaglia; ma Beschi propone, soprattutto, una nuova interpretazione della scena del rovescio, individuando nel supporto della croce un obelisco che rimanderebbe a Roma e in particolare a Piazza San Pietro, mèta di pellegrinaggi e simbolo della cristianità occidentale, il che ricondurrebbe la raffigurazione in un'ottica chiaramente attinente alla celebrazione della presenza in Italia dell'Imperatore (49).

Sullo stesso filone esegetico, una medaglia unifacciale di bronzo viene indicata come il prototipo da cui è stata desunta il D/ della medaglia commissionata da Jean Tricaudet per Mehemed II; osservazioni stilistiche e storiche spingono ad ipotizzare come possibili autori o Pietro da Milano attorno al 1460 o Francesco Laurana, rivalutando anche il valore iconografico e la verosimiglianza del ritratto di Mehmed II (126). Anche i rinvenimenti archeologici, oltre che la ricerca nelle collezioni museali, contribuiscono alla scoperta di esemplari inediti, come avviene nel caso del materiale rinvenuto nella tomba San Luca Evangelista a Padova e dove si sono trovate 3 medaglie di cui una raffigurante i fratelli Girolamo e Mariano Stefanelli, risulta inedita (83).

Va in fine rilevato che le medaglie, in quanto creazioni tipiche del Rinascimento, spesso compaiono all'interno di cataloghi e pubblicazioni di esposizioni e mostre di vario soggetto rinascimentale; a volte viene dedicato loro un capitolo a sé stante, ma in altre occasioni la loro presenza si limita alle pagine del catalogo dei materiali esposti, per quanto in genere accompagnate da schede approfondite e accurate.

## **Secoli XVII-XVIII**

Oltre alle opere catalogiche indicate nella prima parte di questo contributo, gli studi relativi a questo periodo risultano molto meno numerosi di quelli dedicati alla medaglia rinascimentale, per cui non si possono cogliere tendenze particolari nelle linee di ricerca che comunque si indirizzano in varie direzioni, dalla segnalazione di medaglie inedite all'indagine esegetica.

Alcuni contributi sono incentrati sull'illustrazione delle suggestioni culturali e delle sopravvivenze iconografiche dell'antico Egitto attraverso i casi forniti dalla rappresentazione degli obelischi e delle piramidi (169, 170). TRAINA offre un'interpretazione della simbologia criptica di alcune medaglie che celebrano la conquista di Belgrado il 18 agosto 1717 da parte dell'esercito imperiale al comando del principe Eugenio di Savoia Soissons, tra queste ne viene segnalata una inedita (172). Anche altri contributi illustrano medaglie inedite: è il caso di un medaglione di bronzo dorato, commissionato al giovane Antonio Canova dal senatore veneziano Angelo Querini nel 1773, raffigurante sul dritto il ritratto di Voltaire (175), e di altre tre medaglie raffiguranti Giovanni Ottavio Bufalini, Vescovo di Ancona e Numana, realizzate nel 1766 da un artista sconosciuto in occasione dell'insediamento dell'alto prelato ad Ancona (166).

Un aspetto relativamente ancora poco sviluppato è quello dei rinvenimenti archeologici di medaglie su ampia scala, in questo senso risulta particolarmente significativo un contributo su alcuni scavi nella città di Alghero dove le medagliette devozionali costituiscono la base per una riflessione sugli aspetti della devozione religiosa (162). In fine si segnala la pubblicazione di una collezione di 124 modelli in cera degli Hamerani depositata presso il British Museum, dove si trovano anche un paragrafo dedicato al metodo di produzione di medaglie da modelli in cera e uno sulle fonti iconografiche alle quali si ispirarono (167).

## Secolo XIX

Questo secolo è abbondantemente rappresentato dalle diverse pubblicazioni di carattere storico-catalogico descritte in precedenza. Ma anche nei contributi meno ampi le coordinate della ricerca vertono quasi esclusivamente sugli aspetti storici a cui sono legate le medaglie; ed in questo senso risulta particolarmente indagata, sotto vari aspetti, la città di Venezia (179, 191, 193, 194). Si segnalano in fine alcuni contributi su Benedetto Pistrucci che apportano nuova documentazione sulla vita e l'attività dell'incisore (196, 198, 199), e su Giuseppe e Pietro Girometti (197).

## Secoli XX – XXI

Oltre ad alcuni contributi legati all'aspetto storico e celebrativo (240), anche relativi a medaglie progettate e non distribuite (239), per gli anni iniziali del Novecento si comincia a riflettere sulle tematiche e i percorsi artistici della medagliistica (223). Non manca lo spazio per momenti di riflessione sulla produzione, sul ruolo della medaglia e sulla committenza nell'epoca contemporanea (230); in quest'ottica ricopre una particolare rilevanza il catalogo della XI mostra della medaglia e placchetta d'arte che raccoglie diversi contributi incentrati su tali problematiche (225, 241, 250). Tuttavia la gran parte dello sforzo editoriale è dedicato alla produzione di cataloghi che illustrano l'opera degli artisti contemporanei.

Chiaramente la prospettiva cronologica non permette di elaborare il Novecento come un periodo finito e delimitabile; il risultato comunque è che questi cataloghi, per quanto spesso non definitivi, illustrano una sfaccettata e composita esperienza artistica nel suo pieno divenire e che solo in futuro potrà essere pienamente inquadrata. Ci limitiamo a tal proposito a ricordare la bella mostra 'Novecento in medaglia' (221), oltre che per la qualità della veste grafica e degli esemplari scelti, anche per ricordare il piccolo catalogo, ivi pubblicato, relativo alle medaglie che dal 1990 vengono coniate per essere consegnate come dono di augurio natalizio e di buon anno nuovo al rettore e ai docenti dell'Università di Padova, ricalcando altre tradizioni che portano indietro nel tempo.

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## DEUTSCHLAND

Wolfgang Steguweit und Hermann Maué

### Tendenzen und Entwicklungen

Im Jahre 2004 erschien in der Schriftenreihe der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Medaillenkunst *Die Kunstmedaille in Deutschland* als Band 19 eine Bibliografie, die an die erste und umfassende Spezialbibliografie von HAUKE UND HENNING (7595 Titel) aus dem Jahre 1993 anschließt und sie fortsetzt (1). Mit 2776 Titeln ist in der Fortsetzungsbibliografie das Schrifttum Deutschlands und Österreichs zur Medaillenkunde von 1990 bis 2003 erfasst (ISBN 3-86105-004-8) und mit den einführenden Beiträgen aus dem Berliner und Madrider Survey (1997 und 2003) ergänzt. Eine nochmalige Titelaufnahme für die Jahre 2002 und 2003 erfolgt daher an dieser Stelle nur für umfangreichere Titel mit besonderer Bedeutung für die Forschung.

Im Berichtszeitraum erschienen in der Reihe *Die Kunstmedaille in Deutschland* mit den Bänden 16 bis 25 zehn umfangreiche Titel. Darunter befindet sich ein übergreifendes Thema, das die Verbindung zur künstlerischen Gestaltung von Gedenkmünzen herstellt (14). Drei Bände sind mit Halle, München und Köln Zentren der Medaillenkunst im 20. Jahrhundert gewidmet (80, 96, 92), ein weiterer beleuchtet das Schaffen von 100 zeitgenössischen Künstlern aus dem Zeitraum 2000 bis 2006 (76).

Umfassende Werkmonografien einzelner Medailleure aus Renaissance, Barock, Klassizismus und Gegenwart liefern sechs Bände (23, 26, 28, 40, 54, 90). Damit hat es die 1992 als Katalog konzipierte Schriftenreihe auf bislang insgesamt 24 Bände gebracht. Neben der Zunahme von Forschungsergebnissen stimuliert das Publikationskonzept nicht zuletzt das zeitgenössische Schaffen deutscher Künstler.

Seit 2006 verfügt das Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin im sanierten Bode-Museum wieder über eine Dauerausstellung mit angeschlossenem Sonderausstellungsraum. Dazu ist im Prestel-Verlag ein Führer zu 100 Themen 'Münzen und Medaillen' erschienen, der in komprimierter Form auch einen Gang durch die Medaillenkunst bietet (13).

Der populärwissenschaftlichen Verbreitung und Akzeptanz in der interessierten Öffentlichkeit dienen die zahlreichen medaillenkundlichen Beiträge in den monatlichen bzw. zweimonatlich erscheinenden auflagenstarken numismatischen Zeitschriften, von denen die drei kommerziellen 'M'-Periodika den Markt im deutschsprachigen Raum dominieren (9-11). Das Pendel zwischen Innovation und Kompilation schlägt zumeist zur Seite der publizistisch gekonnten Verarbeitung bekannter Stoffe und Themen aus. Die nachfolgende Titelauswahl beschränkt sich auf eine kritische Auswahl. Verzichtet werden musste zudem auf Kurzbeiträge von weniger als drei Druckseiten, die über den Charakter einer Information nicht hinausgehen. Das Periodikum *Orden und Ehrenzeichen* (12) erweitert das Themenfeld und stellt die Verbindung her zur benachbarten Phaleristik.

### 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert

Die weitaus größte Zahl wissenschaftlicher Arbeiten zur Medaillenkunst in Deutschland beschäftigt sich mit Medaillen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, doch erschienen daneben grundlegende Arbeiten zu Medaillen der Renaissance und des Barock. Einige dieser Arbeiten basieren auf Dissertationen, ein erfreuliches Zeichen dafür, dass einige Hochschullehrer Forschungen zur Medaillenkunst anregen, fördern und begleiten.

Richard KASTENHOLZ legte seine 2001 in Berlin angenommene Dissertation zu Hans Schwarz, in dem man seit Georg Habichs Forschungen den Begründer der Medaillenkunst in Deutschland sieht, im Druck vor (28). Schwarz, vermutlich 1493 in Augsburg geboren und nach Kastenholz nach 1527 gestorben, schnitt seine Medaillenmodelle in Holz und ließ sie vorzugsweise in Bronze gießen. Die überwiegende Zahl seiner Porträtmedaillen ist einseitig; die wenigen zweiseitigen zeigen auf der Rückseite Wappen, Schrift und selten auch figürliche Darstellungen. Während der Kern des Medaillenwerks ein sehr präzises Bild von der Kunst des Hans Schwarz vermittelt, schließen sich die ihm zugewiesenen Skulpturen weniger überzeugend zusammen. Erstmals behandelt Richard Kastenholz Hans Schwarz als Bildschnitzer und Medailleur, wobei er auch die etwa 135 mit Kohle gezeichneten Porträtskizzen, die als Vorarbeiten für Medaillenmodelle anzusehen sind, berücksichtigt. Es ist schwierig, stilistische Gemeinsamkeiten kleiner Porträtreliefs auf Medaillen und lebensgroßer vollplastischer

Figuren exakt zu benennen, und somit scheint die Frage der Zuschreibungen von Skulpturen an den Bildschnitzer noch nicht endgültig beantwortet zu sein. Wenn Kastenholz nahezu die Hälfte der zwischen 1518 und 1521 in Augsburg, Nürnberg und Worms entstandenen und bisher nahezu 200 umfassenden Medaillen aus seinem Œuvre ausscheidet, bedeutet das, dass gleichzeitig mit Schwarz und in den selben Städten ein weiterer, bislang unbekannter Medailleur gearbeitet hat, dessen Medaillen denjenigen des Hans Schwarz zum Verwechseln ähnlich sehen und der ein vergleichbar umfangreiches Werk hinterlassen hat. Da die Existenz dieses bislang unbekannten Epigonen eher unwahrscheinlich ist, wird man die Kriterien, nach denen Kastenholz seine Entscheidungen getroffen hat, genauer prüfen müssen.

Ebenfalls in Berlin legte Andreas CANTE 2004 seine Dissertation zu Hans Scheußlich, später Hans Schenck genannt, vor und publizierte sie im Eigenverlag (26). Scheußlich war wie Hans Schwarz als Bildhauer und Medailleur tätig, arbeitete jedoch nicht in Holz, sondern in Stein und hinterließ ein umfangreiches, meist architekturgebundenes Werk. Daneben schuf er, überwiegend auf Mitglieder des Hauses Hohenzollern und der Herzöge von Pommern, Medaillenmodelle in Kalkschiefer. Er gilt als der führende Medailleur seiner Zeit in Nord- und Ostdeutschland und gemeinsam mit Tobias Wolff als der bedeutendste deutsche Medailleur der Nach-Dürer-Zeit. Wie bei Hans Schwarz wurden bislang auch bei dem jüngeren, bald nach 1500 in Schneeberg im sächsischen Erzgebirge geborenen Hans Scheußlich bildhauerisches Werk und Medaillenschaffen nicht als Einheit gesehen. Seinen Lebensmittelpunkt legte Hans Scheußlich nach Berlin, wo er am brandenburgischen Hof in Cölln an der Spree (heute zu Berlin-Mitte gehörig) tätig war und wo er 1571 oder 1572 starb. Georg Habich hat etwa achtzig Medaillen Hans Scheußlich, davon 50 dem Spätwerk, zugewiesen. Dieses Spätwerk, dessen Kern unter einander verbundene brandenburgische und sächsische Fürstenmedaillen der Jahre 1560 bis 1562 bilden, ist wenig gesichert. Zum Kern gehört ein großes Steinmodell auf Kurfürst Joachim II. von Brandenburg von 1560 in Berlin, eine der besten Arbeiten des Medailleurs. Ungewöhnlich ist die große Zahl von Steinmodellen, von denen sich keine gegossenen Medaillen erhalten haben, und Cante stellt zu recht die Frage, ob gerade die großen Modelle wirklich für den Guss bestimmt oder nicht selbständige Kunstkammerstücke sind, deren Erscheinung lediglich an Medaillenmodelle erinnert.

Im Oktober 2003 führte Georg SATZINGER am Kunsthistorischen Institut der Universität Bonn eine Tagung zum Thema 'Die Renaissance-Medaille in Italien und Deutschland' durch und legte im folgenden Jahr den Tagungsband vor (37). Ziel der Veranstaltung war es, die Medaillenkunst beider Länder in ihr jeweiliges geistes- und kulturgeschichtliches Bezugsfeld einzubinden. Es ging darum, 'aus sehr unterschiedlichen Arbeitszusammenhängen, die nur ausnahmsweise Münzen und Medaillen zum Zentrum haben, individuelle Perspektiven auf das Medium zu gewinnen'; Thema war also nicht, wie der Titel suggerieren könnte, Gemeinsamkeiten, Unterschiede oder Beziehungen in der Medaillenkunst beider Regionen herauszuarbeiten. Die Beiträge gruppieren sich zu thematisch und motivisch ausgerichteten Zusammenstellungen von Medaillen und der Untersuchung ihrer jeweiligen Funktionen, zu Manifestationen Christi auf Medaillen, Baumedailles und Medaillen auf Kardinäle sowie zu Medaillen einzelner Medailleure: Giovanni Boldú, Benvenuto Cellini und Leone Leoni. Die Beiträge gehen außerdem auf Wechselbeziehungen von Medaillen und benachbarten Kunstgattungen ein: Münzen als Medaillen unter den Medici Herzögen, Medaillen und plastische Porträts in Deutschland sowie Medaillen und Porträtkunst in Augsburg und schließlich behandeln sie die Rezeption antiker Münzen oder literarischer Quellen in antiquarischer Literatur und auf deutschen Renaissance-Medaillen. Der Tagungsband ist ein Beleg dafür, dass auch junge Wissenschaftler Medaillen als aussagefähige Quellen für die Beantwortung weitreichender kunst- und kulturgeschichtlicher Fragen heranziehen.

Zwei weitere Monografien zu Raimund Faltz von Wolfgang STEGUWEIT (41) und Johann Christian Koch von Elke BANNICKE (23) widmen sich Medailleuren des Barock, die zu den besten ihrer Zeit gehören.

Der 1658 in Stockholm als Sohn eines aus Augsburg stammenden Goldschmieds geborene Raimund Faltz erlernte zunächst den Beruf seines Vaters. In Augsburg lernte er, Prägestempel zu schneiden. Später war er vier Jahre an der Pariser Münze unter François Chéron angestellt, wo 1685 seine früheste bekannte Medaille entstand. Kurfürst Friedrich III. von Brandenburg berief ihn 1690 als Hofmedailleur nach Berlin, ein Amt, das er bis zu seinem Tode 1703 innehatte. In diesen 17 Jahren entstand der weitaus größte Teil seines Medaillenneuves. Die Medaillen bewahren die Erinnerung an wichtige Personen und Ereignisse seiner Zeit und dokumentieren den Ausbau der Stadt Berlin zu einer der bedeutenden Residenzstädte. Seine Sammlung von Medaillen und eigenhändigen Wachsmodeellen von Königen, Fürsten und Personen von Rang vermachte Faltz dem preußischen König. Dieses Vermächtnis, bewahrt vom Berliner Münzkabinett, bot Wolfgang STEGUWEIT hervorragende Voraussetzungen, die Medaillen, Prägestempel und die jüngst restaurierten Wachsmodeelle in einer Monografie (40) und einem Begleitkatalog zu einer Ausstellung (39) vorzustellen. Die Monografie enthält einen Bericht über den



Forschungsstand zu Faltz und schildert das künstlerische Umfeld in Berlin, das Faltz bei seiner Ankunft vorfand. Der detaillierte Katalog umfasst 131 Wachsbildnisse und Medaillen, zum Teil mit den zugehörigen Prägestempeln, sowie 11 weitere mit Raimund Faltz in Verbindung gebrachte Arbeiten; mehr als die Hälfte zeigen Bildnisse der kurfürstlich brandenburgischen und seit 1701 königlichen Familie.

Den 325. Geburtstag Johann Christian Kochs im Jahre 2005 nahm Elke BANNICKE zum Anlass, ihre 1984 in Halle eingereichte Diplomarbeit zu überarbeiten und eine Monografie des Medailleurs vorzulegen. Diese fußt auf der 1986 von STEGUWEIT publizierten 'Geschichte der Münzstätte Gotha' (Dissertation 1979) und der 1992 in London erschienenen Monografie Cordula WOHLFAHRTS (Dissertation 1980) über Christian Wermuth. Koch begann im Jahre 1700 eine Lehre bei Wermuth, dem Stempelschneider der herzoglichen Münze in Gotha. 1712 erhielt Koch dort die Bestallung als Hofmedailleur, die er bis zu seinem Tode 1742 inne hatte. BANNICKE nahm für ihre Arbeit die nahezu vollständige Sammlung der Medaillen Kochs im Münzkabinett Gotha auf. Bereits ein Jahr nach seinem Tod veröffentlichte J. H. Lochner im 7. Band seiner 'Samlung Merkwürdiger Medaillen' einen Lebenslauf mit Werkverzeichnis, verfasst von Kochs Sohn Ludwig Christian, Münzmeister in Gotha. Das Gesamtwerk Johann Christian Kochs ist mit 141 Medaillen, geschaffen in 36 Jahren, nicht sehr umfangreich. Der überwiegende Teil der Medaillen kommentiert Ereignisse im Hause Sachsen-Gotha-Altenburg, doch bestellten auch auswärtige Fürsten Medaillen bei Koch. Zu einigen Medaillen bewahrt das Berliner Münzkabinett die Prägestempel.

Mit fürstlichen Bauten auf sächsischen Medaillen hat sich Dagmar SOMMER in ihrer Marburger Dissertation von 2004 beschäftigt (39). Im 17. Jahrhundert entstanden in Sachsen in einem recht einheitlichen Kulturraum als Folge von Landesteilungen mehrere Linien der Kurfürsten und Herzöge von Sachsen albertinischer und ernestinischer Linie, die zur Gründung neuer Residenzen und zu einer regen Bautätigkeit der Landesherren führten. Eine große Zahl von Medaillen hält diese Bautätigkeit fest. Diese Architekturmedaillen betrachtet die Autorin als eine Sonderform barocker Repräsentationsmedaillen, die zur Darstellung landesherrlicher Macht und Größe eingesetzt wurden. Sie sollten dazu beitragen, Ehre und Ansehen des Landesherrn gegenüber politischen Konkurrenten, adeligen Standesgenossen und den Untertanen zu steigern. Die Medaillen waren Teil eines gezielten Einsatzes verschiedener Medien im Rahmen höfischer Kultur 'zur Veranschaulichung politischer und sozialer Ansprüche'. Außerdem stellt die Autorin die Frage nach der Funktion derartiger Repräsentationsmedaillen im höfischen Zeremoniell und führt damit die Medaille als Quelle in den Kontext aktueller kulturgeschichtlicher Forschung ein. Ein umfassender Katalog mit 143 zwischen 1621 und 1803 entstandenen Medaillen mit Darstellungen von Schlössern, aber auch Kirchen und Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen sowie Residenz- und Universitätsstädten, ergänzt um Architekturdarstellungen auf Gemälden und Kupferstichen, untermauert die Thesen der Autorin.

Mit den Arbeiten von Wolfgang Steguweit, Elke BANNICKE und Dagmar SOMMER liegen drei weitere grundlegende Bausteine vor, die ein zunehmend klareres Bild der barocken Medaillenkunst in Deutschland entstehen lassen.

Unter den auf Regenten bezogenen Medaillenzusammenstellungen ragt der von Manfred OLDING im Jahre 2003 herausgegebene Katalog der Medaillen auf König Friedrich II. von Preußen heraus (36). Er versteht sich zwar als Band 2 einer ursprünglich breiter angelegten und 1994 von G. Brockmann von 1499 bis 1740 begonnenen Reihe, ist aber in Format und Gestaltung eher ein Solitär. Nahezu sämtliche auf Friedrich II. und seine Familie herausgegebenen Medaillen sind erfasst, ergänzt um die mit der preußischen Geschichte verbundenen Emissionen, darunter die auf die Schlesischen Kriege. Zwar stand der König nach der Überlieferung dem Medium Medaille eher distanziert gegenüber, dennoch haben herausragende Künstler jener Zeit für ihn gearbeitet. Unter den auswärtigen Medailleurs sind der Schweizer Johann Carl Hedlinger und sein Schüler, der Schwede Nils Georgi zu nennen. In Berlin war es Ludwig Heinrich Barbiez, der mit seinen Arbeiten 'Friderizianisches Rokoko' in das Medaillenformat bannte. In der Spätzeit sind Abraham Abramson und Daniel Friedrich Loos hervorzuheben, die den Übergang zum Stil des Klassizismus mitbestimmten.

In einer umfangreichen Darstellung barocker religiöser Medaillen südwestdeutscher Provenienz (Kreuzanhänger, Taufmedaillen, Bruderschaftsabzeichen, Wallfahrtsandenken, Heiligenmedaillen) verknüpft der Bearbeiter Stefan FASSBINDER interdisziplinär Methoden der Archäologie, der Kirchen- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichte und der Volkskunde miteinander und betritt dabei Neuland in methodischer Hinsicht bei der Wahl des Quellenmaterials (17).

## 19. Jahrhundert

Das erfahrene und bewährte Autorenteam Ulrich KLEIN und Albert RAFF hat 2003 in ihrer die Münzen und Medaillen Württembergs umfassenden Reihe *Süddeutsche Münzkataloge* mit Band 11 die Württembergischen Medaillen von 1797 bis 1864 vorgelegt (57). 1995 bereits war mit Band 5 der Vorgängerband 1496-1797 erschienen. Unter den territorialbezogenen Monografien Deutschlands liegt Württemberg damit bis 1864 unter Einschluss der Orden und Ehrenzeichen komplett und umfassend publiziert vor.

Ein Meister der Porträtkunst unter den Medailleuren des späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts war der in Salzburg, Wien, Paris und Berlin tätige Porträtmodelleur und Bildhauer Leonhard Posch. Dessen etwa 900 Arbeiten (Modelle, Eisengüsse, Gipsformen) umfassendes Œuvre wird zum überwiegenden Teil im Berliner Münzkabinett bewahrt, das zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts auch den so genannten Werkstattnachlass des von 1804 bis zu seinem Tode 1831 in Berlin tätigen Künstlers der Sammlung zufügen konnte. Die gebürtige Amerikanerin Anne FORSCHLER-TARRASCH hat nach ihrer Berliner Dissertation von 1999 die Fülle des Materials sorgfältig und übersichtlich strukturiert und in dem von W. STEGUWEIT herausgegebenen Band 15 der Reihe *Die Kunstmedaille in Deutschland* herausgebracht (54). Ein Großteil der von Posch porträtierten Personen ist leider vorerst namenlos geblieben, ein reiches Betätigungsfeld für biografische Detailstudien bietend.

Ein weiterer namhafter, überwiegend für die Berliner Medaillenfirma Loos arbeitender Künstler war der Suhler Steinschneider und Medailleur Johann Veit Döll, dessen schriftlicher Nachlass in fünf Bänden von Dieter BRUHN sorgfältig ediert worden ist (50).

Peter HANNIG, vormals am Dresdener Münzkabinett tätig, katalogisierte ausführlich die Medaillen, Gedenkmünzen und Wachsbossierungen, unter Einbeziehung der im Dresdener Münzkabinett bewahrten Medaillenstempel des Dresdener Münzgraveurs und Medailleurs Carl Reinhard Krüger. Dessen gesichertes Opus reicht von 1813 bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts (56).

## 20. Jahrhundert und Gegenwart

Mit Halle 2002 (80), München 2003 (96) und zuletzt Köln 2007 (92) sind im Berichtszeitraum gleich drei umfassendere Monografien zu Zentren zeitgenössischer Medaillenkunst in Deutschland vorgelegt worden, alle erschienen in der Reihe *Die Kunstmedaille in Deutschland*.

In Halle an der Saale wirkte seit 1916 der Bildhauer Gustav Weidanz (1889-1970) und gab die während seiner Ausbildung in Berlin empfangenen Impulse nach 1945 an seine Schüler weiter. Gerhard Lichtenfeld und Wilfried Fitzenreiter waren zwei seiner prominenten Schüler. Die heute noch an der dortigen Hochschule für Kunst und Design lehrenden Bernd Göbel und Carsten Theumer sind Schüler der zweiten und dritten Generation nach Weidanz. Nach kunsthistorisch und medaillenkundlichen Einführungen von Wolfgang STEGUWEIT, Ulf DRÄGER, Birk OHNESORGE, Bernd GÖBEL und Bernhard WEISSER verzeichnet der Halle-Band insgesamt 902 Medaillen von 33 Künstlern, unter denen Fitzenreiter mit 442 katalogisierten Arbeiten – überwiegend Gussmedaillen – den größten Anteil daran hat, gefolgt von Göbel mit 112 Medaillen (80).

Der auf den Künstlerkreis der Medailleure München (96) fokussierte Titel, herausgegeben von Markus WESCHE, enthält aus dessen Feder nicht nur die seit Ende der 1980er Jahre mit Editionen hervorgetretenen Künstler, sondern einen Grundlegenden Beitrag zur Münchner Medaillenkunst seit Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts, mit einem kurzen Rückblick bis in das 16. Jahrhundert. Auch den Anteil der Münchner Medailleure an den Gedenkmünzen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland stellte WESCHE heraus. Künstler sind mit kürzeren Selbstzeugnissen zu ihrem Schaffen vertreten. Auf diese und vor allem auf die beiden Studien Wesches ist ausdrücklich hinzuweisen, weil sie der Titel des Bandes nicht erwarten lässt.

Die umfangreichste Monografie eines Medaillenzentrums in Deutschland erschien zum Ende des Berichtszeitraums zur Medaillenkunst in Köln im 20. Jahrhundert, herausgegeben von Wolfgang STEGUWEIT und unter Mitarbeit von Heinz W. MÜLLER und Gisa STEGUWEIT (92). Die Kölner Werkschulen wurden nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg im Jahre 1945 neu begründet. Hier lehrte seit 1950 der von Berlin wechselnde Ludwig Gies (1887-1966), einer der bedeutendsten deutschen Medaillenkünstler des 20. Jahrhunderts, gefolgt von seinem Schüler Karl Burgeff (1928-2005) und etwa 40 weiteren Bildhauermedailleuren. Die Übernahme von Nachlässen (Karl Burgeff, Jochem Pechau) und zahlreiche weiteren Schenkungen und Erwerbungen durch das Münzkabinett der

Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin gaben den Anlass zu einer gleichnamigen Ausstellung und ermöglichten die Erarbeitung des Bandes. Zwar ist überwiegend der Berliner Bestand dokumentiert, der jedoch für das Kölner Medaillenschaffen repräsentativ ist. So enthält er 143 Medaillen und Kleinreliefs von Karl Burgeff und 50 künstlerisch überaus bedeutsame Werke von Ludwig Gies, um nur zwei der wichtigsten Köln Medailleure zu nennen.

Nahezu 100 zeitgenössische Medailleure hat Ulf DRÄGER in einem weiteren Band der Reihe *Die Kunstmedaille in Deutschland* vorgestellt (76). Eine Bestandsaufnahme zur Kunstmedaille in Deutschland 2000 bis 2006, dem Erfassungszeitraum des Bandes, sowie Einzelbeiträge zur Gründung und Entwicklung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Medaillenkunst, zu den ersten drei Preisträgern des 2005 gestifteten 'Hilde-Broër-Preises für Medaillenkunst' und zum seit 2006 verliehenen 'Deutschen Medailleurpreis Johann Veit Döll' ergänzen den Katalog.

66 Frankfurter Medailleure des 20. Jahrhunderts, die entweder in Frankfurt geboren wurden oder ihre Ausbildung am Städelschen Kunstinstitut bzw. an der Kunstgewerbeschule der Mainmetropole erhielten, stellte Frank BERGER mit ihren Kurzbiografien zusammen (71). Zu den bedeutenden Frankfurter Medailleuren gehörten Franz Kowarzik und dessen Schüler Rudolf Bosselt sowie Benno Elkan.

Die gewichtigste Monografie zum Œuvre eines einzelnen Künstlers legte W. STEGUWEIT in Zusammenarbeit mit Gisa STEGUWEIT aus Anlass des 100. Geburtstages der bei Ludwig Gies an den Vereinigten Staatsschulen für freie und angewandte Kunst in Berlin ausgebildeten Bildhauerin und Medailleurin Hilde Broër (1904-1987) vor (90). 613 katalogisierte und abgebildete Werke stellen das gesamte Spektrum der Künstlerin vor: Skulpturen, Medaillen, Reliefs, Gefäße, Hauszeichen, Glockenzier, Kirchengestaltung, Grabmäler und Brunnengestaltungen. In dem Band enthaltene Studien zeichnen ihren Lebens- und Schaffensweg nach und untersuchen ihr Werk im Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung der Plastik im 20. Jahrhundert. Dabei wird deutlich, dass Hilde Broër die Bundesrepublik auf den Biennalen der internationalen Medaillengesellschaft FIDEM von 1955 bis 1985 kontinuierlich vertreten und in ihrem Medaillenschaffen die Entwicklung der zeitgenössischen Medaillenkunst mit stark abstrahierenden Tendenzen reflektiert hat.

Weitere Kataloge mit Bezug auf einzelne Medailleure von Bernd Göbel (88) und Hubertus von Pilgrim (65) sind bereits bibliografisch dokumentiert (1). Den nahezu unbekannten Medailleur Kurt Kluge stellte Hartmut COCH vor (74), nachdem das Münzkabinett Berlin seinen Nachlass erwerben konnte.

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## SWITZERLAND

*William Eisler*

The period 2002-2007 in Switzerland witnessed campaigns by the Cabinet de numismatique of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Neuchâtel, and the Musée monétaire cantonal, Lausanne, to recuperate thousands of historic dies and puncheons belonging the Huguenin company in Le Locle (NE) employed in the production of medals for their respective cantons. The efforts of the Neuchâtel cabinet inspired an exhibition, *L'art au creux de la main: la médaille suisse aux 20<sup>e</sup> et 21<sup>e</sup> siècles* at the Musée d'art et d'histoire in that city (29 April to 23 September 2007), afterwards shown at the Münzkabinett und Antikensammlung, Winterthur (3 November 2007 to 24 August 2008). The show was accompanied by a juried section of contemporary Swiss work organised by the two cabinets in collaboration with FIDEM. A small book of essays accompanied the exhibition in both cities (44). Following an introduction by PERRET (ZÄCH for the Winterthur version in German) and a preface by JACOT (48), GATTI (46) discusses the manner in which contemporary Swiss medallists (particularly those from the French-speaking region) liberated themselves from the traditional round form and commemorative function of their art. DELBARRE-BÄRTSCHI (43) considers the evolution of the commissioned medal in Switzerland from the Art Nouveau period to the present, outlining the impact of trends in painting, the graphic arts and design on this development. EVEN (45) traces the history of the two leading medal ateliers in the canton of Neuchâtel, Huguenin and Kramer, providing insights into the enlightened social policies of the former. ZANCHI's text (58) pays tribute to the popular medal in Swiss society, revealing how these objects radiated out from the elite towards consumption by a larger public. GIRARDIN-CESTONE concludes the essay section with a discussion of the medallion form in art, suggesting links between medals, prints and paintings sharing a round or oval format (47). The final section is an illustrated catalogue of the prize-winning entries in the competition. It is hoped that this stimulating little volume will lead to further and more comprehensive research.

Among other contributions, one should cite SCHÄRLI's essay on the painter Arnold Böcklin as the subject and author of medals (40). Mention should also be made of CAMPAGNOLO's note on the employment of Théodore Bonneton's late eighteenth-century die in the production of the bicentenary medal (1912) of Jean Jacques Rousseau's birth in Geneva (42). CAMPAGNOLO likewise collaborated with ROPP on a survey of tokens representing the lake front of that city (39). LURASCHI deserves to be commended for his numerous brief notes published in the *Numis-Post & HMZ* on the medallic heritage of the Canton Ticino, the majority of which are conveniently accessible in a collective volume (1). Welcome additions to the numismatist and collector's library are comprehensive new catalogues of Swiss shooting medals and jetons by RICHTER, with hundreds of good colour photographs (2, 3).

The most important gift to the country's museums was a significant collection of high quality Art Nouveau works donated by a major medal scholar, Peter Felder, to the Schloss Lenzburg Museum of the Canton Aargau (6). The occasion was marked by the publication of a very useful and well-written survey of the subject by the donor (5).

The author's own involvement with the art and history of the Swiss medal continued during the period. With the enthusiastic support of his own institution, the Musée monétaire cantonal, Lausanne, and the Cabinet de numismatique of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, he was able to complete the two-volume catalogue raisonné of the Dassier workshop, one of the most important ateliers of the eighteenth century (9). In this work, encompassing over 750 pages and 1,700 illustrations, and in a number of articles (10-16), he considers the subject in the light of the art, politics, culture, economy and society of the period. An identical interdisciplinary approach was applied to studies of medals and their impact in the Canton Vaud in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (17, 18, 22, 24). This methodology is also employed in an essay published in *The Medal* on objects associated with the American Civil War, struck on the press of the Bovys of Geneva, prestigious successors to the Dassiers (23). In this instance, work commemorating Abolitionist heroes served to link kindred spirits among advocates of freedom in Switzerland, France and America.

Notwithstanding the endeavours cited above, one is obliged to lament the relative paucity of serious research in the field in this country.

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## ÖSTERREICH

*Heinz Winter*

An Literaturüberblicken ist der vorangegangene Survey-Beitrag von EMMERIG und WINTER zu nennen, welcher die Periode von 1996 bis 2001 umfasste (10). Dieser wurde weitgehend unverändert von HEIDEMANN in seine *Bibliographie zur Medaillenkunde. Schrifttum Deutschlands und Österreichs* aufgenommen, die darüber hinaus alle weiteren, zwischen 1990 und 2003 erschienenen Publikationen berücksichtigte (11, 18). EMMERIG publizierte den zweiten Teil seiner Gesamtbibliographie zum Thema 'Medicina in Nummis', welche auch alles für Österreich Relevante enthält. Die gesamte Bibliographie steht aktualisiert auf der Homepage des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien zur Verfügung (4).

Größere Überblicke zur österreichischen Medaille sind im Berichtszeitraum nicht erschienen. WINTER legte einen kurzen Abriss vor (1). Auch zu den Medaillen des Hauses Habsburg erschienen nur kleinere Arbeiten: TRAVERSI stellte eine Reihe von Medaillen auf Margarete von Parma, die Tochter Karls V. und der Jeanne van den Gheynst, vor (45). WINTER publizierte einen Beitrag zu habsburgischen Medaillen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts mit Spanienbezug (55). Mit Medaillen zum Regierungsantritt Josephs I. beschäftigte sich KLEIN (24). VÁCHA besprach ausführlich die große Widmungsmedaille der Bergstadt Příbram an Karl VI. und Elisabeth Christina aus 1728, welche er Franz Lorenz Altomonte zuschrieb (46). SCHÖRNER legte eine Genesungsmedaille auf Maria Theresia vor (41). Ausgehend von ihrer Diplomarbeit (13) widmete sich GRUNDNER-ROSENKRANZ der Medaillenproduktion Ferdinands I. (1835-1848), die sie in ausgewählten Beispielen den entsprechenden Akten des Hauptmünzamt in Wien gegenüberstellte, wodurch der Weg von der Bestellung einer Medaille bis zu deren Verteilung samt Prägezahlen und ihren Empfängern rekonstruierbar wird (14). HAUSER legte einen umfangreichen Katalog seiner Privatsammlung von Medaillen, Plaketten und Jetons von Ferdinand I. (1835-1848) und Franz Joseph I. vor, der zwar Neues bringt, jedoch ungebildet blieb, und dessen Nutzen trotz Akribie des Autors erheblich eingeschränkt bleibt (17). Ein Überblick über die 'Prunkmedaillen' des Münzkabinetts des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien von WINTER erfasste auch die entsprechenden habsburgischen Belege (51). Bei Dr. Busso PEUS Nachf. in Frankfurt am Main wurde die Sammlung Willy Fuchs versteigert, welche einen umfassenden Überblick zu den Prägungen auf Wahlen und Krönungen der Könige und Kaiser in Frankfurt am Main gibt (32). Aus einem interdisziplinären, naturwissenschaftlich-numismatischen Projekt am Wiener Münzkabinett, das sich der 'Braune-Flecken-Korrosion' auf Goldmünzen und -medaillen widmete, ging ein Verzeichnis der betroffenen Medaillen der Wiener Sammlung von WINTER hervor, welches den Zeitraum von Karl VI. bis Franz Joseph I. erfaßt und mit 199 Medaillen einen Überblick über das offizielle habsburgische Medaillenschaffen vor allem von Maria Theresia bis Ferdinand I. bringt. Nützlich sind Münzstättenzuweisungen sowie Kurzbiographien der Medailleure und Werkstattinhaber (52). Weitere Arbeiten von WINTER, welche sich den Anfängen der Porträtmedaille im Königreich Ungarn widmen, sind aufgrund der Habsburgbezüge anzuführen. Neben Vorstudien (48, 53) ist der kommentierte Bestandskatalog des Wiener Kabinetts zu nennen (54). Abschließend sei eine Arbeit von SERFAS, der sich mit *Habsburgs Universitäten, Hochschulen und Akademien und deren Nachfolgern auf Münzen und Medaillen* beschäftigte (43) sowie ein aus einer Lehrveranstaltung hervorgegangener Beitrag von EMMERIG genannt, der Einblick in Bestände des Archivs des Hauptmünzamt in Wien gibt (5).

PROKISCH legte eine kommentierte Übersicht über die Münzen und Medaillen des Deutschen Ordens in der Neuzeit vor (35); anlässlich eines Vortrages wurde auch eine Zusammenfassung publiziert (36). Bei Numismatik LANZ München wurde eine Sammlung von Münzen und Medaillen des Erzbistums Salzburg versteigert, welche vor allem für die Medaille der Neuzeit weitgehend Unbekanntes bringt (30). BURBÖCK behandelte am Rande eines Überblicks zur Münzprägung der fürstlichen Familie der Eggenberg auch deren Medaillen (2).

Die umfassende Katalogisierung der oberösterreichischen Medaillen, Plaketten, Jetons und Abzeichen in Form von Zitierwerken wurde von HIPPMANN mit Arbeiten zu den Städten Linz und Wels fortgeführt (20, 21). Kleinere Publikationen von EMMERIG, GRASBERGER, HIPPMANN UND PROKISCH, KRASSNIGG, KRÜGLER UND QUARG, die Medaillen und verwandte Objekte verschiedenster Thematik behandeln, sind nicht gesondert anzuführen (9, 12, 22, 25, 28, 29, 39). Die Vorlage der laufenden Medaillenproduktion der Münze Österreich AG konnte von WINTER aufgrund der Informationslage bislang nur bis 2001 fortgeführt werden (50); die von der Münze selbst verlegten Arbeiten werden dagegen regelmäßig in deren Hauszeitschrift *Die Münze* beworben (31).

An den großen FIDEM-Weltausstellungen moderner Medaillen ist Österreich stets nur mit kleinen Beiträgen beteiligt; ein kurzer Einleitungstext für die Ausstellung in Seixal wurde von WINTER verfaßt (47).

Hervorzuheben ist eine Arbeit von EMMERIG, welche die Beiträge der österreichischen Medailleure auf den FIDEM Weltausstellungen auflistet, hier finden sich Geburts- und Sterbejahre der Medailleure (6).

Ein grundlegender Einblick in Leben und Werk eines österreichischen Medailleurs wurde lediglich für Stefan Schwartz von HOLY vorgelegt (23). Daneben ist eine Arbeit von DEMBSKI UND WINTER hervorzuheben, welche, ausgehend von Interviews mit Ferdinand Welz, einen Überblick über Leben und Werk dieses bedeutendsten österreichischen Medailleurs der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts gibt (3). Aufgrund des Todes des Künstlers am 1. Juni 2008 in Wien (56), blieb ein von WINTER verfasstes Werksverzeichnis unvollendet; Vorarbeiten liegen im Münzkabinett des Kunsthistorischen Museums auf. Zu einer Medaille von Welz publizierte WINTER Abklatsche, welche alle Stadien des Direktschnittes in den Stahl festhalten (49). Ausgehend von einem Elfenbeinmedaillon beschäftigte sich HAAG mit Johann Ignaz Bendl (15). Auch zu weiteren Medailleuren sind kleinere Arbeiten zu verzeichnen: Für Arnold Hartig, für den sich von PROKISCH UND WINTER eine Monographie in Vorbereitung befindet, von PROKISCH (34), für Edwin Grienauer von EMMERIG (7) und für Friedrich Mayr von HAUSER (16). Helmut Zobl, der profilierteste österreichische Medailleur der Gegenwart, führte seine Werkverzeichnisse mit zwei Bänden fort, welche die Jahre von 1998 bis 2002 bzw. von 2002 bis 2006 umfassen (57, 58). Von der Neubearbeitung des Thieme-Becker, dem Allgemeinen Künstlerlexikon von SAUR, sind im Berichtszeitraum einige Bände erschienen, die wieder eine Reihe österreichischer Medailleure enthalten, welche durch Registerbände erschlossen sind (40).

Auf dem Gebiet der amtlichen und privaten Rechenpfennige in Österreich und den Kronländern ist, wie bereits im Survey für 1996 bis 2001 vermerkt (10), eine rege Forschung in Gang gekommen. Ein stempelkritischer Katalog von PROKISCH befindet sich im Druck, Vorstudien sind erschienen (33, 37, 38). Daneben liegen eine Arbeit von KRAULAND zu Kärntner Raitpfennigen (26) und ein Beitrag von KRMNICEK zu einem Tiroler Raitpfennig vor (27). Eine von HELMWEIN verfaßte Diplomarbeit beschäftigt sich mit der Geschichte des frühneuzeitlichen Beamtentums in den österreichischen Erbländern im Spiegel der privaten Rechenpfennige (19). EMMERIG legte eine Literaturliste zu Randgebieten der mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Numismatik vor (8). Abschließend sind eine kleine Arbeit über Kalendermedaillen in der Sammlung des Stifts Kremsmünster von SCHWINGHAMMER (42) sowie eine umfassende, für Sammler gedachte Arbeit über Kalendermedaillen und damit verwandte numismatische Objekte von STROTHOTTE zu erwähnen, welche auch die österreichischen Belege enthält (44).

Für das Gebiet der Ordenskunde ist wieder auf die seit November 1990 in Wien herausgegebene Zeitschrift der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Ordenskunde zu verweisen. Diese erscheint vierteljährlich und befasst sich vor allem mit österreichischen Orden und Auszeichnungen. Einer ihrer Schwerpunkte ist die Erfassung von Quellen zur Entstehungsgeschichte und die Publikation von Verleihungslisten verschiedener Dekorationen. Die große Bandbreite der Beiträge erlaubt keine Aufzählung. Hingewiesen sei jedoch auf die Arbeiten von SCHMIDT und SCHWARZ, die das wohl umfassendste Œuvre zur jüngeren österreichisch-habsburgischen Ordenskunde aufweisen. Diese Beiträge sind durch von STOLZER zusammengestellte Publikationsverzeichnisse erschlossen (128, 129).

Einige Monographien und Ausstellungskataloge widmeten sich größeren Themenbereichen: Als Ergebnis eines Symposiums erschien ein von AUER redigierter Band, der sich mit dem Haus Österreich und dem Orden vom Goldenen Vlies auseinandersetzt (59). Ein von SCHWARZ verfasster Begleitband zu einer Ausstellung beschäftigte sich mit den Altösterreichischen Orden (114). Anlässlich des 50-jährigen Jubiläums des Ehrenzeichens für Verdienste um die Republik Österreich (1952-2002) erschien ein von SCHWARZ UND TATTERSALL verfasster Begleitband zu einer Ausstellung (117). Mit den militärischen Auszeichnungen der Republik Österreich beschäftigte sich wieder SCHWARZ, wobei auch die Auszeichnungen der Ersten Republik und jene der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie Berücksichtigung fanden (115). Ein weiterer, ebenfalls von SCHWARZ verfasster Begleitband, widmete sich den Ehrenzeichen und Medaillen des Österreichischen Roten Kreuzes von 1914 bis 2004 (102). Mit Miniaturen und Reduktionen österreichischer Orden und Ehrenzeichen beschäftigten sich GATTINGER UND STOLZER (74).

In den Berichtszeitraum fällt das 250-jährige Jubiläum des Militär-Maria-Theresien-Ordens (1757–2007). Anlässlich dieses Jubiläums erschienen Beiträge von GATTINGER, KRAUSS, LINKE UND WINTER, SCHMIDT, SCHWARZ sowie von STOLZER (71, 79, 81, 96, 112, 127, 130). Mit dem österreichisch-kaiserlichen Leopold-Orden beschäftigten sich GATTINGER, KRAUSS und SCHWARZ (67, 77, 109). Hervorzuheben ist eine Arbeit von BEUNG, der sich, ausgehend von dem Bestand der Schatzkammer des Deutschen Ordens, ausführlich mit den Ritterkreuzen des Ordens widmete (61).

LOIDL beschäftigte sich mit den patriotischen Spendenabzeichen und Erinnerungsgegenständen der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie in der Zeit des Ersten Weltkriegs (82). Er nahm nicht nur die Abzeichen

kommerzieller Hersteller auf, sondern widmete sich im Besonderen den Spendenabzeichen der einzelnen Hilfsorganisationen und gibt damit Einblick in die Strukturen der Spendentätigkeit der offiziellen Kriegsfürsorge.

BAUER UND PFISTERER stellten eine Gussform und Teile eines zugehörigen Schriftverkehrs vor, die in einem der Wiener Flaktürme gefunden wurden (60). Anhand des Fundkomplexes läßt sich rekonstruieren, daß ein Ende 1944 dort stationierter Flaksoldat ein bisher unbekanntes 'Kampfabzeichen für Turmflakabteilungen' entworfen sowie ein vollplastisches Modell von diesem angefertigt und bei den übergeordneten Stellen eingereicht hatte. Darüber hinaus beleuchteten die Autoren die Karriere des Künstlers in der Nachkriegszeit sowie denkmalschützerische Probleme im Umgang mit archäologischen Relikten des Zweiten Weltkrieges.

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## CZECH REPUBLIC

Tomáš Kleisner

HAIMANN (6) compiled a dictionary of Czech medallists. Catalogues appeared of the medals of the emperor Charles IV (1, 54, 100), John Žižka (9, 103), Gregory Mendel (15), Caspar Sternberg (4, 58), the composer Smetana (18), František Palacký (27) and Good King Wenceslas (21). NOVÁK (13) records monuments of President Masaryk on medals. BEDNAŘÍK (2) gathered medals of the Přerov regional district; similar lists include medals of Příbram (16, 17), Brno (6), Brno-venkov (28), Breslau (10), Svatý Hostýn (5) and the Chrudim regional district (19). VEJSKAL (26) produced four volumes of Czech sports medals and badges, whilst NOVÁK (14) concentrated on the Sokol sports movement. A list of medals related to the recent canonisations of St Agnes, St John Sarkander and St Zdislava was published (3). KARPENKO (11, 12) studies Czech alchemical coins and medals and those of other countries. POLÍVKA (20) wrote a well-researched book about counters and tokens. An extensive catalogue of Silesian art includes numerous medals from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century; this was published in Czech, Polish and German editions (23-25).

KLEISNER (29, 30) discusses various medals from the time of Albrecht Dürer, which are recorded in the collection of the emperor Rudolph II, who admired the painter's work. He discusses foundation medals and links the habit of throwing coins into foundations with the medieval text known as the Golden Legend (36). BOUBLÍKOVÁ (31-3) studies the beginning of Czech medals at Jáchymov (Erzgebirge). WARREN (41) includes in her article a discussion of a honeystone model for a medal of Florian Gryspek by Matthes Gebel. An unknown Renaissance medal of Henry Furstenberch was also published (35). There were emblematic interpretations of the meanings of medals (23-25, 37-40, 42-4, 46, 48, 51-52, 55). Coins and medals of the Winter King Friedrich of Bohemia from the Munich collection were presented (49). Czech and German catalogues of an exhibition on Albrecht Waldstein include numerous medals from the Thirty Years' War (42-43). KLEISNER (54) gives a medal by Christian Wermuth a new date and attributes a new piece to the Viennese court numismatist Karl Gustav Heraeus. A study of an eighteenth-century collector discusses not only his medal but also a decoration presented to the male members of his family by an archbishop (53). VÁCHA examines the political motivation of the Emperor Charles VI (55) and provides a detailed and well-documented study of a medal presented to the emperor by a mining town (56).

Catalogues, studies and important articles that appeared on individual medallists are as follows: Antonio Abondio (38, 40), Franta Anýž (63), Miloslav Beutler (64), Milena Blašková (82), Petr Bortlík (72), Antonín Guillemard (57), Jiří Harcuba (87), Jan Hásek (89), Rudolf Hlavica (78), Vlastislav Housa (83-4), Josef Hvozdenký (81), Johann Kittel (45), Milan Knobloch (88), Ladislav Kozák (90), Karel Otáhal (86), Zdeněk Přikryl (94), Hans Schwathe (66), Johann Schwerdtner (7), Jiří Seifert (91), Zdeněk and Josef Šejnost (60), Lumír Šindelář (79), Miloš Slezák (76), Petr Soušek (85), Otakar Španiel (65), Bohumil Teplý (68), Oldřich Tlustoš (92), Josef Vít (75), Michal Vitanovský (73-4, 93), Jiří Vlach (80), Karel Zeman (70-1). The exhibition 4. *Salon 2003* (67) showed contemporary Czech medals.

*WORLD ORDERS* (104) includes the state orders of merit of the Czech Republic.

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## UNGARN

Viktória L. Kovásznai

Während in meinem früheren Bericht von der in der ungarischen numismatischen Fachliteratur steigenden Zahl der die Medaillenkunst thematisierenden Texte/Schriften die Rede war, ist gegenwärtig eine Stagnierung zu beobachten. Dies wäre an und für sich noch kein Problem, doch die Zahl der umfangreicheren Publikationen und Abhandlungen ist dabei zurückgegangen, während sich die Zahl der besonders kurzen und vor allem keine neuen Erkenntnisse sowie Aussagen enthaltenden Artikel vermehrt hat. Diese Lage hängt möglicherweise mit der Verringerung der Zahl aktiver Fachläute, sowie mit einer Art Anspruchlosigkeit im Kreis der Sammler zusammen. Die vorliegende Darstellung ist eine Auswahl, wobei der Versuch unternommen wird, auf der Grundlage einer Periodisierung sowie einer Gruppierung in allgemeine zusammenfassende Schriften, Mitteilungen von Quellenwert und Bearbeitungen eine objektive Bewertung der entstandenen Arbeiten zu bieten.

Die vollständige Bibliographie der ungarischen numismatischen Literatur befindet sich – wie gewöhnlich – in der Zeitschrift *Numizmatikai Közlöny* (*Numismatische Mitteilungen*) (3). Einen engeren Überblick bieten die Inhaltsverzeichnisse der zwischen 2001 und 2005 erschienenen Hefte der Zeitschrift *Az Érem* (*Die Medaille*) (4). Darüber hinaus sind zwei Sammlungsgeschichten erschienen: Die beinahe 200jährige Geschichte der Abteilung für Medaillenkunst des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums von PALLOS, wobei die dort tätigen Personen und die einzelnen Sammlungen ebenfalls vorgestellt wurden (41). Die andere Zusammenfassung präsentiert die Medaillensammlung des 1964 gegründeten Semmelweis Orvostörténeti Múzeum (Museum für Medizingeschichte) (11), die auf der früheren Sammeltätigkeit von Géza Faludi basiert und von 1968 an von Lajos Huszár erweitert wurde.

Der von Epoche zu Epoche verschiedene Charakter der Beziehung zwischen Medaillenkunst und Gesellschaft wurde in zwei Aufsätzen analysiert. Von HÉRI wurden die einschlägigen Manifestationen des 15.–18. Jahrhunderts verfolgt (14), KOVÁSZNAI untersuchte die sich wandelnde Rolle und Aufgabe der Gattung im 19.–20. Jahrhundert (19). Die bis Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts entstandenen historischen Medaillen wurden übrigens nach wie vor kaum behandelt, deshalb sind die folgenden Artikel besonders beachtenswert. HÉRI behandelt in seinem Artikel die 1620 erschienene historische Arbeit von Johan Jakab Luckius (13). Dieser hatte sein Werk mit Bildern fiktiver Medaillen illustriert, deren Quelle jeweils eine existierende Medaille oder ein graphisches Vorbild, genauer ein Medaillenstein war. HÉRI berichtet über diese. Über die Bergbautätigkeit des Grafen István Steinville und die mit ihm zusammenhängende, 1710 entstandene, besonders interessante Medaille berichtet SZEMÁN (55). In dem Münzkabinett des Wiener Kunsthistorischen Museums befinden sich mehrere ungarische – zumeist von Herrschern verfertigte – Portrait-Medaillen vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts und aus dem 16. Jahrhundert, die teils in ungarischen, teils in ausländischen Prägeanstalten entstanden waren. Diese wurden von WINTER gesammelt und detailliert vorgestellt (58). Die Medaillenkunst des 19. Jahrhunderts ist lediglich durch den Aufsatz von BARANYI vertreten (5): Zum 50jährigen Jubiläum des Nationalen Musikinstituts (Nemzeti Zenede) verfertigte 1890 Anton Scharff eine Medaille. Im Artikel ist über diese und über ihre Geschichte zu lesen.

Das die Gnaden-Medaillensammlung des Benediktiners und Lehrers, Leó Kunce vorstellende Buch beschäftigt sich mit dem ältesten Material und es gehört zu den Veröffentlichungen mit äusserst hohem Quellenwert. SÓLYMOS berichtet über die Geschichte der in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts entstandenen Sammlung, die 376 Medaillen mit internationalen und 87 mit ungarischen Bezügen beinhaltet und er bietet eine Beschreibung der Werke (52). Einige Artikel, die ebenfalls als Quelle betrachtet werden können, schöpfen aus der Medaillenkunst des vorigen Jahrhunderts. GOSZTONYI sammelte die von ungarischen Künstlern stammenden Darstellungen des Komponisten Giuseppe Verdi (12), PROHÁSZKA die Portraits von Dániel Berzsenyi, einem im ersten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts tätigen ungarischen Dichter (45). Die Medaillen, Plaketten und Anstecker der ungarischen Philatelisten – um die 200 Posten – wurden von LEÁNYFALUSI und SOÓS veröffentlicht (31). Der Sammlung und Vorstellung der Medaillen über die einzelnen Mitglieder der Familie Habsburg widmeten sich immerhin zwei Arbeiten: Die Beschreibung der Bildnisse von Karl IV., dem letzten Herrscher der Habsburger bzw. der mit ihm zusammenhängenden Medaillen – insgesamt 39 Posten – stammt von BECK (6). Jene 22 Werke, die Karls Sohn, Ottó zeigen, wurden von MAKKAI gesammelt und vorgestellt (34).

In Ungarn kann die medizinische Numismatik auf lange Traditionen zurückblicken. So sind in der behandelten Periode ebenfalls zahlreiche einschlägige Werke entstanden. Die mit der medizinischen Universität in

Debrecen zusammenhängenden Medaillen waren früher bereits von LAMPÉ und SZÁLLÁSI veröffentlicht worden, die neue, zweite Auflage ist erheblich erweitert (30). In Erinnerung an die Geschichte der Klinik für innere Medizin in Pécs (Fünfkirchen) stellt SÜLE vorwiegend die in jüngster Zeit entstandenen Medaillen vor, u. zw. in einer Gruppierung nach Personen-, Kongress- oder Belohnungsmedaillen (53). Von dem gleichen Autor stammt jener Artikel, der solche Medaillen zeigt, die später zum Maler gewordene ehemalige Pharmakologen darstellen (54). BÓNA stellt in seinem – für ein breiteres Publikum geschriebenen – Buch jene Medaillen vor, die den Gestalten der medizinischen Wissenschaft gewidmet sind (9). Die verschiedene Momente der ärztlichen Tätigkeit, wie z.B. eine Untersuchung, eine chirurgische Szene, darstellenden Medaillen und Plaketten, werden von JAKÓ vorgestellt (15). Die erwähnten Texte bieten – zusammen mit den früher genannten – zur weiteren Bearbeitung Hilfe.

Die Autoren versuchten, im allgemeinen durch die Beschäftigung mit den Kunstwerken des 20. Jahrhunderts, durch die Erörterung verschiedenster Themen zugleich eine Bearbeitung vorzulegen. In diesem Zusammenhang ist der Artikel von MARÓTI zu erwähnen, in dem Medaillen bekannter ungarischen Astrologen vorgestellt werden (38). BOGÁRDI stellt eine Auswahl von Medaillen vor, die repräsentative Gebäude von Budapest darstellen (8). Die Mittlung von RAYMAN weist einen literarischen Bezug auf, indem er das Leben sowie die älteren und neueren Medaillen-Darstellungen des Dichters Janus Pannonius aus dem 16. Jahrhundert, dem Zeitalter der Renaissance, schildert (49). Das Petőfi Irodalmi Múzeum (Petőfi Literarisches Museum) veranstaltete Anfang 2003 eine Ausstellung mit dem Titel Medaille und Literatur. Im Zusammenhang damit legte NYERGES einen kurzen Überblick jener Medaillen vor – einschließlich solcher die in unserer Zeit entstanden sind –, die die größten Persönlichkeiten der ungarischen Literatur darstellen (39). Die Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften gründete bereits gegen Mitte der 1850-er Jahre eine Auszeichnung, die bis heute verliehen wird. Die Zusammenfassung von BERTÓK erörtert die Auszeichnungen und die Bedingungen der Donation (7).

Zur Bereicherung unserer Kenntnisse über die ungarische Medaillenkunst der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts haben auch einige, die weniger bedeutende numismatische Tätigkeit bearbeitende Mitteilungen beigetragen. PROHÁSZKA schrieb über die Werke von Jenő Bory (46) sowie über Miklós Ligeti, der neben seinen bekannten Statuen auch einige Medaillen geschaffen hatte, über die der Autor berichtete (47). KOVÁSZNAI stellte Viktor Borai vor, über dessen Leben bis dahin kaum etwas bekannt war – obwohl seine Werke sehr wohl bekannt sind (20). Nun konnte mit Hilfe der bei den Nachkommen erschlossenen Quellen ein Lebenslauf zusammengestellt und die künstlerische Laufbahn aufgezeichnet werden. Zur theoretisch fundierten Bearbeitung der Medaillenkunst der gleichen Periode hat ebenfalls KOVÁSZNAI mit zwei Studien beigetragen. Eine davon behandelt die gesellschaftliche Aufnahme der in der secessionistischen Kunst der Jahrhundertwende häufig vorkommenden Frauenakte, sie analysiert ihren Stil, ihre Vorbilder und die Spielarten ihrer Anwendung (18). Die andere Studie ist den eigenartigen Problemen der zwischen 1896 und 1938 geprägten ungarischen Medaillen gewidmet und erörtert die Gründe dafür, dass die Technik in den Hintergrund gedrängt wurde (26).

Während Beiträge zu der alten und neuzeitlichen Medaillenkunst in Ungarn bescheidene Ergebnisse aufzuweisen haben, ist die Vorstellung und Bearbeitung des zeitgenössischen Materials nach wie vor beachtlich. Dies dürfte mit den Ergebnissen und der bedeutenden Rolle der ungarischen Medaillenkunst in der internationalen Kunstszene zusammenhängen. Als zusammenfassende Arbeit kann der Band von KOVÁSZNAI erwähnt werden, in dem die Autorin die Periode zwischen 1976 und 2000 erörterte. Dabei wurden die wichtigsten Strömungen nachgezeichnet, die bedeutendsten Künstler und Kunstwerke der Periode genannt (17). Ebenfalls von KOVÁSZNAI stammt jene kürzere Studie, die sich in dem gleichen Kontext bewegt und die Modifizierungen sowie neue Erscheinungen nach 2000 erörtert (22). András Kiss Nagy (1930–1997) war schon immer eine bestimmende Persönlichkeit der ungarischen Numismatik. In dem seine Tätigkeit vorstellenden Katalog von Quellenwert sind mehrere kleinere Artikel zu finden (16).

Von den die Tätigkeit der einzelnen Künstler analysierenden Schriften ist die Monographie zum Lebenswerk von Asszonyi, einer ebenfalls bestimmenden Persönlichkeit hervorzuheben (56). Der Autor – TÓTH – listete nicht nur die Werke des Künstlers sorgfältig auf, sondern systematisierte und analysierte diese auf sorgfältige Weise. Darüber hinaus wurden auch die Hauptcharakteristika der Werke festgestellt. Die Ausstellung des jeweiligen Preisträgers der Medaillenbiennale in Sopron ist in der Regel mit einer analysierenden Bewertung verbunden. So konnte man über Ligeti (2) und Csikai (1) – beide Texte von ASKERČZ –, sowie über Soltra (25) – von KOVÁSZNAI – lesen. Diese Artikel stellen die hervorragenden Künstler der ungarischen Medaillenkunst anschaulich vor. KOVÁSZNAI schrieb über mehrere bedeutende Medaillenkünstler, so z.B. über die Werke von Rácz, die verschiedensten Dinge und Belange der Welt feinfühlig formulieren (23); über die neuesten Stücke von Szlávics jr., die noch mehr die Grenzen der Gattung zu erweitern suchen, wobei sie sich mit den modernen



Problemen von Zeit und Raum auseinandersetzen (24) – und schließlich über die Kunst von Lebó, die mal eine traditionellere, mal eine modernere Intellektualität vertritt (21). Die Medaillen von Budahelyi sind das Thema eines Artikels von WEHNER (57), und über den gleichen Künstler wurde ein schöner, reich illustrierter Studienband veröffentlicht, der die lyrischen, bezüglich der Konstruktion jedoch disziplinierten Arbeiten vorstellt (10).

In der ungarischen numismatischen Literatur haben sich in erster Linie die Auszeichnungen und Orden behandelnden Texte vermehrt. Die Erklärung dafür findet man in der Zunahme der Zahl der Fachleute, sowie in der Tatsache, dass nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg diese Thematik jahrzehntelang nicht besonders beliebt war. Es ist charakteristisch für die gestiegenen Ansprüche, dass der früher bereits veröffentlichte, über die Auszeichnungen einen kurzen Überblick vermittelnde Band von MAKAI und HÉRI wieder herausgegeben wurde (36). Das neue Buch stellt die ungarischen Medaillen sowie solche mit ungarischen Bezügen nun mit dem Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit vor. In mehreren Artikeln sind die Orden behandelt. MAKAI und SALLAY erschließen die ungarische Geschichte des Militärordens Maria-Theresia in der Zeit von 1919 bis zum Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges (37). Die Studie erörtert die Anträge und die Donationen. Mehrere Schriften von LAKATOS behandeln ebenfalls die Orden und Verdienstorden. So stellt er u.a. die fünf oberpriesterlichen Verdienstorden des Päpstlichen Staates vor (29), im Rahmen der Geschichte des Malteser Ritterordens die des Ordens (28), sowie die in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts im zaristischen Russland gegründeten Auszeichnungen und Orden sowie deren Plaketten (27). Die im Reich der Habsburger und in der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie Frauen verliehenen Verdienstorden werden von PANDULA vorgestellt (44).

Auch im Themenkreis der Auszeichnungen sind einige Teilergebnisse entstanden. LENGYEL und MAKAI schildern die Laufbahn des zwischen 1859 und 1881 in Italien lebenden königlichen Generals ungarischer Abstammung, Károly Eberhardt, sowie die in seinem Nachlass aufbewahrten ungarischen, türkischen und italienischen Auszeichnungen (32). PANDULA stellt die verschiedensten Typen der ungarischen militärischen Auszeichnungen aus der Periode 1938–1945 und ihre Geschichte vor (43), MAKAI beschreibt hingegen die Orden und Auszeichnungen von Miklós Horthy, dem Reichsverweser Ungarns zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen (35). Die seit den 1910-er Jahren, im Zusammenhang mit der Grubenwehr entstandenen Medaillen, Plaketten und Auszeichnungen sammelte RAYMAN (48). SALLAY veröffentlichte im Rahmen der Beschäftigung mit der Geschichte der Medaillen und Auszeichnungen im Zusammenhang mit dem Krimkrieg die im Hadrtörténeti Múzeum (Museum für Militärgeschichte) aufbewahrten Medaillen und Auszeichnungen (50). Ebenfalls eine, u.zw. reiche Sammlung, die des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums diente als Grundlage für den Bericht von PALLOS über die Plaketten des ersten Weltkrieges (40), in dem er die bedeutendsten Stücke vorstellt. Im allgemeinen behandeln mehrere Artikel die Plaketten, wobei der von SALLAY über die Gedenkmedaille der Winterkämpfe der I. Panzerdivision im Jahre 1943 (51) sowie der von PANDULA über die von 1938 an als Militärauszeichnung fungierende Schmuckplakette des Ungarischen Roten Kreuzes (42) unsere besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient. Als interessant dürfte noch der Text von MAKAI über das Ordensband der „legionären“ Landwehr-Gedenkmedaille gelten (33), über welches lange Zeit hindurch nichts zu wissen war, die neuesten Forschungen ermittelten jedoch, wie es einst ausgesehen haben mag.

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## ROMANIA

*Constanta Stirbu*

The years 2002-7 have broadened the area of concern of Romanian medal researchers, resulting in a variety of subjects being taken up in articles and other studies. One innovation consists in the introduction of masonic medals into the scientific arena, a taboo chapter during the communist era. In this regard, mention may be made of the catalogue, *Exhibition of free-masons' medals and badges. History and symbol* (38), a volume that contains a study of the history of Romanian freemasonry and its symbolism (39) and an analysis of the exhibited objects (56), and *Masonry in Transylvania – Historic bench-marks* by SĂLĂGEAN and EPPEL, coordinators of an exhibition on the same subject held in Cluj in 2007, which shed new light on the past (64). These works complete the list of masonic medals and insignia published by NESTORESCU-BĂLCEȘTI (37).

An accomplished catalogue accompanied an exhibition dedicated to the reign of Carol I, its first part composed of a range of studies dedicated to the king's reign, while the second presented the objects exhibited, among which were coins, medals and decorations of the period (14). Two new medal catalogues, unusual in the way they approached their subjects, were produced by CUMPĂTESCU (16, 17). The former refers to political, scientific and cultural personalities who lived, worked or were involved in the life of the city of Iasi, and the latter presents the local medals of Iasi in an historical perspective, referring to events in the nation's history and its economic and cultural life as illustrated on medals. A comparative study of various medals with information from bibliographical and archival sources led the author to various interesting conclusions regarding the medals of Iasi and their creators, correcting with discernment information from various other sources.

CALIANU (5) wrote a catalogue of Romanian decorations instituted from the reign of Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1859-1866) to the last year of the reign of King Mihai I (1940-1947), a work that includes valuations of the pieces in euro and represents a useful working tool. Researchers at the National Military Museum compiled a catalogue of foreign decorations awarded to prestigious personalities in Romanian political and military life, some of which are rare or even unique in Romania (26).

The five hundredth anniversary of the death of the hospodar-prince Stephen the Great (Stefan cel Mare) offered DOGARU the opportunity to draw up a catalogue on the subject (20), which includes as its first part a new edition of a work of 1987 with small textual changes and as its second the medals, badges and decorations issued between 1988 and 2004. A study by PÂRVAN (48) dedicated to the same event surveys all the medals and coins issued between 1904 and 2004, including the jubilee gold coin issued by the National Bank of Romania for collectors in 2004. The work also mentions the engravers who created the pieces: the Wilhelm Mayer company in Stuttgart, Balmberger in Nuremberg, Radivon and Carniol of Bucharest, Sternberg of Iasi and Dellanoy of Paris.

Medals of individuals from different fields continued to draw researchers' attention. CALIAN reopened the discussion concerning the gold medal issued by Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Brave) in 1600 on the occasion of the reunion of the Romanian principalities (7). PÂRVAN studied the medals of Karl XII of Sweden, as well as a medal of the monarch's sister Ulrica and her husband Friedrich II, making historical and stylistic comments (50). The author also created an index of the engravers responsible for these pieces. COZA and TAKACS discussed Hungarian cultural figures representative in the medal collection of the County Museum of Aiud (15), and POPA gathered together into a special volume some articles and studies that had appeared in Moldavia and elsewhere dedicated to the great Romanian poet Mihai Eminescu and the medals issued in his memory (60). PÂRVAN and NEGUȚU evoked metal memorials of the ruler Alexandru Ioan Cuza, presenting various projects as well as posthumous medals (46).

Introducing the publication of the medal collection given to the County Museum of Vaslui by Dr C. Teodorescu, TIBULCĂ emphasises those related to major events in Romanian national history (77). Another study presents aspects of Romanian-French cooperation during the First World War (49). Most of the medals discussed are by the sculptors André Lavrillier and Tony Szirmay. This interest in the medals of Szirmay is shared by BOICESCU (4).

Continuing the series of medal studies dedicated to Romanian monarchs, OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU and PÂRVAN put together an excellent work on the medals dedicated to Queen Elisabeta (40) and

a catalogue surveying all the medals, coins and paper currency bearing portraits of King Ferdinand and Queen Mary – 170 pieces in all (41). The artistic and historical comments make both these studies extremely useful. The artistic concerns of the Romanian royal family in the period 1866-1947 captured the attention of PÂRVAN (52), who stresses the tendency to glorify the period's achievements and reflects on the different artistic trends seen in the medals of the time. A study that brings together 127 pieces bearing the image of King Carol II is due to OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU and PÂRVAN (42). The king's portraits were created by Romanian and foreign artists in workshops in Bucharest and abroad, including F. and W. Mayer in Stuttgart, A. Deloche and E. and C. Bertrand in Paris, Bradbury, Wilkinson and Co. in England. The reader's attention is drawn particularly towards the unique portrait of Carol II with Albert I of Belgium on a medal dedicated to the Liège monument, the work of the Romanian artist Em. Becker. The same authors also presented medals, plaquettes, banknotes and decorations bearing the effigy of Mihai I (43). Those produced during the king's first reign (1927-1930) were created by H. Huguenin and the sculptor C. Cristescu; those from his second reign (1940-1947) were by the sculptors Ioana Basarab, H. Ionescu, Gh. Stanescu, St. Iordan, I. Jalea and R. Fässler. Besides their historical and art-historical comments, the authors disclose the reason why these issues came to an end – the institution of the communist regime.

A few studies were devoted to aspects of economic and commercial life. The Universal Expositions in Paris between 1867 and 1937 and the awards received by Romanian participants were presented by PÂRVAN (54), who mentioned some of the engravers who executed them. The same author together with NEGUȚU (36) studied the Romanian General Exhibition of 1906, which celebrated forty years of the reign of Carol I, drawing attention to some previously unpublished pieces. The medal of the Agricultural Expositions held in Basarabia and its variants were tackled by TIBULCA (77), whilst ZBÂRCEA (82) reviewed the medals dedicated to Romanian bankers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, executed by foreign engravers such as R. Placht, J. Prinz and I. Hujer and the Romanian engravers Carniol and Stanescu.

The history of towns and institutions also captured the attention of researchers: ȘEPTILICI studied the medals of the liberation of Timisoara in 1716 preserved in the collection of the Museum of Banat (68), and CALIAN compiled an excellent catalogue of seventy-seven medals illustrating the history of the city of Cluj now preserved in the Transylvania History Museum (6). The author divided the work into two parts: from the seventeenth century until 1918 (the years of Austro-Hungarian domination) and 1918 to 2001 (the period following the great union of Romanian administration). It includes medals dedicated to individuals, those commemorating events from the nation's and the town's history, those issued by institutions and marking the construction of monuments, and so on. At the end is a list of the Romanian and foreign engravers who created the medals.

COJOCARU and MASCHIO focussed upon some medals related to the Elena Doamna Asylum in Bucharest, also bringing to attention a copy the sculptor Emil Becker made of a rare medal preserved in the History Museum of Budapest's collection with the portrait of Lady Elena Cuza (12). CIOFU presented some little-known medals concerning the history of Bessarabia (10). Researchers at the Military Academy published a study of that institution's history, including medals and badges that reflect the changes that have occurred during the Academy's history (31). A new approach in Romanian research occurred with regard to military medals in a study made by ȘEPTILICI, which treats the military life in Banat from its beginning until the Great Union in 1918 (69). Another novelty is the article by PÂRVAN and VIȚELARU, which discusses masonic subjects reflected in medals (54). Mention must also be made of the studies undertaken by MALINAS that present the medal as a library document (29, 30).

Some articles focussed upon rare medals or unique pieces awarded to personalities or dedicated to exceptional events. Researchers at the Vilcea County Museum published new information regarding the medal for the restoration of Bistrita monastery in 1845 (21), and HANGANU continued the discussion over a rare medal issued in 1846 (22). TOMA-DEMIAN brought to the notice of fellow academics a little-known medal dedicated to Gozsdu Ellek and also an anniversary medal in honour of Ormos Zsigmond (79, 80). PÂRVAN described an unpublished gold medal issued in 1912, made from the first gold extracted from the Valley of Stefan mine in Valcea county (47). The same author discussed a medal dedicated to I.C. Bratianu, the prime minister of Romania, by the Bank of Paris in 1922 (51), as well as some sports medals issued in Bucharest in the nineteenth century (45) and some medals issued after the First World War (46). SANIE and MACARIE presented a medal of Dr Karpel Lippe, describing also his fight for the emancipation of Jews in Romania and giving some information regarding the engraver N. Sternberg (63). Liliana Nicoleta HANGANU showed that the engraver Pierre Victor Dautel, whose life and work she describes, was the author of the 'Union medal' dedicated to Queen Maria in 1929 (23, 24). The

plaque received on the occasion of Romania's participation in the festivities held in honour of King George V's crowning was discussed by DIMA (18), and DIMA brought to notice the medal awarded to Dan Cernovodeanu for scientific merit at the International Genealogy and Heraldry Congress that took place in 1988 in Turin (19).

Some studies dwelt upon museum collections and their acquisition of new pieces. PÂRVAN reviewed the collection of medal and coin dies, tokens, miniatures and coin fakes kept in the Romanian National History Museum (55). CIOCANU (9) and PETRAȘIȘIN (58) presented the numismatic collections of Chisinau. The former is the collection of the Mihail Kogalniceanu Museum of Romanian Literature, which comprises 123 medals and seven decorations, and the latter is the numismatic collection of the Moldavian Art Museum, which contains 1,213 medals, decorations, plaquettes and badges. These are ordered according to the European country from which they came, and in the case of particularly interesting examples the author mentions the engravers who executed them. The enrichment of the National History Museum in Constanta is brought to the attention by TALMAȚCHI (74).

Some studies were dedicated to Romanian and foreign engravers. ȘTIRBU brought into the public arena new information concerning the life and activity of the jeweller and engraver Theodor Radivon in Bucharest 1856-1927, signalling his collaboration with other engravers of the time and his participation in exhibitions and correcting some of the inconsistencies previously published on the subject (72). TEODORESCU published two well documented articles. In the first, the author gave a short survey of the life of Emil Becker, underlining the sculptor's activity as a medal-maker as well as a creator of monuments (75). In the second, he presented the activities of the artist Gheorghe Stanescu, as a sculptor but principally as a medallist while he was employed at the National Mint in Bucharest (76). SMARANDA brought to light new data regarding the artistic activity of the sculptor Friedrich Storck, presenting a list of his works between 1895 and 1939, drawn up according to a list of orders belonging to the artist and comprising portrait medals, medallions, plaquettes and bas-reliefs, as well as a plaquette and a medal executed by Carol Storck, the artist's brother (67). Starting from an engraving of a portrait of Carol I made by Gabriel Popescu in 1906, BELDIMAN commented upon the life of the artist and the engravings, medals and sculptural busts that he executed (3). Another study on the same subject provides much information on Popescu's life and on the Memorial Museum in Dimbovită county, which occupies the artist's former workshop and home and is where the 140<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his birth was celebrated (25). ȘTIRBU surveyed the life and activities of the engraver W. Kullrich, pointing out the relationships between the artist and the Romanian royal house, the National Mint director C. Pillidi, and the Mint's first engraver Anton Fessler (71). The author also mentions the artist's two visits to Romania in 1869 and 1883 and their purpose: the organisation of the National Mint and the initiation of Romanian medals and coins. The author clarifies aspects regarding the re-dating of some medals based upon documents preserved in the Romanian archives, and notes designs by Kullrich for Romanian coins that were never realised.

Two studies were dedicated to great Romanian collectors. The first, written by SMARANDA and including a short genealogy of the Krupenschi family, focusses on Nicolae Krupenschi, director of the National Mint at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth and the author of a medal catalogue (66). Smaranda emphasises the remarkable heraldic knowledge of Krupenschi, who created the 1893 coat of arms for the Romanian capital. The second study, drawn up by ȘTIRBU and N. and G. TROHANI, elucidates the life and work of the engineer Constantin Orghidan, an honorary member of the Romanian Academy and a great collector of coins, medals, seals, engraved stones and antique objects (70). The authors give information on the collection in the Numismatic Department of the Romanian Academy Library, of which a part is exhibited in the National History Museum.

The period's researches also included phaleristics. TIRON discussed Romanian society's first contacts with decorations (78), pointing to the foreign distinctions awarded to Romanians in the mid-nineteenth century, the use of decorations in Romanian heraldry, and the fact that Romanian rulers would request from the Ottoman Empire decorations to be awarded to specific individuals in the days before the institution of national orders. ANDONE discussed the 130-year evolution of the first Romanian decoration instituted by Carol I, taking the story from 1872 to 2003 (1). The researchers NEAGU, IORDACHE and KÖNIG devoted a study to the highest Romanian distinction of Carol's reign, the Collar of the Order of Carol (35). SALEA made public new information concerning the Order of Aeronautic Virtue issued in 1931 and designed by Carol II himself (65). CAZAN and GAVRILA attempted to provide statistical data for every decoration awarded by the Romanian state from 1877 to 1916 (8), in a work strongly criticised by MARINESCU in a well documented study that contains a table of Romanian decorations awarded between 1872 and 1884 (33). The same author clarified the new Romanian system of decorations instituted after 1990 (32). IORDACHE presented the Italian Order of San Maurizio and San Lazzaro and Order of Savoya in

the collection of the National Military Museum, which were awarded to important individuals from political and military life, describing the historical circumstances that led to their award (27, 28). POPESCU-CĂLĂRAȘI published the badges of the Romanian Royal Navy (60) and. CORNACI and CHIRICHEȘ put together a catalogue of badges from Botosani county (13).

A few symposia and exhibitions were held during these years. On the occasion of the centenary of the foundation of the Romanian Numismatic Society, PREDA surveyed the Society's activity and accomplishments, including the national numismatic symposia organised between 1984 and 2003 (61, 62). Among the exhibitions, it is worth mentioning one dedicated to the artist Carol Popp de Szatmary, which presented, along with other exhibits, various projected decorations executed between 1872 and 1878, as well as drawings of the national coat of arms and flag (34), and another exhibition dedicated to the European Year of Education through Sport (EYES 2004), the Olympic Games in Athens of the same year, and the ninetieth anniversary of the Romanian Olympic Committee, which presented a large number of medals awarded to Romanian sportsmen (57). An exhibition of engravings dedicated to Gabriel Popescu included some of the medals that he created (25). The exhibition, Seal Testimonies, opened in Bucharest the same year and also contained a few medals (81).

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## CROATIA

Ivan Mirnik

Normally all the news concerning the major events happening in the medal world in Croatia are regularly reported in *The Medal*: exhibitions, books, obituaries, donations, and so on. Here we would like to present a select bibliography of monographs and articles published since the Madrid congress.

The Croatian version of the guide to the permanent numismatic exhibition of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum, which includes some medals was published (1), and the English version is being prepared. A very interesting numismatic museum, the Zlatko Tadjina donation (which unfortunately turned into a bequest), was inaugurated at Pregrada, in the picturesque Hrvatsko Zagorje (4, 6).

Because of great interest in the country, the posthumously published monograph on Francesco Laurana by KRUFT was translated into Croatian and published (7). Both Laurana and Paolo da Ragusa were included in the two-volume monograph on important and illustrious Croats of the past (8, 9). Some medals from the centuries that followed were analysed, such as the medals struck in Venice for the Fraternity of St George and St Tryphon of Kotor (11) and the series of the dukes of Lorraine by Ferdinand de Saint-Urbain (12).

Much was written on nineteenth-century medals. Two articles concern those of viceroy count Josip Jelačić of Bužim (14, 16), while KEVO published three medals struck on the occasion of the silver wedding of three Croatian aristocratic couples: Papadopoli-Aldobrandini and Hellenbach, Kulmer and Jambortzky, and Erdödy and Drasche-Wartimberg (15). The medal by Radnitzky commemorating the elevation of the diocese of Zagreb into an archdiocese was discussed once more (17), as were some medals depicting parks and gardens (19) and several cast-iron portrait medals by Leonhard Posch from the Zagreb Archaeological Museum's numismatic collection (18). Highly interesting is an article dealing with the chain of the mayor of Zagreb, which was designed by Hermann Bollé, the chief architect of Zagreb cathedral (20).

Various artists and individual medals from the twentieth century were the topic of papers and monographs. Of particular interest are those on the Croatians Antun Augustinčić (49), Viktor Bernfest (30), Branimir Crljenjak (24), Stjepan Divković (36), Robert Frangeš-Mihanović (46), Ivo Kerdić (23, 30, 32, 40, 44), Dalibor Mačukatin (48), Damir and Vladimir Mataušić (39), Marijan Matijević (30, 42), Ivan Meštrović (35), Vladimir Novak (27), Josip Poljan (43, 50), Vanja Radauš (41), Stipe Sikirica (26), Željko Zima (47), and, of those from other countries, the German sculptor and medallist August Gaul (38) and the Slovenian medallists Stane Dremelj (36) and Jože Stražar Kiyohara (45). Obituaries of several artists were also published.

The most recent medals were shown at Seixal in 2004 (51) and in Colorado Springs in 2007 (52), as well as at the Ivo Kerdić memorial exhibitions (54-46). Saints' and pilgrims' medals were also published (57-62), some of them found during archaeological excavations at various churches (63-66). As usual, BEŠTAK (of the City of Zagreb Museum) and Boris PRISTER (of the Croatian History Museum), as well as other authors, wrote contributions dealing with decorations and orders (69, 70, 71, 73, 77, 80, 82-85), including those with which important individuals were decorated (67, 78, 79, 81, ) as well as more modest awards (68, 72, 74, 75, ). Finally, some military medals and badges, chiefly from the Austro-Hungarian era, were also published (87-98).

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## SERBIA

*Marija Marić-Jerinić*

The preparation of a select bibliography of works dealing with medals and medal craftsmanship in the widest sense of the term is an opportunity to consider general advances in thinking about the period in question. However, with respect to Serbia, obtaining an accurate insight requires a reminder of the social and political circumstances – several years of isolation and a complicated process of transition – that had a major influence on the current state of affairs in this field.

On the international level, the consequence of these circumstances was an almost complete absence of involvement with FIDEM, which prevented Serbian artists from observing new developments in medallic art. The participation of Svetozar Mirkov, by invitation, at the International Biennial of Modern Art Medals in Seixal, Portugal, in 2003 and 2006, is a rare exception. On the national level also, there were few exhibitions of contemporary medallic work during the years in question. In 2003 the 6<sup>th</sup> Belgrade Biennial of Drawings and Plastic Art included two medals by the sculptor Nikola Vukosavljević (44). The same artist presented a significant group of medals and medallions at an independent exhibition entitled *Reliefs*. This exhibition was accompanied by a modest catalogue containing a list of works made from 1974 to 2004 (38). Regardless of this state of affairs, the number of Serbian artists who found time for expression through medals is not small, and it is good that many of them are aware of the need to re-establish links with the international community.

The publication of museum titles dealing with medals, medallists and collections was much richer, and it can be concluded that this area of activity was well represented in certain museums during these years. The Belgrade Museum of Applied Arts published a lavish monograph of works by the sculptor Sava Sandić, which presented his small decorative and applied sculptures through rich illustrations and reprinted essays by KOLARIĆ, JOVANOVIĆ and MUTAVDŽIĆ (КОЛАРИЋ, М., ЈОВАНОВИЋ, В., МУТАВЏИЋ, З.), while a significant amount of space was given to his medallic art (18). In his review of this publication, JEVTIĆ (ЈЕВТОВИЋ, Ј.) emphasised the book's significance for the study of this Serbian artist of the second half of the twentieth century (12). Animal subjects are a feature of Sava and Mira Sandić's works, including their medallions and medals, and were the subject of a special publication (14).

The donation to the Matica Srpska Gallery in Novi Sad of 101 works, including forty-seven medals and sixteen medallions, by the sculptor Slavka Petrović-Sredović (1907-1978) was the occasion for an exhibition organised by this institution. The exhibition presented these works, and the artist's contribution to medallic art as a special sculptural discipline within the field of contemporary art was made clear by the authors who contributed to the catalogue edited by BRMBOTA (БРМБОТА, М.). A regular member of FIDEM from 1961 and an honorary member from 1967, Slavka Petrović-Sredović devoted much attention to small-scale art in her rich sculptural oeuvre. The exhibition revealed that medals and medallions comprised the most numerous and significant part of her art (7).

The Matica Srpska Gallery in Novi Sad also published an important monograph on the first Serbian medal and medallion maker, the sculptor Đorđe Jovanović (1861-1953). Extensive bibliographical research, an insight into the historiography of the educational systems that formed nineteenth-century Serbian artists, and invaluable archival material offered enough data for the experienced author, JOVANOVIĆ (ЈОВАНОВИЋ, М.), to write a detailed and high-quality monograph. The author emphasises the refinement of Jovanović's craftsmanship and his contribution to the development of Serbian medal making (15). The monograph accompanied a retrospective exhibition. Later in a collaboration between JOVANOVIĆ, curators from Novi Sad MILOŠEVIĆ and RAJIĆ, and the curator of the National Museum in Čačak, BOJOVIĆ (ЈОВАНОВИЋ, МИЛОШЕВИЋ, РАЈИЋ, , БОЈОВИЋ, ), another exhibition and publication were produced, which represent a further significant contribution to our knowledge of the first Serbian medallist (16). The contribution of the City Museum of Subotica to the expansion of knowledge of the works of Jovanović was in the form of a publication by DURANCI, who, with the help of his Novi Sad colleagues, made public another fifty-eight works by this artist, including medals (10).

The City Museum of Vršac held an attractive exhibition of medals from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, taken from its collection. The author of the exhibition and the accompanying catalogue, BAKIĆ, selected

115 exhibits, most of which were art medals, that served as a reminder of the figures and circumstances surrounding the industrial development of Vršac and Southern Banat under Austro-Hungarian rule (1).

CRNOBRNJA published commemorative medals taken from the collection of the Belgrade City Museum that were issued to mark the Austrian conquest of Belgrade in 1688, 1717 and 1789 and the Treaty of Požarevac of 1718 (9). The medals commemorating the same conquest in the collection of the National Museum in Belgrade were published by MANDIĆ (23).

The Belgrade National Museum's collection of medals was presented in a study by MARIĆ-JERINIĆ (МАРИЋ-ЈЕРИНИЋ). This collection includes medals from almost all European countries, the most numerous being those relating to the history and culture of the peoples of the former Yugoslavia. Stressing the importance of the collection as an historical document, the author and curator of the collection points out that its artistic and historical aspects have not as yet been researched enough, thereby suggesting an area for future academic enquiry (29).

The Belgrade Military Museum mounted an exhibition of decorations of the Principality of Serbia, the Principality of Montenegro, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Srpska, which was accompanied by an impressive catalogue. The author of the exhibition and catalogue, MARIĆIĆ (МАРИЧИЋ), made extensive use of literature from the field of phaleristics, but the special significance of the exhibition and its catalogue was that new decorations were presented to the public for the first time (28).

Newly established decorations were the subject of several articles published by STOLICA in the journals *Dinar* and *Orden* (56, 57, 60-62). By publishing numerous articles on medals and decorations in its journals, the Serbian Numismatic Society has contributed significantly to their popularisation in the past years. Many of these are included in the bibliography below, but due to the limitations of space some have had to be omitted. MANDIĆ and GERIĆ collected a wealth of information on Russo-Serbian phaleristics (24-27). Special mention should be made of the articles in these journals by STEVOVIĆ concerning the medals and decorations from the period of the Principality of Serbia and the Kingdom of Serbia (47-54).

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## RUSSIA AND THE CIS COUNTRIES

*Lidia Dobrovolskaya*

During this period many well-illustrated publications appeared. Their authors, especially in the case of publications on orders and decorations, were not restricted to museum researchers.

The All-Russia conferences (held biennially from 2005) continued to bring together many specialists, including researchers studying medallic art and orders and decorations. Representatives of the St Petersburg and Moscow mints, EROKHIN, BAKLANOV and ORLOV, became regular participants at these meetings, elucidating the technological processes of coin and medal production.

Medallists from Russia, the Ukraine and the Baltic states were constant participants in FIDEM exhibitions; information about these is to be found in the FIDEM publications of SHKURKO (165). Medal exhibitions were also organised regularly in Russia, not only showing historical medallic art but also demonstrating the achievements of contemporary artists. At the fifth exhibition of St. Petersburg medallists in 2007 (catalogue by MELNIKOV and PETROV) over 350 medals by nineteen artists and about fifty coins and medals dedicated to the famous artist Nicholas Rerikh were displayed (105).

Studies continued in traditional directions, in the areas of both national and foreign medals. Researchers reveal great interest in Soviet-era and contemporary commemorative medals, as in the corpus by SHKURKO and SALYKOV, *Commemorative medals of the Soviet period*, which contains all the commemorative medals manufactured by the Leningrad (Petrograd) and Moscow mints 1919-1991 (166). In the preface the authors identify the main periods of development of Soviet medals, and many of the individuals who took part in their creation are mentioned.

Russian medals from the late seventeenth to the early twentieth century were collected together in a catalogue by DIAKOV issued in seven parts (26). Catalogues of medals connected by theme continued to be published, such as the publication by BUKATINA that unites more than one hundred medals of agricultural societies from the collection of GIM (17).

Various monographic studies on historical Russian medals also appeared. The book by SCHUKINA, *A medal series by F.G. Muller in commemoration of the Northern War at the State Hermitage Museum*, is the first full publication of this material (153). This monograph gives a brief history of the war and provides details about the creation of the series, as well as containing a description of 185 medals. SCHUKINA was also the author of an important reference book, *Monograms and signatures on Russian medals 18<sup>th</sup> - early 20<sup>th</sup> c.*, in which signatures and monograms are accompanied by short biographies of the medallists (148).

In 2002-7 Moscow museums (GIM and GMII) and the Hermitage published several volumes of transactions and collections, in which an important place was occupied by studies of commemorative medals. There were some new names among the researchers into medallic art: CHIZHEVSKAYA on European medals and VYEDENSKI on Russian medals, both from the Hermitage, and SARYTCHEVA, from the Kremlin Museum, on contemporary Russian medals. Other academics from the museums, including SCHUKINA, DOBROVOLSKAYA, KALININ, LEPEKHINA, ALEXEEV, ILJINA, SMIRNOVA and ZAVOROTNAYA, actively studied and published works on the history of the formation of numismatic collections and interesting exhibitions. The number of publications by DOBROVOLSKAYA, KOVENEVA, KОРPUSOVA and ILJINA devoted to the medals, badges and jettons of different societies, exhibitions, educational institutions, industrial enterprises and regiments increased constantly. PETERS and FELDMAN continued their researches into the awarding of medals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These works are of great interest because they are all based on archival material.

The period was characterised by an increasing number of publications on orders and decorations, both national (imperial, Soviet and contemporary) and foreign. The authors of these books studied the unknown moments of history encapsulated in these objects, considered the different varieties, and published lists of recipients. Among the most interesting publications on Russian orders and decorations are the books on the symbols and decorations of the Russian state by VILINBAKHOV, DUROV and SHEPELEV. A distinctive feature of the period was the great number of publications devoted to the awards of the White Armies and Fascist Germany.

Mention should also be made of two well-illustrated books, one by LEVIN (GIM) devoted to Russian imperial orders (104) and the other by GAVRILOVA (Moscow Kremlin Museums) and LEVIN on European orders in Russia from the end of the seventeenth century until 1917 (51). Both are based on the collections of Moscow museums. LEVIN also used archival material to compile and publish a list of knights of the highest Russian orders: St Andrew the Greater and St Catherine (102). Problems connected with the history of national and foreign decorations were the underlying theme of various publications by LEVIN, GAVRILOVA and DOBROVOLSKIE, L., DOBROVOLSKIE, M. and ASVARISH, which appeared as special publications or in journals. The same questions were also of interest to researchers in the Ukraine and Belarus.

Among the periodical publications containing regular articles on medallic art and orders and decorations, mention should be made of Moscow's *Numismatic Anthology* (until 2004), *Numismatics* (founded in 2004), *Numismatic Collection* and the Ukrainian *Numismatics and Phaleristics*. It is not possible to include the whole range of publications of these years, for medals, orders, decorations, badges and jettons were included in almost every temporary museum exhibition in Russia and in many abroad. The publication of these objects in exhibition catalogues added to the new research.

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## USA AND CANADA

Alan M. Stahl

A new, copiously annotated bibliography of Canadian numismatics (110) also includes much of relevance to medals of the United States. A well-illustrated volume attempts to define the one hundred most important American medals and tokens (46). Special note should also be made of the series of auction sales of the collection of John J. Ford (87-93), which contained many important American historical medals.

Much of the important research on North American medals has focussed on those of the eighteenth century. A monograph details the medals and tokens made in response to John Law's financial schemes (4). The medals issued to heroes of the American Revolutionary War by the Continental Congress, known as the *Comitia Americana* series, is the subject of a major monograph (2) as well as several shorter studies (8, 29, 95, 97). A book-length study of Benjamin Franklin's iconographical contributions gives important information on the origin of early American medallic imagery (76). Several studies are dedicated to medallic tributes to George Washington (27-29, 79). As always, Indian peace medals are the subject of many studies, especially in light of the bicentennial commemoration of the 1804-06 expeditions of Lewis and Clark, at which they had their first significant distribution (3, 35, 38, 42, 55, 56, 58, 61, 84, 107, 109). Several works have reviewed the catalogue of J.F. LOUBAT, the major nineteenth-century scholar of American medals (1, 52, 85), and one has focussed on Alexandre Vattemare, whose 1861 catalogue was the first to treat the subject comprehensively (98).

The medallic output of American Beaux-Arts sculptors is treated in works on Augustus Saint-Gaudens (20, 21, 101), Daniel Chester French (43), and A. Phimister Proctor (39). Two articles give detailed information on important series of American medals of the twentieth century: the Hall of Fame for Great Americans (6) and the Society of Medallists (7). Among publications featuring the work of individual contemporary artists, of special note are those on James Malone Beach (30), John Cook (47), Leonda Finke (25, 57), Rusdi Genest (134), Dora de Pédery-Hunt (113), Mashiko (96), and Ivanka Mincheva (82). Many exhibit catalogues feature the work of contemporary American and Canadian medallic artists (9, 26, 31-33, 37, 70-75, 122-125).

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## OCEANIA

Walter R Bloom

In this part of the world the research activity on medals is reasonably evenly split between Australia and New Zealand. As might be expected, by and large the writers concentrate on the medals of their own country. The same can be said for the medallists, and one of the greatest, Teutenberg, is well covered in the book (3); see also (9) for a review. Almost all of the research in the period of the Survey on medallists is in fact devoted to those from New Zealand.

I have split the articles on medals into two sections, one for each of Australia and New Zealand. The Australia-based topics range from agricultural medals (12, 46, 47) and the interesting early series of Parramatta Sunday School medals (13) through to more modern numismatic society and club medals (17, 41). There is also a very detailed study of the 1919 Great War peace medal (14). Those articles spanning the Tasman include a substantial article on the medals of the Historical Medal Society of Australia and New Zealand (71, 72), and the New Zealand-based studies include an article detailing those coins and medals featuring the Maori (55).

There are small sections on the very interesting exploration medals of the Pacific region (75, 76) and the charming convict love token series (77, 78). At the end is a listing of research on tokens of tradesmen and internment camps. One article (94) shows how difficult it is to sort out the incomplete documentation of this series. Special mention should be made of one work (96), which forms part of an extensive tradesmen's tokens project of the Victoria Museum. The cataloguing and detailed description of this vast project will provide a significant boost to our understanding of tradesmen's tokens of Australia and New Zealand. The final articles listed here concentrate on the small but interesting series of World War II internment camp tokens (97-100).

Also included is an auction catalogue of L. Richard Smith (1938-2002), who wrote books on Cook's *Resolution* and *Adventure* medal, Cook's Royal Society Medal, and the 1789 Wedgwood medallion made from Sydney Cove clay (11).

As this volume goes to press, a major auction of medals of this region, the John Chapman collection, is being offered at the Noble sale in Melbourne on 22 July 2008. This truly remarkable collection was built up over many years and included among other rarities the unique silver *Charlotte* medal. This medal is considered to be the first Australian colonial work of art and is believed to have been engraved in 1788 by the convict Thomas Barrett, the first man hanged in New South Wales, while the *Charlotte* was moored in Botany Bay.

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## **GENERAL**

# ALLGEMEINE NUMISMATIK

*Benedikt Zäch*

Diese Abteilung umfasst weniger Beiträge als im letzten Survey 1996–2001, der zum Kongress in Madrid erschien. Dies hat verschiedene Ursachen, vor allem aber Platzgründe. Davon abgesehen spiegelt die Abteilung «General Numismatics» seit je die unterschiedliche Ausrichtung und Verschiebung der Interessen zwischen denjenigen Gebieten, die sich weder im normalerweise chronologischen oder geographischen Raster der Surveys fassen lassen.

In diesen einleitenden Bemerkungen sollen Schwerpunkte der Beiträge hervorgehoben, einige Lücken angesprochen und gleichzeitig auf Themen hingewiesen werden, die möglicherweise beim nächsten Survey mehr Gewicht erhalten werden.

## **Analysemethoden (Scientific and Technical Applications)**

Im letzten Survey 1996–2001 stand die Statistik ganz im Vordergrund und die wissenschaftlichen Analysemethoden wurden nur kurz abgehandelt. In diesem Survey ist es umgekehrt: Die Analysemethoden, die sich in den letzten Jahren vermehrten und erneuerten, haben viel Platz erhalten. Was die Statistik angeht, so sind die grossen Diskussionen der 1990er Jahre um statistische Fragen in der Numismatik in den letzten Jahren nicht mehr aufgeflammt; bezeichnenderweise hat mit CALLATAÿ (1) einer der Protagonisten dieser Diskussionen 2006 eine Auswahl seiner älterer Arbeiten u.a. zur Quantifizierung veröffentlicht. So schien es vertretbar, auf ein eigenes, den statistischen Methoden gewidmetes Kapitel diesmal zu verzichten.

Bei den Analysemethoden ist, wie die beiden Autoren feststellen, die Skepsis gegenüber lange Jahre verwendeten Methoden, besonders den Oberflächenanalysen mit Röntgenfluoreszenz (XRF), stetig gestiegen, weil deren Defizite immer deutlicher werden: im Grunde werden vor allem Metall-Anreicherungen in den obersten Schichten gemessen.

Viel Hoffnung wurde in die Laserablationstechnik gesetzt, aber auch diese Methode(n) haben «the search for that elusive panacea of numismatic research, reliable non-destructive analysis» nicht beendet. Positiv gewendet, ist dies aber ein Zeichen eines feineren Bewusstseins für die Grenzen und Schwächen letztlich aller Methoden und die Zukunft liegt womöglich in der sachgerechten Kombination verschiedener Ansätze, je nach Material und vor allem je nach Fragestellung.

## **Internet und Computer**

Während beim letzten Survey noch der Computer im Vordergrund, hat sich in den letzten Jahren auch hier die Gewichtung völlig verschoben. Heute geht es vor allem um Internet-Anwendungen, wenn von Computer die Rede ist. Das weltweite World Web ist zudem ein immenser Ozean an Informationen und Anwendungen geworden, und das nicht erst seit der Propagierung des «Web 2.0».

Gerade bei den Datenbanken, bisher immer noch als proprietäre Anwendungen konzipiert und ausgeführt, eröffnen neue Technologien und Datenkonzepte eine Aggregation von Daten, die bisher mit einem ungeheuren, aber selten erfolgreichen Koordinierungsaufwand «harmonisiert» werden mussten, bevor sie überhaupt gemeinsam genutzt werden konnten. Aber auch Metadatenbanken, die virtuell darunter liegende Datenbestände zusammenführen, benötigen ein Minimum an Kohärenz unter den beteiligten Datendanken, so dass Initiativen zur Vereinheitlichung der Beschreibung und Ansprache von Münzen nach wie vor notwendig sind.

Erst in den letzten Jahren sind Plattformen wichtig geworden, die mit den Mitteln etwa des Wiki oder anderer Formen gemeinsamen Arbeitens und Entwickelns in kurzer Zeit unter Mithilfe vieler sehr grosse Mengen an Information versammeln, sei in Form der archivierten Threads von Foren und Diskussionsgruppen, sei es in Form von Lexika (2) oder anderen Formen von Wissensportalen. Das eigentliche Problem dieser Formen – das Online-Lexikon Wikipedia zeigt es am besten – ist die Editionsarbeit und Qualitätssicherung der Inhalte, die sich oft darin erschöpft, Editions-Vandalen zu bekämpfen und damit wenig Anreiz für die Mitarbeit von Fachpersonen bietet.

Für den Betrachter dieser Entwicklungen bleibt unklar, wohin die Reise der Informatik- und Internetanwendungen in der Numismatik in den nächsten Jahren geht. Zwar zeichnen sich mit den grossen Anwendungen bei [www.sylloge-nummorum-graecorum.org](http://www.sylloge-nummorum-graecorum.org), bei der EMC (Early Mediaeval Corpus oder bei der RPC-Datenbank Instrumente ab, die sich in Richtung von Hauptportalen entwickeln, aber wer die Entwicklung seit

längerem verfolgt, mag sich gut an grössere Projekte zu Beginn der 1990er Jahre erinnern, von denen man heute nichts mehr hört (3).

## **Geschichte der Numismatik, Sammlungen und Sammler**

In den letzten Jahren hat der Trend, sich mit der Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Numismatik zu befassen, nochmals verstärkt. Mehrere Tagungen – die jüngste in Dresden vom 4.–9. Mai 2009 (4) – und Sammelbände beschäftigten sich unter anderem mit der Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts (5) oder mit Charles Patin (6).

Die Anfänge der numismatischen Literatur sind stark an Italien gebunden. Dort sind auch Neuentdeckungen zu machen, wie MISSERE FONTANA (7) am Beispiel des Antiquars Achille Stazio zeigte. DEKESEL (8) widmete sich dem «Vater der Numismatik» Hubert Goltzius, dessen Wirkung sich bis zu den Anfängen der Numismatik in der Schweiz verfolgen lässt, wie ZÄCH (9) anhand des Chronisten (und frühen Epigraphikers/Numismatikers) Aegidius Tschudi zeigt.

Für die Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts liefert DEKESEL (10) die Arbeitsgrundlage mit seinem grossen annotierten Katalog der numismatischen Bücher des 17. Jahrhunderts. Während für das 16. Jahrhundert noch ein dicker Band genügte, waren für das 17. Jahrhundert drei erforderlich. Im Zusammenhang mit diesem Werk wurde in Wolfenbüttel eine Tagung zu Literatur des 17. Jahrhundert organisiert, die zahlreiche Themen behandelte, darunter die Antiquare und Numismatiker an den Höfen, die als Persönlichkeiten fassbar wurden: mit Jean-Foy Vaillant, befasste sich DEKESEL (5, pp. 69–87), mit Ezechiel Spanheim LEMBERG-RUPPELT (5, pp. 89–99).

Zur selben Zeit begann auch ausserhalb der traditionellen Zentren, so etwa in Oxford (BERRY und KIM, 5, pp. 125–139) oder in Dänemark, das Studium der Numismatik aufzublühen (JENSEN, 5, pp. 109–114). Dazu gehörten auch die numismatischen Zeitschriften ein; zu den deutschsprachigen bot BARTH (11) einen Überblick. Erst damit war die Voraussetzung für eine «République des médailles» geschaffen, die von Sammlern, Medaillenkünstlern, Museumsleuten und Händlern bevölkert war; der Pariser «Republik» widmete SARMANT (12) eine umfangreiche Untersuchung.

Der 100. Todestag des Althistorikers Theodor Mommsen (13), der nach 1880 ein grosses Korpuswerk für die griechischen Münzen auf den Weg brachte, löste verschiedene numismatische Aktivitäten aus. Die gewichtigste war eine in Frankfurt organisierte Tagung, die der Diskussion «Geldgeschichte vs. Numismatik» (14) gewidmet war. Sozusagen eine Dichotomie des Faches, entzündete sich an diesem Begriffspaar eine bis heute nicht abgeschlossene Kontroverse um Korpuswerke vs. Sammlungskataloge, die heute aus pragmatischen, nicht etwa aus wissenschaftlichen Gründen weitgehend zugunsten des Sammlungskatalogs entschieden ist (15). Ironischerweise wurde das Griechische Münzwerk noch im Jahr der Tagung nach 102 Jahren aus Spargründen beendet.

Im 19. Jahrhundert interessierten nicht nur die ganz grossen Figuren. Einen bis heute unterschätzten Numismatiker stellte BENDALL (16) vor: John Francis William de Salis, sechster Graf von Salis (1825–1871), war einer der Pioniere der wissenschaftlichen römischen Numismatik und hinterliess bei der Ordnung vor allem der republikanischen Münzen wichtige Spuren in der Münzsammlung des British Museum.

Jubiläen sind immer Momente des Rückwärtsblickens. Bei Gesellschaften und Institutionen geschieht dies über die Geschichte; PAGAN (17) legte eine solche für die British Numismatic Society vor. Im selben Zug versuchten PAGAN und FARTHING (18) eine Geschichte der Mitglieder.

Die Schweizerische Numismatische Gesellschaft feierte 2004 ihren 125. Geburtstag und organisierte aus diesem Anlass unter anderem ein Kolloquium, das erstmals über Institutionsgeschichten hinaus die Entwicklung der Numismatik in der Schweiz über ein halbes Jahrtausend hinweg verfolgte (9, 15). Besonders interessant, weil ganz auf mündliche Überlieferung angewiesen, war ein Abriss zur Geschichte des Münzhandels in der Schweiz von HURTER und DIVO (19).

Personen- und Institutionengeschichte hat sich auch die CIN / INC schon lange auf die Fahne geschrieben. In den letzten Jahren wurde die Serie der Geschichte der Münzkabinette in den *Comptes rendus* der Commission durch eine Serie zu bedeutenden Numismatikern und Sammlern ergänzt. An Institutionen behandelten SALAÜN (20) das Musée Dobrée in Nantes, CATALLI (21) das Museo Nazionale in Rom, LEVY und STAHL (22) die Princeton University Library Numismatic Collection, SPECHT und EMMERIG (23) das Institut für Numismatik in Wien und SMIRNOVA (24) die Staatliche Ermitage in St. Petersburg.

Bei den berühmten Numismatikern stellte GORINI (25) Francesco Gnecci vor, AMANDRY (26) Michael Grant, KLEEGERG (27) Sylvester Sage Crosby, KALININ (28) Alexander N. Zograph, RUSSELL (29) George MacDonald und ZÄCH (30) Friedrich Imhoof-Blumer.

Im Gefolge des zweifachen Umzugs und des 150-Jahr-Jubiläums begann die American Numismatic Society in New York in jüngster Zeit ihre Geschichte sichtbarer zu machen. Neben einer vierteiligen Serie zur Geschichte der Gesellschaft nach Dekaden (31) veröffentlichte CICCONE (32) einen kurzen Lebensabriss von Edward Newell und WITSCHONKE und CICCONE (33) liessen die 50 Jahre der ANS Sommer-Seminare Revue passieren.

### Numismatik und Kulturgeschichte (Cultural Studies)

Es ist eigentlich nicht erstaunlich, dass der *cultural turn* der Geisteswissenschaften und die Entstehung einer transdisziplinär verstandenen Kulturwissenschaften in den letzten Jahren auch die Numismatik erreicht hat. Hier ist nicht der Ort, um diese Entwicklung aufzurollen oder auch nur zu charakterisieren. Mit ein paar bibliographischen Hinweisen soll aber angedeutet werden, in welcher Form der kulturwissenschaftliche «Zugriff» auf numismatische Themen in den letzten Jahren geschah.

Während bei SEAFORD (34) die Philosophiegeschichte sich mit dem Konzept des Geldes verband, legte der Tagungsband von COX und SCHMIDT-HANNISA (35) den Aspekt auf die Metaphorik des Geldes; folgerichtig stammten die meisten der Beiträge aus dem Bereich der Literaturwissenschaft. Diese literarische Metaphorik hatte bereits der Germanist HÖRISCH (36) in den 1990er Jahren als eine «Poesie des Geldes» entwickelt und seither in zahlreichen Aufsätzen variierte.

Einen etwas anderen Weg schlug ein weiterer Tagungsband von GRUBMÜLLER und STOCK (37) ein. Sie legten den Aspekt auf die Symbolik von Geldhandlungen, etwa bei Zahlungen und Geschenken oder beleuchteten die Münzdarstellungen. In dieselbe Richtung ging eine kleine Studie von GABRIEL (38). Sie untersuchte die Ästhetik und die Rhetorik des Kurantgeldes im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert und entwickelte Elemente einer politischen Ästhetik des Geldes.

Diese wenigen Hinweise mögen andeuten, dass sich die Numismatik zunehmend im Spannungsfeld eines intensiven Austauschs – um nicht zu sagen Ausgriffs – unter verschiedenen Disziplinen findet, von Fächern, die sich alle als «kulturwissenschaftlich» verstehen. Hier gäbe es neue Felder auch von der Numismatik her zu beackern.

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## SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL APPLICATIONS

*Maryse Blet-Lemarquand and Matthew J. Ponting*

### General Introduction

Since 2002 the emphasis of scientific methods has continued to be the search for that elusive panacea of numismatic research, reliable non-destructive analysis. To this end laser-ablation technology (usually teamed-up with mass spectrometry – LA-ICP-MS) has been the latest candidate for this accolade. However, it is also apparent from several publications that it still needs to be stressed that precious metal coins, especially those made of an alloy of copper and silver where the silver content is less than 90%, were usually treated to enhance the silver content at the coins surface. This was done at the mint prior to striking and produced a silver-rich surface that was often several hundred microns thick obscuring a core of pink-hued alloy. The aim of this was to disguise the manipulation of the alloy's silver content by the issuer and thereby preserve public faith in the coinage. If the aim of an analysis is to ascertain the chemical composition of the original metal prepared at the mint in the past, rather than the composition of the coin as it is today, then it is necessary to analyse the metal remaining beneath this artificially enriched layer. To do this a window needs to be punched through the surface layers and a representative sample of that original metal needs to be obtained. Today there are several ways to do this, each with its advantages and disadvantages, often related to specific issues particular to the coinage in question.

LA-ICP-MS is no exception to these problems, but has given satisfactory results for certain coinages and work is still in progress to fully evaluate the techniques advantages and limitations for all coin types. Indeed, the well tried and tested methods continue to be used to good effect with several large scale projects being conducted during the period covered by this review. BUTCHER and PONTING take advantage of recent improvements in inductively-coupled plasma atomic emission spectrometry (ICP-AES) to survey the composition of Roman silver coins and to correct the inaccuracies in David WALKER'S seminal study created by the naive use of non-destructive x-ray fluorescence (XRF), BARRANDON and PICARD applied fast neutron activation analysis (FNAA) to Hellenistic bronzes and proved that typological changes often went with changes in the composition, KLEIN and VON KAENEL undertook isotope based provenance studies of Roman copper-alloy coinage whilst VLACHOU-MOGIRE and Pilon have both shaken-up some misconceptions about production. The scientific investigation of coinage is still a lively field and continues to inform and challenge traditional numismatic research.

### Methods and Methodology

LA-ICP-MS has been improved to become a potentially 'non-destructive' and multi elemental method to analyse some types of gold- and silver-based coins (3, 7). One of these developments is the 'profile mode' that can be used to study plated coins, enrichment phenomena and, in some cases, overcome corrosion related silver enrichment that usually affects copper-silver alloy coins. However, as stated in the introduction, many coins have an anthropogenically enriched zone that can be very thick (20). This, together with the often heterogeneous microstructures of coins, can cause problems with precision and accuracy that have yet to be adequately overcome for laser ablation techniques. LINKE *et al.* (5) emphasize yet again the discrepancy of composition between surface analysis using XRF and the bulk measured on cut cross-sections, this time for medieval silver coins. PONTING and BUTCHER take advantage of the greater sensitivity and speed of the new segmented array ICP-AES systems to analyse reliably homogeneous and representative micro-samples (<10mg) drilled from the heart-metal of silver-alloy coins (37).

Laboratory replications of silver-copper alloys are studied by BECK *et al.* in order to better understand enrichment on ancient coins (1). DERAISME and BARRANDON (2) develop a procedure for the FNAA analysis of lead-rich bronze coins. NICK and TABERNO (6) discuss the use of neutron radiography in identifying the types of coins stuck together as a result of melting, corrosion or being wrapped in cloth. KOCKELMANN *et al.* (4) report on a non-destructive microstructural characterisation of sixteenth century silver Taler coins by means of time-of-flight neutron diffraction in order to distinguish between minted (genuine) and cast (fake) silver coins.



## Metal and alloy formulation

FROLOVA *et al.* (28) report on the XRF analysis of Cyzicene electrum coins. PIXE was performed on about 80 Athenian silver coins dated from the fifth century BC including coins usually identified as imitations (26). CONSTANTINESCU *et al.* (24) present the results obtained for Greek silver coins from the first century BC with surface analysis techniques (XRF and PIXE). GIOVANNELLI *et al.* (29) study the composition and the microstructure of five fragments of Greek silver coins and address the fabrication process of the silver. The bronze coinage minted in Massalia before the Roman conquest in 52 BC was subjected to a large study (>500 coins) that brings together iconography, metrology and FNAA (13). The FNAA analysis of bronze coins minted in Miletus from the fourth century to the second century BC confirms the relative chronology and the general classification of the issues (12). FNAA was performed on Sidonian silver and bronze coins dated from the fifth and fourth centuries BC (25). The results shed new light on the monetary policy of the Sidonian kings. FREY-KUPPER and BARRANDON (27) comment on the analysis of different Western Sicilian bronze coinages minted after the Second Punic War until the beginning of the Roman Empire (FNAA). Elemental analysis appeared to be of prime importance to study the Celtic coinages as sources are scarce. NIETO (35) compares typological data to analytical data obtained from the activation analysis of gold, silver and bronze coins to draw up a proposal of a relative chronology of Celtic coinages from Gaul. NIETO (36) shows that some coins minted with the types of two series of gold coins are in fact made of brass.

The fineness of the Roman silver coins for the Julio-Claudian dynasty is reassessed by BUTCHER and PONTING (micro sampling and segmented array ICP-AES) with important and unexpected results for Nero's reform of AD 64 (20) and the coinage of Nerva and Trajan is reappraised by UHLIR *et al.* (43) (micro XRF analysis of coins prepared as cross-sections). BUTCHER and PONTING also use trace element and lead isotope analysis to investigate changing trends in metal supply and the production strategies of the Imperial administration which forms part of a larger (>1700 analyses) and on-going project (20, 21). MARTINI *et al.* (33) present the first results of a metallurgical study carried out on copper-alloy Imperial Roman coins compared to coins from the Moesia-Thracia area. LÖNNQVIST (32) provides us with elemental analysis of copper-alloy Roman provincial coins of Judea minted between AD 6–66 (micro sampling and standard ICP-AES). FNAA was performed on Imperial Roman copper-alloy coins minted in Lyon (10). The elemental compositions allow differentiation between denominations that could not be easily distinguished because of the surface corrosion (patina). Some three hundred FNAA analyses of Imperial Roman copper-alloy coins minted between the reigns of Octavian and Claudius are provided by BESOMBES *et al.* (15). FNAA was carried out on coins covering the period from Diocletian to Theodosius II for all mints and including bronze medallions (18). Tetrarchic nummi were sampled by drilling for analysis using EPMA (14). Some overall trends can be observed principally in the London mint. STRIBRNY *et al.* (42) compare the analysis of two different coinages: 'barbaric' imitations coming from Germanic or Sarmatian territories that copy original Roman silver coins of the second century AD and also official Roman silver coins minted in Rome and dated mainly from the second half of the second century AD (XRF analysis, LA-ICP-MS and metallographic studies). BOLLARD and SALAÜN (19) show that various copper-alloys were used to mint third century AD imitations belonging to a same typological group. CHAVES TRISTÁN *et al.* (23) report on the analysis of local Spanish coins dated from the Roman Republic or the beginning of the Empire excavated in the mining village of La Loba (Spain) (PIXE analysis on polished edges). Surface analysis of copper alloys coins from Saitabi (Spain) are published by RIPOLLES (38).

An enormous number of non-destructive surface analyses (XRF) of medieval coins are provided by ILISCH *et al.* (31). SCHULZE and SCHULZE report on the analysis of 5 French feudal deniers (40) (EPMA carried out on prepared surfaces). METCALF and NORTHOVER (34) discuss the results obtained from the EPMA analysis of English coins dated from the eleventh century. A large sample of coins struck during the Breton War of Succession in the fourteenth century was analysed (17) (FNAA). The fineness of the royal issues of this period can be compared with the fineness of the coins struck by both of the pretenders of the duchy of Brittany. BLET-LEMARQUAND and BOMPAIRE (16) published analyses of French royal gold coins minted during the fourteenth century. The gold fineness and the type of debasement stated by the royal edicts are confirmed by the analyses.

BACHARACH (11) comments on the monetary policy of an Egyptian Islamic dynasty (Ikhshidid) using the fineness of gold coins obtained by the specific gravity method. CANTO GARCÍA *et al.* (22) survey the published analyses of Islamic coins from Andalusia and provide us with results of some surface analysis (EDX-SEM). The gold coins minted by the Kushanas, Late Kushanas and their nomadic successors are studied comparing typological and compositional data (PAA and LA-ICP-MS analysis) (39). In the framework of the *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Paris – Berlin – Wien* catalogue, a substantial number of Sassanian coins were analysed by surface analysis (XRF) and a complementary study was realised using FNAA (9, 41). ALRAM *et al.* (8) report on an extraordinary gold coin in the name of the Sassanian king Shapur I celebrating his victory over the Roman emperor,

Philip I (the Arab). WANG *et al.* (44) gathered published papers dealing with metallurgical studies of Chinese coins and added unpublished works. An overview of the composition and production of these coins from the third century BC to the late nineteenth century AD is presented. XRF was used as the principal analytical technique for all the coins but AAS was subsequently applied to samples of selected pieces and a microstructural study was carried out on cast iron coins.

PONTING and BUTCHER (37) also launched a web resource that makes it possible to download from the internet the analytical and numismatic data of Roman Silver coins minted from Augustus to Nero.

### Provenance studies

JUNK *et al.* (49) experiment with the measurement of osmium isotopes in the platinum-group mineral inclusions that can be found in gold coins using LA-MC-ICP-MS. They apply their technique to Celtic gold coins from southern Germany and gold coins from western Anatolia. PONTING *et al.* (52) use high precision lead isotopes measured by LA-MC-ICP-MS of drilled samples to investigate characterisation of the products of different Roman mints and demonstrate that this is possible despite the well known problems of re-cycling. KLEIN *et al.* (50) complete their previous study on the early Imperial Roman copper coins (51). By comparing their lead isotope data with published results from ore bodies they trace the copper sources exploited under Augustus and Tiberius. Lead isotopic analysis are undertaken by BARRANDON and NIETO (45) to determine if the discrepancies in the gold contents found within three different series of Celtic silver coins from Gaul can be explained by the source of the silver ore.

GONDONNEAU *et al.* (48) study the circulation of the gold stuck in the Persian Empire and in Macedonia, from Darius to Alexander the Great coupling two analytical methods, PAA and LA-ICP-MS. These both methods were also performed on more than two hundred gold coins issued by the Arab dynasties in different Near and Middle Eastern, North African and Sicilian mints, from the seventh to the twelfth century (47). The problem of the provenance of Kushan gold was studied by BLET-LEMARQUAND (46). The trace element concentrations show that Kushanas did not remelt Imperial Roman gold coins to strike their gold coins.

### Production & forgery

PILON (63), HOLLARD and BLET-LEMARQUAND (60), GITLER and PONTING (58) report on the analysis of coin punches and coin dies. DELESTRÉE and BUATHIER (55) provide us with analysis of Celtic monetary discs made of tin-lead alloys. Practical experiments investigating iron cored copies of Roman copper-alloy coins are described by PFISTERER and TRAUM (62). Lead bronze was widely used for coins during Antiquity; it was shown that lead contents could significantly vary amongst coins belonging to a single typological series. How can these discrepancies be interpreted? Experiments were carried out to study this problem (56).

The process used to silver plate copper-alloy flans to produce unofficial 'silver' coins during the third century AD is studied by DERAISME *et al.* (57). FNAA and metallographic analysis of cross sections were carried out on both official silver coins of Postumus and on some unofficial imitations. The study was completed with experiments in the production of silvered flans. Late Roman silver coin-plating techniques were investigated by several scholars. VLACHOU-MOGIRE *et al.* (67) show that mercury is correlated with silver in the plating for most of the coins they studied. Experimental work was also carried out on the amalgam silvering (with mercury) of alloys of similar composition to that of Late Roman coins. ANHEUSER and FRANCE (53) studied similar coins from a hoard: in this case no signs of heating were observed and no mercury was found. After a comparison of these results with replication experiments, they concluded that the thin silver plating was applied in the form of a silvering paste. VLACHOU *et al.* (66) report on the analysis of four forged Iranian dirhams dating from the ninth to tenth centuries AD. The use of mercury amalgam silvering was inferred from the presence of mercury in the plating (EPMA).

PILON (64, 65) provides us with the analysis of monetary artefacts coming from two different forgers mints discovered in France, one dated from the end of the third century AD and the other from the mid-fourth century. GRICOURT *et al.* (59) report on the analysis of lead monetary stamps associated with the minting of false coins in Roman Gaul. KIM (61) reports on the XRF analysis of electrum ingots described as 'proto-money' and of coins coming from a hoard. The XRF analysis confirms that this hoard is tainted by the inclusion of forged coins. The identification of a Kushan gold coin is cast into doubt by analysis (54); the trace element pattern proves that this coin is a fake.

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## NUMISMATICS, COMPUTERS AND THE INTERNET

*David Wigg-Wolf*

In a rapidly changing world, computer applications are no exception. Indeed, it is perhaps one of the most rapidly developing fields of all, and as a result by the time this survey article is published, much of the content will already be out of date! Not only will technology and applications have moved on, above all websites will have closed down or moved and links no longer be active.

A comparison with the situation when the last survey was written six years ago illustrates this quite vividly. The largest section of the article on computers and the internet then was dedicated to databases, and the internet was just one of four main topics. However, for many people computers are today virtually identical with the internet, and here a dramatic explosion of content has taken place. Whereas a search on the internet search machine Google for the two terms «coin» and «computer» produced 249,000 results in 2002, the figure in 2008 is a staggering 16,700,000, a 67-fold increase! Even the specialist term «numismatics» produced 1,450,000 results. This exponential increase in web-content has also seen a remarkable change in the spectrum of people presenting and using material. The internet has become a broad-based, democratic platform, and this applies equally to numismatic content.

Whereas the production, and above all distribution of books was generally the privilege of those with access to the necessary resources (finance and infrastructure), the world-wide web provides a cheap medium to reach an enormous public across the entire world. What is more, there is no delay involved in publication, for information can be posted immediately, and constant revision is possible in a manner and to an extent that was not possible with paper publications. The result is that never before has so much information been provided by so many people, to be consumed by so many.

This is not always a good thing, for the quality of much of the input leaves a great deal to be desired, and the user of internet-based information must always be aware that it is necessary to check the reliability of the content and the individual or organisation posting it. But then source criticism has always been a vital aspect of any scholarship. However, in spite of this limitation, the internet has released a completely new class of information input which, when constructively harnessed, has enormous potential. Resources such as Wikipedia demonstrate just what this new community can achieve.

Another important aspect of this democratisation of knowledge is that the flow is not one way. With the development of Web 2.0, which has brought with it web-based applications, wikis, social-networking sites and blogs ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Web\\_2.0](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Web_2.0)), users can communicate with each other and share information. They can be providers and consumers at the same time on the same platform – rather than either just author or reader as was the case with the world-wide web previously or a book. The result is a proliferation of web-sites exchanging information on a multitude of aspects of numismatics, many of them extremely useful and specialised. These will be the starting point of this survey article.

### **The World Wide Web and Web 2.0**

Perhaps the earliest form of information exchange on the web were mailing lists. In these comments were sent by individuals to all members of the list via email. Although some of the earliest lists such as COINS ([coins@uni.edu](mailto:coins@uni.edu)) still exist, they are virtually redundant and have been replaced by a variety of other formats.

A blog (short for weblog) is properly speaking a website, generally maintained by an individual person, that contains regular entries such as commentary, descriptions of events, etc. Many also include a facility for readers to leave comments. This is the form that many discussion groups now take, for it allows input and immediate comment by almost anybody (though many blogs are moderated). This is one of the areas where the democratisation of the web is most obvious. As already indicated, caution must be taken as regards the quality of some of the information thus presented, but the medium has also opened up discussion to a section of the numismatically interested public that previously had no widespread voice. What is more, it is driven by individuals with the time, interests, energy and vision to use a modern medium to its full extent, and this demonstrates the enormous potential behind Web 2.0.

Much of the content of discussion groups, indeed of numismatic input on the web all told, is provided by collectors, and the coin trade also plays a significant part. While this means that many discussion groups will not be of interest to the scholarly or academic numismatist, they are often a source of valuable and otherwise virtually inaccessible information. They must be sifted carefully by those using them, but provide a resource that was unimaginable only ten years ago.

Once again a statistic vividly illustrates the growth of this area. Six years ago Yahoo registered 51 numismatic groups; in 2008 it was 3,990 (see <http://groups.yahoo.com/search?query=coins> for a full list). The Yahoo groups cover an enormous range of topics. Moneta-L (<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Moneta-L/>) is a general list «dedicated to the joys of ancient coin collecting», and is one of the most active with up to 1000 or more messages a month.

More specialised lists are:

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/ancientandmedievalcoins/>

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/RomanProvincialCoins/>

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/CoinsRoman/>

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/CoinsGreek/>

Further discussion groups or forums are listed by

<http://www.forumancientcoins.com/board/index.php>

<http://www.coinpeople.com/>

<http://www.cointalk.com/forum/>

which essentially are driven by the American coin collectors' market, one of the most active sectors on the web.

Highly motivated and interested amateurs have also given rise to a number of informational sites on specialised topics, many of them extremely productive, and which fully complement more «official» or «academic» sites. For Celtic coins there are <http://kernunnos.com> and <http://www.celtic-coin-agera.com/>, or for Islamic coins <http://users.rcn.com/j-roberts/home.htm> and <http://islamiccoinsgroup.50g.com/>. Such sites not only provide original content, they also include links to important related resources, and often include discussion groups (in the case of the latter ([http://groups.yahoo.com/group/islamic\\_coins/](http://groups.yahoo.com/group/islamic_coins/))). An invaluable source on Parthian coins is Parthia.com ([http://parthia.com/parthia\\_coins.htm](http://parthia.com/parthia_coins.htm)), with accompanying discussion list on Parthian history and coins, (<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Parthia-L/>). Indische Münzen/Coins of India (<http://indiacoins.de/>) and Nupam's Webpage for the Indian Coins (<http://www.nupam.com/>) have much information on the monetary history of the region, the latter with many useful links. The Coins and History of Asia website at present provides some 3,000 illustrations of coins from a wide range of cultures from the Middle to the Far East (<http://www.grifterrec.com/coins/coins.html>).

Similarly, private individuals, and above all the trade, have provided the impetus behind a whole series of sites which essentially provide virtual coin collections with huge numbers of digital images. In several cases these collections are larger even than all but the biggest physical coin cabinets. The most prominent is Wildwinds (<http://www.wildwinds.com>) – «Online reference, attribution and valuation site for ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine coins», though it also includes Celtic and English!). [www.coinarchives.com](http://www.coinarchives.com) is «a searchable archive of past coin auctions for the collector and researcher». At present it archives some 245,433 items from 366 auctions. These are extremely valuable resources, providing amateur and professional alike with access to the quality of data which just a decade ago was only available by visiting coin cabinets or scouring auction catalogues.

There are many similar, but smaller projects, for example [www.tantalus.com](http://www.tantalus.com), a virtual collection of individual private collections or the Virtual Catalog of Roman Coins (<http://vcrc.austincollege.edu/>), run by Austin College, which includes much educational content. The dealers cgb.fr have an intimidating database of material available online, in particular remarkable sale catalogues of Celtic coins (<http://www.cgb.fr/monnaies/vso/v15/>) and the history of the Franc from 1360 to 2001 (<http://www.cgb.fr/monnaies/vso/v14/>). For a full list of online catalogues see <http://www.cgb.fr/monnaies/vso/indexgb.html>. Finally, a site which is likely to grow are the Wikipedia Commons pages, where contributors can post images ([http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Main\\_Page](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Main_Page)). A good number of images of coins are already online, and if past experience with the Wikipedia project is anything to go by, this will expand fast.

A number of such sites provide useful tools for identifying coins. For example, [www.romancoin.info](http://www.romancoin.info) includes a tool to search for parts of coin legends (this is possible to some extent on sites such as Wildwinds by entering bits of legend into the search mask, but Roman Coin has a facility for a wild card for letters that are missing or not legible). However the results are in the form of a list of emperors with a full list of all their legends, rather



than links to individual coins or types. <http://www.ancient-coins.com/legendsearch.asp> hosts a useful search facility for the obverse legend of Roman coins, while <http://www.ancientcoins.biz/id/index.php> has a similar facility for both Greek and Roman coins. <http://forumancientcoins.com/dane/> provides a number of identification tools, of which the most stunning is a series of downloadable Excel tables of «RIC lists of commonly found bronze Roman coins», which in fact cover the period from the late-3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. through the Byzantine Empire. The same site also lists corrigenda to RIC volumes VI and VII (<http://forumancientcoins.com/notinric/index.html>).

<http://www.tesorillo.com/aes/home.htm> is a tool for identifying late Roman bronze coins, intended for the non-expert.

The Portable Antiquities Scheme of England and Wales has informative pages on the identification of coins commonly found in Britain, the medieval pages being particularly detailed; <http://www.finds.org.uk/medievalcoins/>

The collectors' community has also stimulated websites with content on fields of very special interest. For example, several sites are dedicated to countermarks on ancient coins (<http://www.ancientcoins.biz/countermarks/>) or <http://www.romancoins.info/Countermarks.html>. Copies or imitations are another popular subject; Imitations of Roman Republican Denarii (<http://rrimitations.ancients.info/>) covers Dacian imitations of Roman originals. Modern forgeries or fakes, as opposed to contemporary ancient imitations are obviously of enormous interest to collectors and the trade alike, and it is perhaps no surprise that this is a matter to which many sites are dedicated.

Yahoo hosts an active discussion list (<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/CoinForgeryDiscussionList>). <http://forgerynetwork.com/> has a facility to search its database for forgeries of particular coins, while Calgary Coins (<http://www.calgary.coin.com/reference/fakes/fakes.htm>) has numerous links to other sites with information on modern forgeries.

Further sites are <http://www.ancientcoins.biz/pages/fakes/>, [http://www.coinscatalog.com/forgery\\_list.php](http://www.coinscatalog.com/forgery_list.php) and <http://www.forumancientcoins.com/fakes/index.php>. From a browse through these pages it is immediately apparent just how extensive the problems caused by Bulgarian forgery workshops are.

At the same time as the explosion of content driven by this very widespread and potent community, the «academic» world (museums, universities, etc.) has also seen expansion, though on nothing like the same scale, and with much less use of Web 2.0. Here the provider-user relationship is still more traditional. Academic databases will be dealt with below, but museums and public collections make widespread use of the web to fulfil their educational role, and this is probably the area where they have made their most important contributions.

A list of them would be endless, but several of the major collections have implemented educational sites: the webpages of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum have a great deal of information on the collection and the exhibition galleries, as well as much educational content ([http://www.britishmuseum.org/the\\_museum/departments/coins\\_and\\_medals.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/the_museum/departments/coins_and_medals.aspx)). There is also an interesting assessment of the physical exhibition gallery available online at [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research\\_publications/online\\_research\\_publications/hsbc\\_money\\_gallery.a.spx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_publications/online_research_publications/hsbc_money_gallery.a.spx)).

The Münzkabinett of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (<http://www.khm.at/de/kunsthistorisches-museum/sammlungen/muenzkabinett/>) is particularly informative. The Geldmuseum of the Deutsche Bundesbank (<http://www.geldmuseum.de/>), which «shows the fascinating world of monetary and foreign exchange policy and offers an introduction to the history of money», has taken the approach of making leaflets on regularly changing special exhibits displayed in the museum available as downloadable PDF files. The National Numismatics Collection at the Smithsonian has an online exhibition «Legendary Coins & Currency», dedicated to the coinage of The United States and the old colonies, and including a game for younger visitors which involves searching for coins in the coin vault (<http://americanhistory.si.edu/coins/flash/exhibition.shtml>). The online presentation of the 900 coins of the numismatic collection of the Fundación Banco Santander, containing objects of all periods from Spain, its territories and Mexico (<http://www.fundacionbancosantander.com/monedas/>) is a good example of how a professional graphical presentation and a clear user interface, combined with high-quality academic input, can contribute to a successful presentation.

But not all such websites are related to actual museums. The internet provides the possibility of producing purely virtual museums, accessible world-wide and open 24 hours a day. A fine example of this is



«Moneymuseum.com», an example of a museum that went the other way, so to speak. Initially set up as a virtual museum to display a private collection (<http://finder2.moneymuseum.com/frontend/>), it has since expanded into the real world and opened exhibition rooms. It has many novel features, even including a facility to view the collection on an iPhone!

## Databases

In the early days of computer applications in numismatics, databases were probably the major area of interest, together with statistical applications. But although the internet is now the sector where most energy is concentrated, databases are still an important element. An increasing number of museums and institutions are now putting their collections on the web. The flagship is probably still the American Numismatic Society (<http://numismatics.org/Collections/CollectionDatabase>), which has nearly 600,000 records of objects in its collection online, many with images (an interesting feature is that it is possible to cite an exact link to a particular coin in the form of a very simple URL). Other major coin cabinets with online access are the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge ([www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/opac/search/searchcm.html](http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/opac/search/searchcm.html)), the Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (<http://www.smb.museum/ikmk/>); the entries include some very detailed information on the coins and the societies which produced them) and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (2,000 coins from the collection are at present available on the «Bildatenbank der Sammlungen» – [http://bilddatenbank.khm.at/custom\\_search\\_form](http://bilddatenbank.khm.at/custom_search_form)).

The British Museum has very basic online data recording the presence of the objects in its collections, including coins, but there is little or no detailed information on them, and almost no photos (although visitors to the website are encouraged to order photos online.  
[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx))

. Only some of the approximately 1.6 million objects held by the National Numismatics Collection at the Smithsonian, embracing the entire numismatic history of the world, are viewable online (<http://americanhistory.si.edu/coins/search.cfm>).

A number of smaller collections are also accessible, for example Uppsala University Coin Cabinet, Sweden (<http://www.gustavianum.uu.se/en/node17>), the Ottilia Buerger collection at the Lawrence University, Wisconsin (<http://www.lawrence.edu/dept/art/buerger/intor/contents.html>), which also includes educational essays, and the University of Virginia (<http://coins.lib.virginia.edu/>). The latter has an excellently designed user interface that makes querying quite uncomplicated. The McMaster Museum of Art Online Roman Coin Collection presents 272 Roman coins from the Republic to Late Antiquity (<http://tapor1.mcmaster.ca/~coins/index.php>). The site includes educational «tours» through Roman monetary history, illustrated by coins from the collection. The numismatic collection of the National Conservation Institute, Kromeriz, Czech Republic, presents 10,129 mainly medieval ecclesiastical and religious coins (<http://coins.azs.cz/>). The Princeton University Numismatic Collection contains some 70,000 numismatic objects of various kinds from a wide range of cultures and ages. The search machine includes the ability to search for issues with particular monograms, archaic letters and numbers, and Chinese non-traditional characters (<http://www.princeton.edu/~rbsc/departments/numismatics/>).

What is particularly interesting, beyond the actual databases themselves, is the way in which concepts of how to handle them, in fact how to handle data have changed. The world-wide web does not just involve databases being made available to a wide public as a one-way service. The development of web applications means that the traffic can be two-way, in the spirit of Web 2.0. Databases can now be inputted via the web, so that instant updating is possible from almost anywhere in the world. What is more, web-based applications do not require the inputter to have special software, for access is via a standard web-browser.

One of the best examples of this concept within the field of cultural heritage is the database of the Portable Antiquities Scheme of England and Wales, based at the British Museum (<http://www.finds.org.uk>). Some one third of the material held is on coin finds. Data input is devolved, but it is not just the 41 finds liaison officers employed by the scheme around the country who enter records. Finders of artefacts who are held by the scheme to be sufficiently trustworthy and knowledgeable are also able to enter their own data themselves. There are various levels of input and access, which are carefully controlled in order to protect confidential or sensitive data (e.g. on owners or find-spots), and all data is cleared and checked by the central unit before being finally released on the web. Other Web 2.0 features on the Portable Antiquities Scheme site include wikis and a blog. There is also a great deal of news and educational content, as well as information on responsible metal detecting.

A further recent development concerns the way in which databases can be linked. In the past efforts concentrated on exchanging information between databases by standardising core data, or else on setting up standard structures or concentrating data in one central repository. However, developments in computing technology now mean that very disparate databases can be accessed together, or their data collected and exchanged (interoperability) without radical modification to the database structures. This method involves the use of so-called metadata and markup, which essentially means describing or signposting individual pieces of information with standard descriptors so that data stored in different places in different structures can be recognised, retrieved and interpreted (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Metadata>): «The metadata describes characteristics about the data, while the markup identifies the specific type of data content and acts as a container for that document instance».) What is more, the data does not have to be stored in classic databases, but can be held in the form of text documents, PDF files, or whatever. This is related to a concept known as the Semantic Web ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Semantic\\_web](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Semantic_web)), whereby content in the World Wide Web is marked up with semantic information describing it so that it can be automatically interpreted by machines in much the same way as humans can recognise content. This provides possibilities that go way beyond standard searches for simple terms or strings (e.g. for «denarius» or «Carolus Rex»).

As a result of these advances, standardisation of databases as previously aimed at is now unnecessary, and projects can continue to use well-tried, existing structures and solutions which suit their own particular needs, and yet still communicate with each other. One of the most important projects in this direction is CIDOC-CRM (Committee on Documentation of the International Council of Museums. Conceptual Reference Model: <http://cidoc.ics.forth.gr/>). This «provides definitions and a formal structure for describing the implicit and explicit concepts and relationships used in cultural heritage documentation . (it) is intended to promote a shared understanding of cultural heritage information by providing a common and extensible semantic framework that any cultural heritage information can be mapped to», and any individual developments in the field should take CIDOC-CRM into account.

An example of how CIDOC-CRM can be used for numismatics is provided by the COINS project. The ontology, or description of how the individual bits of data are marked up and what markups are used, can be downloaded from the project website (<http://www.coins-project.eu/downloads/reports/Coins-044450-D4.pdf>). The markup approach is also employed by the Digital Coins Network (<http://www.digitalcoins.org>), which «promotes the effective use of information technology in the collection, exchange, and publication of numismatic data. It identifies existing standards that can be useful to numismatists and provides a forum for the development of new standards that meet the specific needs of the numismatic community». The project has two main focuses: the Numismatic Database Standard (NUDS) aims to define a standardized set of fields to describe numismatic objects, whereby the exchange of information is promoted by a set of shared fields. NUDS Exchange Format is an XML schema designed to facilitate the exchange of numismatic information (XML: Extensible Markup Language: «(its) purpose is to aid information systems in sharing structured data, especially via the Internet»: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xml>). A testbed of searchable NUDS records from a various databases is under development and is available via the Digital Coins website.

A different approach to common access to disparate databases is taken by INTERFACE (INTERnet portal: Finds of Ancient Coins in Europe; <http://www.fundmuenzen.eu>), initiated by Fundmünzen der Antike, Frankfurt. This provides a portal accessing national data repositories on ancient coin finds. Here data is not exchanged or standardised and collected centrally, but instead a search machine is programmed to recognise where exactly and in what form the term being searched for (e.g. mint = Antioch) is stored in each participating repository. The results of searches are collected and displayed centrally in a single set of hit lists, and links in the individual results enable the user to access the original entry in the relevant database for more detail (much in the manner of the international library portal, the «Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog» KVK: (<http://www.ubka.uni-karlsruhe.de/kvk.html>)). The portal itself accesses the data held by participating projects directly via the web.

As for the individual databases, a number of coin find projects have their material available online. The largest of these, apart from the Portable Antiquities Scheme discussed above, are dFMRÖ in Austria (<http://www.oew.ac.at/numismatik/projekte/dfmroe/dfmroe.html>), which also hosts material from Romania, and NUMIS in The Netherlands (<http://geldmuseum.nl/museum/numis>). NUMIDAT in Frankfurt

(<http://www.fda.adwmainz.de/index.php?id=338>) is a relative newcomer to the fold. Maps can obviously be a useful feature of coin find websites, and the Portable Antiquities Scheme and NUMIS both have facilities to plot

their results on maps, as does INTERFACE. Of particular use is Google Maps, which enables results to be plotted on up-to-date maps and satellite photos, without the individual projects having to produce the maps themselves.

Iron Age and Roman Coinage from Wales takes a different approach to the publication of data. The results of the analysis of the data collected were published as a paper volume (1), and the data on the 52,813 coins on which this was based made available as a download (<http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/collections/blurbs/470.cfm>). This takes the form of four tables of data (find spots, coins, bibliographic references and coin issuers) together with instructions on how they can be assembled into a relational database using the software of the user's choice (e.g. Access or Filemaker). In this way users can perform their own analyses of the data, or incorporate them into their own applications. It is also planned to make the data available via the Portable Antiquities Scheme Database. A general overview of European coin find projects was produced for a conference on how the discipline presents itself and is perceived, held in Konstanz in 2005 (2). It includes detailed information on the databases held by the projects and the form in which they are accessible.

Attention is also drawn to other primarily academic web databases on a variety of topics. Currently some 25,000 coins from the Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum volumes for Great Britain are available online in the form of a searchable database with a highly detailed search facility (<http://www.sylloge-nummorum-graecorum.org/>). Particularly impressive is volume 4 of the massive Roman Provincial Coinage, covering the Antonine Emperors from AD 138–192, which is hosted by the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (<http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/project/>). Apart from a standard quick search screen, it is also possible to use identification search to identify a coin and/or find a standard reference for it; iconographic search to investigate the types of imagery used on coins either for all mints or by regions; and an advanced search whereby it is possible to choose search criteria for any purpose. The site also includes interactive maps from which the user is able to choose individual cities and view their coins. Interestingly, the site is not seen as a one-way flow of information, but users are invited to submit coin types they believe are not included in the database, thus making exemplary use of the internet in the spirit of Web 2.0 as a method of involving a much wider community of knowledge than is possible with more traditional methods.

Smaller-scale sites on Greek and Roman Provincial coinage with academic content include a searchable English version of N. Moushmov, Ancient Coins of the Balkan Peninsula (<http://www.ancientcoinart.com/moushmov.html>) and «Die lokalen Münzen von Moesia Inferior und Thrakien in der römischen Kaiserzeit» (<http://www.geocities.com/coinfreak/>). The long-standing ISEGRIM project of the University of Düsseldorf, with a detailed catalogue of some 60,000 ancient coins types from Asia Minor, has managed to avoid the fate of many old databases, and is still accessible (<http://hist3-10.phil-fak.uni-duesseldorf.de/isegrim/>). Another long-standing project that is still thriving and up-to-date is that on Medieval coinage at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The website provides access not only to the Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, but also to the Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (<http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/emc/>).

## Other resources

It is not only through databases that the web has greatly increased accessibility of material. Many books which are otherwise only available in specialist libraries can now either be viewed online or downloaded as PDFs (whereby availability can vary from country to country, according to their different copyright laws). Google books is the largest of these projects, and is a veritable goldmine which is well worth exploring more closely ([books.google.com/](http://books.google.com/)), which automatically takes you to the site for your country). Specialist numismatic sites include Barclay Head's seminal *Historia Numorum* (<http://snible.org/coins/hn/>). The project also aims to digitalise illustrations of many coins referred to by Head but which could not be included in the 1911 edition. The same site also has an online version of R. Münsterberg, *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen* (<http://snible.org/coins/library/muensterberg/>) and links to scans of most volumes of *The Numismatic Chronicle* up to 1916. *Historia Numorum* is also available from the Numiswiki Collaborative Numismatic Project, together with S.W. Stephenson's *A Dictionary of Roman Coins* (<http://www.forumancientcoins.com/NumisWiki/view.asp>). Scans of the second edition of Henri Cohen's *Description Historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain* can be viewed at iNumis (<http://www.inumis.com/rome/books/cohen/>), particularly useful when using older volumes of *Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland*, which employed Cohen for the Tetrarchy and the Constantinian period), a site which also includes a number of other online books and articles on a wide range of numismatic topics. A useful resource is provided by the Numismatic Bibliomania Society (<http://www.coinbooks.org/>), for example The Numismatic Indexes Project (NIP), a database index of a number of American numismatic periodicals. The

American Numismatic Society also publishes volumes 144–149 of Numismatic Literature online (<http://www.numismatics.org/Numlit/Numlit>).

The Perseus Digital Library not only hosts documents on 1305 coins in its Art & Archaeology Artifact Browser (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/artarch/artifactBrowser.htm>), it also contains 478 references to the term «coin» in ancient authors (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/>).

For those who face the widespread problem of how to cope with mint-marks on Late Roman coins, the Numus Moneta Font provides a downloadable font with the most common symbols (<http://www.numus.com/MonetaFont.htm>).

The COINS project (Combat On-line Illegal Numismatic Sales: <http://www.coins-project.eu/index.php>), mentioned above in connection with CIDOC-CRM, deals, as the project name implies, with the growing phenomenon of the internet as an easily accessible marketplace for illegal sales, a serious problem that effects not only numismatics. The project's innovation lies in a relatively new channel of research, automatic recognition of images of coins: «The recognition of coins is based on new algorithms of pattern recognition and image processing, in a field (classification and identification of ancient coins) as yet unexplored». The aim is to facilitate the automatic recognition of stolen coins that are put up for sale on the web, but this is a field which, although of immense technical complexity, has interesting potential for many areas of numismatics.

As the statistics cited at the start of this article make quite clear, a survey can do no more than scratch the surface and draw attention to general trends. As a result a multitude of facilities which deserve mention could not be included. The selection is also heavily weighted towards fields covered by the author's own experience and to English language websites, this being the *lingua franca* of the web. However, search machines such as Google and links listed on websites will quickly guide those who are interested in a particular area to relevant pages. But the speed and immediateness of the internet tends to let us forget that sometimes time and patience are necessary, even in cyberspace.

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